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BHARTI BLOCK WORKS, PATNA
Slāghyau sa eva guṇa-vān
rāgadveṣabahiśkṛtā
bhūtārthakathane yasya
stheyasyeva sarasvatī

“He alone is a worthy and commendable historian, whose narrative of events in the past, like that of a judge, is free from passion, prejudice and partiality.”

Rājatarāṅgiṇī I. 7
1. The Government of Bihar established the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna in 1951 with the object, inter alia, to promote Historical Research, Archaeological excavation and investigation and publication of works of permanent value to scholars. This Institute along with the five others, was planned by the Government as a token of their homage to the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted. Apart from the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, five others have been established to give incentive to research and advancement of knowledge—the Nalanda Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Pali and Buddhist Learning at Nalanda, the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning at Darbhanga, the Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad of Advanced Studies and Research in Hindi at Patna, the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Jainism and Prakrit Learning at Vaishali and the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian Learning at Patna.

2. As a part of this programme of rehabilitating and reorienting ancient learning and scholarship, the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute has undertaken the editing and publication of the Classical Sanskrit Text Series with the co-operation of scholars in Bihar and outside. Two other series i.e. Tibetan Sanskrit Series and the Historical Research Series for elucidating the
history and culture of Bihar and India have also been started by the Institute. The Government of Bihar hope to continue to sponsor such projects and trust that this humble service to the world of scholarship and learning would bear fruit in the fullness of time.
GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

It gives me great pleasure to place before the world of scholars the first part of the first volume of the Comprehensive History of Bihar. The scheme to publish the work in three volumes was taken up by the Government of Bihar and the work was entrusted to the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute. A Board of Editors consisting of four members was formed with the Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, as its General Editor. Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S. H. Askari and Dr. K. K. Datta were selected editors of the Ancient, Medieval and Modern periods respectively. Subsequently Dr. R. S. Sharma was co-opted as an additional member of the Board. Dr. B. P. Sinha, Dr. J. N. Sarkar and Dr. H. R. Ghosal were selected Associate Editors.

I am very sorry that Dr. A. S. Altekar, who piloted the scheme at the initial stage passed away on 25. 11. 59 before the contributions could be received. Dr. B. P. Sinha was then selected Editor in his place. The volume was sent to the press in October, 1970. But due to unavoidable circumstances, only two hundred pages could be printed by the Mohan Press, Patna. The Board of Editors then had to decide to change the press and the responsibility of printing was entrusted to M/S Freeman & Co., Ltd (Tara Printing Works), Varanasi in September, 1973. Since the press copy of the First Volume covered over 2000 pages, it was also decided to publish it in two parts. I am glad that the First part is seeing the light of the day. The Second part is in the press and is expected shortly. I take this opportunity to thank my predecessors the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. K. K. Datta, Dr. S. H. Askari and Dr. B. P. Sinha all of whom nourished the scheme in its nebulous stage and the eminent contributors, many of whom had to wait for years to see their contributions in print. The
inordinate but unavoidable delay helped us by allowing the Editor to revise the press copy twice after I joined this Institute in April, 1971. In a work like this shortcomings are unavoidable. The undersigned seeks the indulgence of the scholars to condone them and communicate such errors, if any, for corrections in future. The Editor, in spite of his heavy and variegated engagements, spared no pains to see the work completed and it is my pleasant duty to thank him. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. K. K. Datta, the eminent Historian and Educationist, whose help and guidance was always available to me in spite of his heavy scholarly and social activities.

I am grateful for the kind interest evinced by Sri J. C. Mathur, I.C.S., the then Secretary of Education, Government of Bihar and feel equally indebted to Sri Ramanand Singh, I.A.S., Education Commissioner, Government of Bihar for their personal interest in this scheme. I am also thankful to my colleagues in the Institute, to Sri R. S. Chaube, Deputy Secretary, to Sri Maheswar Dayal, Under Secretary, Education Department, Government of Bihar, and to M/S Freeman & Co., Ltd., (Tara Printing Works Varanasi) for their ungrudging help at the various stages of the work.

Makarasaṅkrānti
1895 Šaka

Anantalal Thakur
General Editor
CONTENTS

Transliteration ............................................................... xvi
Abbreviations ............................................................... xvii
Editor's Preface ............................................................ xxi

Chapters
I. SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF BIHAR
(ANCIENT PERIOD) By Dr. R. S. Sharma, Formerly
University Professor of History, Patna University. Now
Professor of History, Delhi University, Delhi. ............... 1
Archaeological Sources—Epigraphic Sources, Numismatic
Sources, Literary Sources, Vedic and Brahmanic,
Buddhist and Jain; Secular-Foreign and Indigenous-
Relative importance of the sources.

II. GEOLOGY AND MINERAL WEALTH OF BIHAR
By Dr. R. C. Sinha, University Professor of Geology,
Patna University, Patna. .................................................. 19
Introduction—Geological Divisions and Formations—

III. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL
WEALTH OF BIHAR By Dr. Murari Pathak, Reader
in Geography, Magadh University, Gaya. ....................... 48
(A) Physiography—The Ganges Plain—the Southern
Highlands—the Himalayan Foot hills (B) Drainage—
Rivers of North and South Bihar (C) Soils (D) Climate—
Winter, Summer, and Rainy season (E) Forests—
Tropical Moist Deciduous, Tropical Dry Deciduous,
Forests' Products (F) Power Development (G) Crops—
Bhada and Agahani: Some important crops.

IV. RACES, TRIBES AND LANGUAGES OF BIHAR
By Dr. Sachchidanand, Director, A. N. Institute of Social
Studies, Patna. ................................................................ 65
Races—Racial Composition, Racial Elements in Non-
tribal population, Tribes, Languages.
V. (A) TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF ANCIENT BIHAR By M. S. Pandey, Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology, Patna University, Patna. … 99


(B) TIRTHAS IN BIHAR By Dr. B. P. Majumdar, University Professor of History, Patna University, Patna. … 121


Buddhist Tirthas—Bodh Gaya-Rajagrha-Vaisali-Campa-Yashțivana.

Jain Tirthas—Rajagrha-Paya-Campapuri-Pañaliputra-Vaisali.

VI. PRE-ARYAN CULTURE OF BIHAR By Dr. Sita Ram Roy, Exploration & Excavation Officer, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Patna, Bihar. … 153


VII. ARYANISATION OF BIHAR-NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN By Dr. Yogendra Mishra, University Professor of History, Patna University, Patna. … 183

Time of Aryanisation—the Vrātyas, Anäga and the Aryans, Videha.

VIII. MONARCHICAL STATES IN BIHAR UP TO 500 B. C. By Dr. Yogendra Mishra, University Professor of History, Patna University, Patna. … 195

Videha-Vaisali-Anäga-Magadha-Karusha.

IX. THE REPUBLICAN STATES IN ANCIENT BIHAR By Dr. Yogendra Mishra, University Professor of History, Patna University, Patna. … 223

The Vajjian Republic—Constituent Clans, Territory, Capital, Fall, Constitution.
X. BRAHMANICAL RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE AND EDUCATION UP TO 600 B.C.
By Dr. (Smt.) Suvira Jayaswal, Reader in History, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, Delhi.

XI. SOCIETY AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UP TO 600 B.C., By Dr. M. M. Singh, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna.

XII. HISTORY OF MAGADHA (600 B.C.—325 B.C.)
By Dr. B. P. Sinha
The Haryākas, Bimbisāra, Ajīta śatru, The Śāśunāgas, Śāsunāga, Kalnioka—The Nandas, Mahapadma Nanda—Extent of empire—Significance of the Nanda rule—Administration up to 325 B.C.

XIII. BUDDHIST RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY (600 B.C.—323 B.C.) By Prof. Anantalal Thakur, Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.
Life of the Buddha—Main Features of Buddhism—Spread of Buddhism—Monastic Life and Organisation—Tripitaka.

XIV. JAIN AND OTHER SYSTEMS OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY UP TO 325 B.C., By Dr. N.G. Shastri (deceased), Formerly Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit, H. D. Jain College, Arrah.
Life of Mahāvīra—Mahāvīra’s Philosophy and Religion—Ardhamagadhi Āgama Literature—Āyāraṅga, Suyagadānga, Tāṇa, Samavāya, Viyāhapanapatti, Nāyadhammakaha, Uvasagadāsa, Antagadāsa, Aṇut-
tarouvavaiyadasa, Pañhāvagaraṇā, Vivāgaruya-Upanaṣas-
History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas-Early Ājīvika
Community-Ājīvika Scriptures-Doctrine of Niyati.

XV. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (600
B.C.–325 B.C.) By Dr. M.M. Singh, Reader, Department
of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University,
Patna. 382
Society-Castes, Slavery, Marriage, Courtesans, Food
and Drink, Popular Festivals.
Economic Conditions-Rural Economy, Arts, Crafts,
Industries and Professions, Blacksmiths, Goldsmiths,
Mālavās, Ceramics, Dying, Medical Science, Liquor
Manufacture, Trade and Trade Routes, Organisation
of Industry and Trade, Medium of Exchange, Prices,
Fees, Salaries and Wages.

XVI. MAURYAN DYNASTY By Dr. B. P. Sinha 420
Candragupta-Lincage and early Life, Wars and Con-
quists, Achievements, Bindusāra-Āśoka—Early Life,
Kalinga War, Āśoka and Buddhism, Āśoka’s Dhamma,
Measures to spread it, Success of the Policy, Successors
of Āśoka—Causes of the Decline of the Maurya Empire.

XVII. MAURYAN ADMINISTRATION By Dr. B. P. Sinha 510
Mauryan State and Brahmanic Social Order—Training
of the Prince-King’s Time-table-Powers of the King-
Mantri and Mantriparishad—Civil Service-Revenue-
Emergency Taxation—Military—Law and Justice; Law
Positive and Regulatory; Judicial Procedure; Torture;
Punishments, Humane Aspect; Varna and Justice—
Espionage-Territorial Divisions of the Empire-Village
and City Administration-Public Welfare-Checks on
Absolutism-Conclusion.

XVIII. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION
(MAURYAN PERIOD) By Dr. B. P. Sinha 622
Society-Brāhmanaś-Kshatriyas-Vaiṣyas-Śūdras-Labou-
rers-Slavery-Untouchability-Āśramas-Marriage-Position
of Women-Joint Family-Food and Drink-Amuse-
ments and Entertainments-Dress and Ornaments-
Superstitions.

XIX. ART AND ARCHITECTURE (MAURYAN PERIOD) By Dr. T. P. Bhattacharya, Retired Professor of History, B. N. College, Patna.


XX. POLITICAL HISTORY OF SOUTH BIHAR (187-30 B.C.) By Dr. B. P. Sinha

Origin of the Śūngas—events of Pushyamitra's reign—Greek invasions—Demetrius and Menander—Successors of Pushyamitra—Problem of 'Mitra' coins—the Kāṇvās—Administration under the Śūngas and the Kāṇvas.

XXI. POLITICAL HISTORY OF SOUTH BIHAR (G. 80 B.C.-319 A. D.) By Dr. M. M. Singh, Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History & Archaeology, Patna University, Patna.

The Mitras of Magadh—Liccavish—the Kuhānas—the Muraṇḍas—the Nāgas and the Koṭās—Administration.


Extent of Kuhāna Rule in North Bihar—Śaka Muraṇḍas—The Licchavis of Vaiśāli and Nepal.

XXIII. ECONOMIC CONDITION OF BIHAR (c. 187 B.C.–319 A. D.) By Dr. H. K. Prasad, Assistant Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.


XXIV. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

(A) HINDUISM By Dr. P. Banerji, Assistant Keeper of National Museum, New Delhi.

(B) BUDDHISM By Dr. N. Dutta, Retired Professor of Pali, Calcutta University, Calcutta.

Buddhist Centres in Magadha—Buddhism in Asokan Period—Schisms in the Saṅgha—Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda, Vaśiputriya (Sammitiya), Mahāsāṅghika—Asoka's Successors—Pushyamitra, Graeco-Bactrians—Sakas—Kushāṇas—Advent of Mahāyāna.

(C) JAINISM By (Late) Dr. N. C. Sastri


XXV. ART AND ARCHITECTURE (187 B. C.—320 A.D.)

By Dr. B. P. Sinha


XXVI. ARCHAEOLOGY IN BIHAR (From earliest times to c. 319 A.D.) By Dr. A.G. Bannerji, Retired Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India.

Pre-History—Early Stone Age—Mesolithic Age—Neolithic Age—Chalcolithic Age—Megalithic Monuments—Rock Carvings.

Proto-Historic Period—Chalcolithic Age—Sonepur—Chirand—Antichak.

Appendices

I. THE JOURNEY OF RĀMA IN BIHAR by Dr. S.R. Roy, Exploration & Excavation Officer, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Patna, Bihar. ... 919

II. THE ITINERARY OF THE BUDDHA IN BIHAR
   By Dr. S. R. Roy, Exploration & Excavation Officer, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar, Patna. ... 926

III. THE ITINERARY OF CHINESE PILGRIMS IN BIHAR, By Dr. S. R. Roy, Exploration & Excavation Officer, Directorate of Archaeology, Bihar, Patna. ... 950

IV. THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA, By Dr. Y. Mishra, University Professor of History, Patna University, Patna. ... 987

Select Bibliography ... 1011
Index ... 1019
List of Illustrations ... 1037
Errata ... 1041
**SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION**

The system of transliteration in this Volume except in respect of modern names of persons and places, is this:—

| य   | a   | ह   | ḍha |
| सा  | ā   | ड   | ḍha |
| इ   | i   | ळ   | na  |
| ई   | ī   | त   | ta  |
| उ   | u   | थ   | tha |
| ऊ   | ŋ   | द   | da  |
| र   | r   | ध   | dha |
| ए   | e   | ण   | na  |
| ऐ   | ai  | प   | pa  |
| ओ   | o   | फ   | pha |
| औ   | au  | ब   | ba  |
| (विसंग) : ह   | h   | भ   | bha |
| इरुस्वार : म, m | म   | म   | ma  |
| क   | ka  | य   | ya  |
| ख   | kha | र   | ra  |
| ग   | ga  | ल   | la  |
| घ   | gha | व   | va  |
| ङ   | ṅa  | श   | sa  |
| च   | ca  | ष   | sha |
| छ   | cha | स   | sa  |
| ज   | ja  | ह   | ha  |
| झ   | jha | ष   | ksha |
| न   | ṅa  | भ   | tra |
| ट   | ta  | ज   | jña |
| ठ   | ṭha |
ABBREVIATIONS

AGI : Ancient Geography of India (Cunningham).
AIG : Age of Imperial Guptas.
AIHT : Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
Ait : Aitareya.
AIU : Age of Imperial Unity (Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay).
AMMK : Ārya Maṇju Śrī Mūlakalpa
AN : Āṅguttara Nikāya
AGS : Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra.
AS : Arthaśāstra (of Kautilya).
ASI : Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
ASIAR : Archaeological Survey Reports (Cunningham).
ASGS : Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
AV : Atharvaveda.
Bd. : Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.
Bhāg. : Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
Br. UP : Brhadāraṇyak Upanishad,
Bhandarkar C.L. : Bhandarkar Carmichael Lectures.
Br. : The Brāhmaṇaṇas.
CHI : Cambridge History of India.
CHI : Cultural Heritage of India.
CHN : Chronology of History of Nepal.
Chan. Up.: Chāndogya Upanishad.
C.I.I. : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,
CAI : Catalogue of Indian Coins in British Museum Ancient India (Allan).
CICAI : Catalogue of Indian Coins in British Museum Ancient India (Allan).
CIMI : Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum Vol. I.
CV : Cullavagga.
Devi : Devi Bhāgavata.
Dhp : Dhamma Pada.
DKA DKAP } : Dynasties of the Kali Age (Pargiter).
DN : Dīgha Nikāya.
DPPN : Dictionary of Pali Proper Names.
DV. : Dīpa Vaniśa.
EHI : Early History of India.
EHNI : Early History of Northern India.
E. I. : Epigraphia Indica.
GAR : Garuḍā Purāṇa.
GDAM : Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India.
HAIB : Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal.
HB or HBR; History of Bengal (R. C. Majumdar).
HC : Harshacarita.
HGIS : History and Culture of the Indian People.
HDS : History of Dharmaśāstras.
HIJ : History of India (Jayaswal, K. P.)
HOS : Harvard Oriental Series.
HV : Harivamsa.
IA : Indian Antiquary.
IAR : Indian Archaeology, A Review.
IC : Indian Culture.
IHI : Imperial History of India (Jayaswal).
IHQ : Indian Historical Quarterly.
JA : Journal Asiatique.
JASB : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JASBL : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters.
Jai Br. : Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa.
Jat. : Jātakas.
JBBRAS: Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS : Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRBS : Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
JDL : Journal of the Department of Letters.
JESHO : Journal of the Economic and Society History of the Orient.
JIH : Journal of the Indian History.
JNSI : Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASNS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series.
JUPHS : Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.
KA : Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra.
KA BK : Kautilya Arthaśāstra Book...
Ka. Sr. Sa } or KSSS. } : Kathāsaritsāgara.
Kat. Sr. Su : Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
KRE : Kalinga Rock Edict.
Ka, Sr. Su } : Kaushṭikī Śrauta Sūtra.
KSS }
Lat. Sr. Su : Lāṭāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Mal. : Mālavikāgnimitra.
MASB : Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
MASI : Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MBHs } : Mahābhārata.
Mbh. }
MN : Majjhimā Nikāya.
MRE : Minor Rock Edict.
MV : Mahāvamsa.
NHIP : New History of the Indian People.
PASB : Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PE</td>
<td>Pillar Edict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHAI</td>
<td>Political History of Ancient India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIHC</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QJMS</td>
<td>Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raj</td>
<td>Rajatarṅgaṇṭ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RASIS</td>
<td>Royal Asiatic Society, Imperial Series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>Rock Edict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ram.</td>
<td>Rāmāyaṇa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV.</td>
<td>Rgveda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagara</td>
<td>Kathāsaritsāgara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. I.</td>
<td>Select Inscriptions (of Ancient India).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sn. Sr. Su.</td>
<td>Śāṅkālayaṇa Śrauta Sūtra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>Samyuta Nikāya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRE</td>
<td>Separate Rock Edict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Śrauta Sūtra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tai. Sam.</td>
<td>Taīttarīya Saṃhitā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM</td>
<td>History of Mithila by Upendra Thakur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaj. Sam.</td>
<td>Vājasaṇeyāl Saṃhitā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Dh. S.</td>
<td>Vāśishṭha Dharmasūtra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vish.</td>
<td>Viṣṇu Purāṇa.</td>
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Bihar has played a key-role in the history of India. So far as ancient Indian History is concerned Bihar has contributed more than any single state, in almost all aspects of Indian history and culture. It was therefore rightly decided by the government of Bihar to publish a Comprehensive History of Bihar in three volumes, ancient, medieval and modern. The scheme was to be drawn up and published by the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute set up by the state government to promote researches in History. Late Dr. A. S. Altekar, the first Director of the K. P. J. Research Institute was appointed General Editor of the series and also the editor of the Volume-I (Ancient period). Various scholars were invited to cooperate in the venture, but before any progress could be made, Dr. Altekar prematurely passed away. Then there followed a number of Directors of the Institute such as Dr. K. K. Datta, Dr. S. H. Askari and the present editor of the volume. After the demise of Dr. Altekar I was appointed editor of the first volume.

As is the general experience about a cooperative work of this kind, difficulties continued to multiply. Scholars are very busy persons engaged in their own serious assignments, both academic and administrative. Naturally many such scholars invited to contribute to the volume replied after a long lapse of time in negative. Substitutes were selected in their place. Many scholars who had agreed to contribute, after a number of years, backed out. So fresh contributors were selected and requested to cooperate. Then the quick changes in the office of the Director of the K. P. J. Research Institute also adversely affected the progress. Many scholars who had kindly responded favourably
to our invitation to contribute sent their chapters and were naturally displeased with the delay in the coming out of the volume; when as a matter of fact some authors had not sent their contributions till sometime ago, the work had to be held up. Then the Press—trouble dogged our steps. The first press selected after printing a few pages in a long time finally had to be discarded and a new press selected.

All this and much more explain the delay the bringing out the first volume of the Comprehensive History of Bihar. The period extends from the Early Stone Age to the conquest of Bihar by the Turko-Afghans by the end of the 12th century A.D. The first chapter deals with the classification of sources for the ancient history of Bihar. The second and third chapters are concerned with the geography and material wealth of Bihar as it stands to-day. While these chapters together with the fourth chapter dealing with 'Races, Tribes and Languages' are strictly speaking no part of ancient history, in the total picture of understanding the history of Bihar down to present times, they provide a useful background. Then follow the chapters dealing with history, religion, society, economy, art and culture in a chronological sequence. The views and chronology adopted in the chapters are entirely of the author concerned, and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Volume or General Editor. Sometimes different authors have touched upon the same problem in their own way, e.g., the problem of the Vṛāyas treated by different authors in chapter VI and VII. The Maurya age has been treated as all-India imperial age and therefore has been dealt with in greater details. By giving full consideration to the non-political aspects of the history, an attempt has been made to emphasize more on the life of the people in Bihar throughout the ages, rather on chronicles of kings and dynasties.
Naturally the volume purporting to be comprehensive has become large and so has been divided into two parts. The present work is part-I of the first volume carrying the history to 319 A.D., before the emergence of the Guptas as imperial power.

In a work of this size and nature containing contributions from different authors, some mistakes are bound to remain. But due to special circumstances in printing the volume, many mistakes which could have been avoided are present. The printing has been done by two printing presses. Then with a view to avoid further delay in the publication of the volume, the authorities had to accept the condition that no proofs could be seen by the author or Volume Editor or General Editor. The Press which was asked to complete printing within a given period of time insisted that it would not be sending proofs for correction. Naturally many spelling mistakes and mistakes in dicretical marks have persisted which could have been certainly removed in the process of proof-correction. In view of this the learned authors of the chapters rightly deserve our apology. We also request the indulgence of readers to overlook this deficiency of the work.

A few words are necessary about certain features of the work. To provide bibliography chapter wise would have entailed indispensable repetitions and would have further increased the bulk of the volume. So a select General Bibliography has been provided taking into consideration all the important works consulted by different authors in preparing their chapters. The illustrations are all put in the end of the book, and as many of these are referred to in more than one page and chapter of the work they are not listed page-wise. It is further expected that the illustrations by themselves would prove useful for
readers interested in art, religion, costumes and ornaments of the ancient Bihar.

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B. P. Sinha
CHAPTER 1

Sources of the History of Bihar

The area which is now known as the State of Bihar did not bear that name till the 12th century A.D. Bihar, identical with the modern town of Bihar Sharif, is mentioned first in a Muslim account of the 13th century, which refers to the destruction of its fort by the Turkish invader Bakhtiyaruddin. Later the province came to be known as Bihar after the town. But certainly a good part of the area covering the modern Bihar was settled as early as Vedic times, and the sources for the history of this region are as old as that.

Of the various kinds of sources the archaeological are the oldest. The implements of the Old Stone Age and the New Stone Age, lying in the museum of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, help us to know something of the pre-history of Bihar. Recently explorations have brought to light many palaeoliths, and microliths from the Chotanagpur division, the Santhal Parganas and adjoining area of South Monghyr. Neoliths have been found not only in the Chotanagpur division, but also in South Monghyr. Late neoliths have been found in the district of Saran at Chirand, which abounds in antler bone tools. Although nothing comparable to the Harappa culture has been discovered so far in Bihar, various kinds of potteries recovered from explorations and excavations during the last ten years reveal traces of chalcolithic cultures. Black-and-red ware discovered from Rajgir, Sonepur in the district of Gaya, Chirand and near Vaisali in the Muzaffarpur district, and near Antichak in Colgong Block of the Bhagalpur district shows affinity with such a ware, painted and unpainted, found in Nevada Toli in Madhya Pradesh and Gulind and Ahar in Rajasthan. Pre-North
Black Polished Ware antiquities including terracotta figures (mainly animals), and in some cases iron, have been found in Buxar and Chirand. These help us to form a picture of the material culture of the people before the age of the Buddha.

Other excavations carried out during the last ten years or so at Vaisali, Kumrahar and the explorations made at Naulagarh, Jaimangalarh, Rajgir, etc., take us to the period from the 5th century to the 2nd century B.C., which was characterised by the prevalence of the North Black Polished Ware, typical of both pre-Maurya and Maurya times. The excavations made at Vaisali throw light on the pre-Maurya antiquities, one of which seems to have been a stupa erected over a portion of the mortal remains of the Buddha. The excavations carried out towards the close of the 19th century in Kumrahar brought to light for the first time the Maurya culture of ancient Bihar; those of 1915-16 added to our knowledge of the subject. Bihar is rich in the remains of the time of Asoka, whose polished monolithic pillars have been discovered at Kumrahar, Vaisali, Lauriya Areraj, Lauriya Nandangarh and Rampurwa. How these pillars were brought to those places requires investigation, which should enrich our knowledge of ancient geography and technology. Doubts are being expressed about the situation of the Maurya palace at Kumrahar because of the pitiful remains of wooden palisades and stone pillars, but these antiquities certainly belong to the Maurya period. The Maurya excavated caves, some of which are inscribed, are found in Barabar hills near Gaya, and are examples of the earliest rock-cut architecture in Eastern India.

So far the only place which possesses impressive antiquities of pre-Maurya times is Rajgir, where fortifications encircling the hills supposed to belong to about 600 B.C. are still extant. Not much is known of the archaeology of Bihar in the period from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., although impressive Kushana brick structures have been exposed in recent excavations at Kumrahar and Chirand. One of the seals discovered
from Kumhrar shows that a monastery served as a medical institution in the Gupta period. Terracotta human heads with typical Kushäna head-dress have been found at Buxar, and terracotta figurines of the Kushäna period have been found at Buxar and Chirand. Signs of the working of the copper mines in the Kushäna period have been found near Dhanbad.

The remains of the Gupta period in Bihar are mainly represented by numerous seals bearing inscriptions discovered in Vaiśālī in the excavations which were carried out in 1902-3, and whose results were incorporated in the report published by the Archaeological Department by Bloch. To the Gupta period also belong numerous carved sculptures, discovered in Rajauna and Nāländā. Recently stucco panels depicting Ramayānic scenes have been discovered on the brick wall of an old temple at Aphsad in the Gaya district and belong to the 7th century A. D. Some temples and sculptures, discovered in Nāländā, throw light on the religious beliefs and practices and also tell us about the development of the art and architecture of Bihar in Gupta times, when the University of Nāländā was founded.

The artistic remains of Vaiśālī are not so impressive, but the brick structures in Rājā Viśāl Ka Garh give some idea of fortifications in Gupta times. The post-Gupta and Pāla period is represented by the archaeological remains discovered at Nalanda, Kurkihar and several places in South Monghyr. While Nalanda is famous for its several monasteries built one after the other during the five centuries following the fall of the Gupta empire, Kurkihar is famous for its beautiful bronze images of Buddhist gods and goddesses, which form the pride of the Patna Museum. The excavations, going on since 1962 at Antichak in the district of Bhagalpur, have proved to be promising, and the seals, statues and brick plaques from there indicate that the village was the seat of the ancient University of Vikrāmasišā, One also is struck with the remains of the massive and unique stāpa there.
Although a systematic excavation of the fortified settlements of the Pāla period has not been undertaken the one conducted at Balirajgarh in Darbhanga shows that the place which was first fortified in the Śūṅga period continued to be so in the Pāla period. Several settlements in South Monghyr seem to have been first fortified in the Pāla period. In fact a large number of Pāla settlements is found in Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Gaya and Patna districts.

Closely connected with the archaeological sources are the inscriptive sources. The earliest deciphered inscriptions belong to the time of Aśoka, for the inscriptions in shell character found at Rajgir have continued to baffle the epigraphists so far. Written in the Brāhma character and Prākrit language the Aśokan inscriptions have been found on pillars in Laturiya Areraj, Laturiya Nandanagar and Rampurwa and on rock at Sasaram. Since they do not contain anything which has not been found in the other inscriptions of Aśoka from the other parts of India they are not so useful for regional study. After Aśoka we have a few inscriptions of his successors in the Barabar Hills in the district of Gaya. They show that in Magadha the Ṛjivikas received special favours from the later Mauryas, and the caves in which the inscriptions are engraved provide good material for the study of the Mauryan polish.

So far hardly any inscriptions belonging to the post-Maurya period have been discovered in Bihar except some in the railings of Bodh Gaya datable to 1st cent. B.C., but these do not add significantly to our knowledge of history of Bihar. This is true of both the indigenous and foreign dynasties which arose on the ruins of the Maurya empire. We have reasons to believe that the Śūrgas and the Kāṇyas ruled over Pāṭaliputra, and the Kushāna empire extended over parts of Bihar, but none of their inscriptions has been found in this area. A few seals of Kumrahar carry small votive inscriptions useful for religious history in the pre-Gupta period, but not for political and administrative history.
The Gupta period, however, possesses a few inscriptions. One of them, the Bihar stone-inscription of Skanda Gupta* is illegible, but what can be deciphered of this land grant tells us something of the administrative and the economic conditions of the time. Two copper-plates, one from Gaya and the other from Nālandā, granting villages to brāhmaṇas are said to have been issued by Samudra Gupta, but the nature of the writing shows them to be of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Hence they are considered to be spurious although they can be used for the study of the land system of Bihar in post-Gupta times.

The post-Gupta and the Pāla inscriptions in Bihar are of three types. One type is represented by the records on the seals found in large numbers in Vaiśālī and Nālandā. The Vaiśālī seals mostly belong to Gupta times, but those from Nālandā mostly belong to post-Gupta times. The Vaiśālī seals seems to be mostly the symbols of the authority of various officials and guilds existing in the town, which was apparently the headquarters of the division of Tirabhukti. On the other hand the Nalandā seals seem to have been votive seals engraved to mark the visit of the dignitaries—princes, nobles, officers, etc., who came to pay their respects to the Buddhist religious centre. They are useful for the study of political and administrative history. Thus the seals of Avantivarman and his son and successor Suva or Suca give the Maukhari genealogy, and that of Harṣa-vardhana gives his family tree, while the seals issued by the various janapadas or village communities as well as those containing the nomenclatures of officials give an idea of the political organisation of the period. However, the seals yield very limited information. Made of clay and smaller in size, they do not contain as much matter as inscriptions on stone and copper plate.

Some stone inscriptions, such as the Barabar stone inscription of the Maukharis, furnish considerable material, but the stone image inscriptions of the Pāla period do not contain

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*Doubts have been expressed whether the inscription really belongs to Skandagupta and his name occurs in it (Ed.)
much matter. Discovered in large numbers in the districts of Patna, Gaya and Monghyr, they mainly occur on the pedestals of the images of the Buddhist gods and mention the names of the donors, lay and clerical, and sometimes also the regnal period of the king in whose time the particular image was donated and thus indirectly add to our knowlege of the chronology and dynastic history of the Pāla kings. Certain inscriptions of this type mostly contain the famous Buddhist formula. However, all these votive inscriptions enable us to determine the extent of the following commanded by Buddhism as well as the popularity of its formula. Many of the records found at Gaya, which is also mentioned in the inscriptions of Northern India, throw light on the main tīrtha and also the subsidiary tīrthas.

By far the most important type of inscriptions for the study of the history of Bihar in the post-Gupta and Pāla periods are the land charters written on the copper-plates. Only a few land grants belong to the Maukharis and the Later Guptas of Magadha, but several grants issued by the Pālas have been found in the districts of Saharsa, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Patna. We may refer to the Nālandā copper-plate of Dharmapāla, the Nalanda and Monghyr copper-plates of Devapāla, the Bhagalpur copper-plate of Nārāyanapāla and the Bangarh copper-plate of Vigrāhapāla. These land charters record the names of about two dozen officials to whom they are addressed. They enumerate the items of revenue to be collected from the countryside and indicate the various kinds of rural resources. They also mention the original home of the beneficiaries, their gotras and pravaras, which indicate the position of brāhmanas. All these enable us to know the social, economic and administrative conditions prevailing in the Pāla dominions in Bihar.

But we have to be careful in utilising these charters for historical purposes. All the inscriptions follow a set pattern, and the titles applied to the king and the list of officials mentioned in the charters may have been conventional. Similarly we cannot rely on all the tall claims made by the kings regar-
eding their universal conquests. Nor is it possible to make out anything of the family tree, which is traced to mythical gods in the Pāla charters.

The Senas, who succeeded the Pālas, probably held some portions of Bihar, but Sena inscriptions are practically absent in Bihar so far.* On the other hand we have some inscriptions of the Pratihāras and the Gāhadavālas, such as the Dīghwa-Dubauli grant of the time of Mahendrapāla in the Saran district and those of the time of Vijayacandra in the Shahabad district. Their copper-plates throw welcome sidelights on the economic and administrative organisation in western Bihar. Thus the Pratihāra plate tells us something about the fiscal system in the Saran district in the 9th century; similarly the Gāhadavāla plate of Maner (1134) describes the revenue organisation of the Patna district in the first half of the 12th century.

Of the inscriptions after the 12th century A. D. mention may be made of the Panchobha copper-plate of Samgrāmagupta, who is assigned to the 13th century A. D. This plate is of great importance for the study of the political and administrative history of Bihar.

Thus the inscriptions constitute a valuable source for the various aspects of the history of Bihar in the different periods before A. D. 1200. Although the earliest inscriptions belong to the 3rd century B. C. the number increases enormously from the Pāla period onwards. The findspots of the inscriptions suggest that the centre of the Pāla power lay really in Bihar and not in Bengal. So far about 56 Pāla inscriptions have been published, and of these more than 32 belong to the Bihar State. Four Pratihāra inscriptions found in Bihar indicate the extent of their kingdom in this State.

* An image—inscription of the time of Ballalasena has been found at Sanokhar in the Bhagalpur district. The Janibigha inscriptions near Gaya refer to later Sena kings Buddhasena and Jayasena (Ed.)
For writing the history of Bihar the inscriptions from the neighbouring areas also provide valuable information. Several inscriptions of Orissa between A. D. 600 and 1200 speak of the brāhmaṇas who went from Tirabhuskti to that area as pioneer landholders and civilisers; one Orissa inscription speaks of the Tuṅga rulers who went to that region from Rohtas. Similarly some inscriptions refer to brāhmaṇas hailing from Pāṭaliputra flourishing outside Bihar.

As in the case of the other parts of northern India the punch-marked coins, mostly made of silver, are found in good numbers in Bihar. Their hoards were discovered in Golakpur in Patna town, in Purnea and other places and are preserved in the Patna Museum. Several of these coins have been discovered in recent excavations at various places in the last ten years. Their period extends roughly from the 6th century B. C. to the 2nd century B. C., and evidently they had to do something with the rulers of the Bimbisāra dynasty, the Nandas and the Mauryas. Attempts have been made on the basis of the symbols on them to ascribe them to particular dynasties and rulers, but they must be regarded as very provisional. We have yet to identify the coins issued by the Maurya kings who had their capital at Pāṭaliputra.

The Kushāṇa coins have been discovered at Buxar, which indicates that the Kushāṇa empire, which covered parts of Central Asia, also included the western portion of Bihar. A coin of Huvishka used as a talisman was found in Kumrahār excavation.* Similarly the Gupta coins found in Hajipur enable us to determine the extent of the Gupta empire. But much cannot be made of the finds of the coins for fixing the extent of kingdoms, for coins travel to distant places as media of exchange in trade transactions.

The paucity of coins in the Pāla period is well known. Although the Pālas ruled for about four centuries, no coin

* A hoard of 82 Kushāṇa copper coins has been found in a stratified layer at Chirand in the Saran district.
of the period discovered so far can be attributed to them with certainty. The term *drama* is mentioned in the Gaya inscription of Dharmapala, but no coin of this type can be identified. Some *dramas* are attributed to Vighrhapāla although the hypothesis is doubtful. Therefore in the present stage of our knowledge the coins of post-Gupta times discovered so far cannot be precisely used for the history of Bihar in that period.

Because of the scattered nature it is difficult to make a period-wise classification of the literary sources for the study of the history of ancient Bihar. The earliest references to Bihar in the Vedic period are found in the *Aitareyaveda*, a work of about the 10th-8th centuries B.C., and in the *Pancavimsa Brāhmaṇa*, a work of about the 8th-6th centuries B.C.; both texts speak of a people called the Vrātvas living in the land of Magadha. The *Rgveda*, however, mentions the Kikāṭas, the earliest inhabitants of Magadha who were held in low esteem by the Āryans because of their ignorance of the Vedic sacrifice. Thus the Vedic literary sources contain only stray references, which indicate the non-Aryan character of the people of Magadha. The main information about the Aryan expansion in North Bihar is contained in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, a work of about the 8th century B.C. It shows how the Āryans cut and burnt jungles in the Gangeetic basin and founded settlements there. But the Vedic sources do not give us any connected chronicle or a systematic dynastic history of Bihar.

For the reconstruction of the dynastic history of this region we have to fall back upon the Purānas and to some extent upon the two epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. Although these texts were finally written down in the post-Maurya and the Gupta period, they contain some old traditions regarding the family trees of the important dynasties in Magadha and Videha whose history has been reconstructed by Pargiter. The narrative portion of the epics has some bearing on the history of Magadha and Videha.
The genealogical sketch of the kings who ruled in Videha and Vaisāli has been prepared with great care on the basis of the Puranic texts, especially on the strength of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. All that is stated in the Purāṇas about the history of the various parts of Bihar such as Magadha, Aṅga, Videha and Vaisāli in the pre-Buddhist period is neither supported by other texts nor contradicted by them. But archaeological excavations do not indicate any human settlement in the Vaisāli area before the 7th century B.C. However, we have to make the best of the Puranic traditions for the pre-Bimbisāra dynastic history. In fact political events, shorn of their mythological embellishments, may be accepted as true, but it is difficult to trust the sources when they describe the social and cultural conditions, which can be ascribed to the early centuries of the Christian era when these texts were compiled. Unfortunately this is what has been done in some recent studies on the regional histories of northern India.

Literary sources become a little firmer when we take up the history of Bihar in the age of the Buddha. The history of pre-Maurya times has to be mainly written on the basis of Buddhist sources supplemented by the Purāṇas and Dharmāśastras. The Buddhist canons, the Anguttara Nikāya, mention the states, republics and monarchies, existing in north-eastern India in the age of the Buddha; several of the these mahājana-padas were situated in Bihar. The history of the two most prominent states, the monarchy of Magadha and the republic of Vaisāli, which were confronted with one another is mainly known from the Buddhist canonical texts Dīgha Nikāya (Book of Dialogues) and Vinaya Pitaka (Book of Discipline). Although compiled in Ceylon during the first century B.C., they contain genuine traditions about political events in pre-Maurya Bihar. The genealogy, chronology, and annals of the pre-Maurya kings of Magadha have to be mainly worked out on the basis of the Buddhist sources, including the Dipawamsa and Mahāvamsa compiled in the 5th century A.D. in Ceylon, for the Purāṇas though finalised during the same period in India are found to
be self-contradictory and therefore are not given credence by sober historians.

The political system and exploits of the Licchavis of Vaiśāli are chiefly known from Buddhist canons supplemented by the Jain canon Bhagavatī Sātra, which, though finally written in the sixth century A.D., sheds light on the weapons used by the Magadhan army in war against the Licchavis. Attempts to conjure up the picture of the pre-Maurya culture on the basis of the Buddhist canons, and particularly the Jātakas, are beset with the danger of reading later developments into earlier times, for the Buddhist birth stories possibly reflect the social and economic conditions of post-Maurya times when they were finally compiled. In using them we might bear in mind the order of antiquity indicated by the gātha, the past story and the present story although this does not help much. In this respect the grammar of Pāṇini and the law-books of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Gautama and Vaśishṭha, all compiled some time between c. 500 and 300 B.C., seem to be more dependable. But the incidental references they supply are few, and our main hope lies in further archaeological discoveries.

The literary sources, foreign and indigenous, for the history of Magadha in Maurya times are too well known to be discussed in detail. The foreign sources consist of the accounts of the Greek writers who wrote the history of Alexander's invasion of India. They refer to the riches of the Nanda empire and the activities of Sandrokotts, whose identification with Candragupta Maurya forms the sheet-anchor of the chronology of not only of ancient Magadha but of ancient India. The account of Megasthenes, whose fragments scattered in the writings of the later classical writers were collected and translated into German by Schwanbeck in 1848 and later rendered into English by McCrindle, the first Principal of the Patna College, in 1868, provides a valuable account of the city of Pāṭaliputra and throws light on the political and social structure of the Maurya empire. His references to wooden structures at Pāṭaliputra are corroborated by the remains unearthed
at Kumrahar and Kankarbagh. Of the written literary sources this is the only source which can be dated with certainty. Although Megasthenes indulges in myth-making as other ancient writers do, his references to the eastern part of India and to the civic and military organisation of the Maurya empire do not suffer from exaggerations.

The most important indigenous source for the study of the political, social and economic organisation of the Maurya empire is the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya. In the present form it can hardly be ascribed to Maurya times although it contains genuine reminiscences of that period. It nowhere mentions Pataliputra, which is supposed to be the centre of the activities of Kautilya, who destroyed the last Nanda ruler. Nor does it refer to the Maurya empire although it speaks of Magadha now and then. Nevertheless, there is much in common with the state regulation of economic activities recommended by Kautilya and the functions of the magistrates stated by Megasthenes. Whether the measures laid down by Kautilya could have been enforced in a wide area is doubtful. The *Arthasastra* contains some matter that may have been grafted on it in the early centuries of the Christian era; critical scholarship therefore will have to draw a line between the kernel and the later interpolations on the basis of style and contents.

We do not have contemporary literary sources for the political history of Bihar under the Mauryas. Whatever information we obtain about Candragupta Maurya is derived from the Jain and brāhmaṇical sources of Gupta times. The Jain texts provide a garbled account of the activities of Candragupta Maurya in his last days, who seems to have been converted to Jainism. As these texts were finally compiled in Valabhi in the 6th century A.D., they cannot be regarded authentic for the earlier period unless they are corroborated by other sources.

Similarly scattered literary references in the Gupta and post-Gupta literary works to the tyrannical rule of the last Nanda king and his overthrow brought about by the combi-
ned efforts of Gāṇakya and Candragupta have to be taken with a grain of salt, especially in view of the brāhmaṇical prejudices against the last Nanda. A full account of the rise of Candraguta Maurya to power is given in the Mudrārākshasa, a drama written by Vīśakhadatta in the Gupta period but based on older floating traditions regarding the fall of the Nandas. The political part of it can be accepted for want of anything better, but the social and cultural life depicted in it surely represents the situation in the Gupta period.

The Mahābhāshya of Patañjali, a commentary on the grammar of Pāṇini ascribable to 150 B.C., contains illustrations bearing on the religious policy of the Mauryas. An organised life-story of Aśoka is given in the two Buddhist texts, the Aśokāvadāna and the Divyāvadāna, although the great king is dismissed in one line as mohātmā by the Purāṇas. In fact the brāhmaṇical literary sources are almost as silent on the history of Aśoka as the indigenous sources on Alexander's invasion of India. The Rajatarangini of Kalhana (12th century), the earliest book on history that India can boast of, speaks of the sons of Aśoka ruling in Kashmir, but the traditional matter embodied in the early portions of the chronicle cannot be entertained for solid history.

The literary sources for the history of Bihar in post-Maurya and Gupta times comprise the Purāṇas, which mention the Sūgas and Kāṇyas and touch upon the Guptas by stating that their empire included Magadha and the area on the bank of Gaṅgā (anuganggam). If we accept that Patañjali belonged to Bihar, his commentary can be used for the cultural history of this region in pre-Gupta times. In any case his references to Pāṭaliputra furnish interesting cultural sidelights.

So far as the Gupta period is concerned, the famous mathematician Āryabhaṭa, who wrote the Āryabhaṭīya in the 5th century A.D., certainly belonged to Pāṭaliputra, and his work can be utilised for cultural history. We need not discuss the works of Kālidāsa which allude to Magadha and Pāṭaliputra. However, the Malavikāgnimitra helps us to
reconstruct the dynastic history of post-Maurya Bihar, for it contains some genuine older traditions regarding political events in pre-Gupta times. A much later text that sheds light on the political history of Bihar under the Guptas is the Buddhist tantric text *Āryamanjuśrīmālākalpa*, compiled much later.

The law-books, which generally came to be known as *Smaṛtis* in post-Maurya and Gupta times, cannot be assigned to any particular area, but since the brahmanical way of life had been well established in Bihar by this time, it is natural that the social, economic and administrative standards which their provisions contemplate prevailed in this region, as they did in the other parts of India.

For the post-Gupta period the works of Bāna constitute the most important literary source. If the tradition that the author was born in the district of Shahabad or Gaya on the bank of the Son is correct, the cultural material gleaned from the *Harshacarita* and *Kādambari* would apply to western Bihar. But Bāna’s works say hardly anything about the political history of Bihar except to show that Pāraliputra had ceased to be the capital of India. The early medieval Puranas do not contain the genealogy of the period, but they dwell on the importance of the *tīrthas*, among which Gaya occupies a prominent place.

For the social and religious history of Bihar in Gupta and post-Gupta times the accounts of Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang are valuable. Fa-hsien probably visited Pataliputra in the first decade of the 5th century A.D. and wrote about it when it was in a state of decay. His description of the social conditions obtaining in the Middle Kingdom could well be true of the western part of Bihar. Hsüan Tsang, who came to Magadha in the first half of the 7th century A.D., presents us a first-hand account of the functioning of the University of Nālandā, where he spent a long period in learning Buddhist religion and philosophy. I-ssing, who followed Hsüan Tsang in the later half of same century in his visit
Sources of the History
to India, has also to say something about Nālandā. Finally, the biography of the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin, who visited Bihar in 1232-4, furnishes not only an account of Nālandā after the Muslim invasion but also dwells upon the social and religious condition of this province in his times. However, the account of Buddhism and places of Buddhistic interest in India by the Chinese and Tibetan pilgrims should not be taken at their face value, swayed as they were by religious sentiments at times.

In the category mentioned above we may also place the History of Buddhism in India completed by the Tibetan historian Lama Tāranātha in 1608. He seems to have drawn on earlier traditions and accounts, and begins the history of Bengal with the story of the Candra rulers, whose rule commenced in the time of Harṣa. According to him some of them ruled over Tirhut, but this is not corroborated by any other source. However, excepting some discrepancies in the order of the Pāla kings, Tāranātha’s account of the early Pāla rulers seem to be fairly correct. Although the author devotes himself mainly to the history of Bengal, Magadha and Tirhut come in for notice in connection with the conquests of Bengal rulers. What is important, his account throws considerable light on the history of Buddhist religion and education in Magadha. It is invaluable for the history of Buddhist Tantricism, which is ignored by Hsüan Tsang and I-tsing.

Between the 8th and the 12th century numerous literary works were produced in Northern India, but except for some texts on Nyāya and the Buddhist works known as the Prajñāpāramitās, none can be attributed with any certainty to Bihar. Although composed outside Bihar, some of them are useful for the history of this region. Such a text is the Rāmacarita of Sandhyākara Nandi, a Karāṇa kāyastha of North Bengal, who wrote the book in the 11th century A. D. Written in verses which carry double meaning—one applicable to the activities of Rāma and the other to those of the Pāla king Rāmapāla—it primarily dwells upon the Kaivartta revolt against the Pāla
rule and the measures adopted by Rāmapāla to deal with them. In this context it mentions several feudatories of the Pālas from Bihar, particularly from Aṅga, whose help was mobilised by Rāmapāla against the Kaivarttas.

The manuscripts of the Prajñāpāramitā, many of which were originally written in the Nālandā Mahāvihāra and some copied in Nepal, help us to fix the reign-periods of various Pāla kings. Those recovered from Nepal mention the particular year of the reign of the Pāla king under whom they were written. Together with similar references in the image inscriptions which also give the regnal year of the king in whose reign they were donated, they enable us to determine the reign-periods of the Pāla kings. These manuscripts also show the volume of Buddhist literature produced in Sanskrit by the scholars of Nālandā.

We may refer to the works of Vācaspati Miśra of Mithilā in the 9th century on the Nyāya school of philosophy, and also to the Nyāyakusumānjali written by Udayana in the 11th century. The latter, written in a terse style, gives us some idea of the development of the Nyāya school and also contains speculations on the creation of the world.

For the non-political history of Bihar in pre-Muslim times we can also use some other literary sources. The Kṣiparasūtra, written some time in the 11th century, can be utilised for the study of the agrarian history of eastern India including Bihar. The Maṇjuśrimalakalpa, a Buddhist tantric text of the 12th century, tells us something about the social and religious condition of north-eastern India in pre-Muslim times, although some have used it for the study of the Gupta history. Similarly the works of the Buddhist monks written in the language of the community which later developed into Hindi and Bengali, and recently published as Buddha Gān O Dohā, introduce us to the social and religious life of eastern India.
Mention may be made of two later sources the Rajaniratnakara of Candesvara Thakkura and the Varnaratnakara of Jyotirishvara Thakkura. Both were written in Mithila; the first in the 13th and the second in the 14th century. Although they are somewhat beyond our period, they reflect the continuity of the traditional politics and society. Hence the first can be well utilised for the study of the political ideas and institutions in the 12th century, and the second for that of the social structure of North Bihar in the same period. The second, however, gives evidence of the effects of the Muslim rule on society, which will have to be carefully eliminated for forming a correct picture of things in pre-Muslim times. This text is particularly important for a study of the proliferation of castes.

The relative importance of the sources varies according to the period with which they deal. The literary and archaeological sources are obviously valuable for the whole of the pre-Ashokan period. Inscriptions surely become more important than the literary texts from the time of Ashoka and retain this position to the end of the 12th century. Coins perhaps do not possess the same value for the reconstruction of the ancient political history of Bihar as they do in the case of Uttar Pradesh and North-Western India, especially in post-Maurya times. But they have to be used for the study of economic life in ancient Bihar where the punch-marked, coins appeared first.

Foreign accounts more supplement the information obtained from other sources although in some cases they constitute our main source. But for them the history of Pataliputra in the Maurya period and that of Nalanda University in early medieval times would have been a sealed book. As regards the relative value of the Greek and Chinese accounts, the former are strong on the administrative history and the latter on the social and more religious history of ancient Bihar.
It is not safe to place much reliance upon literary sources because of the difficulty of dating them; definite datings begin only from the 7th century A. D. onwards. Even afterwards there is not a single book except the Rāmacarita of Sandhyākara Nandi, which can be regarded as historical. But unless we come across new and more reliable sources we have to make the best of the existing material.


2. Local inquiries about the original homes, gotras, etc., of various peoples and castes may afford some clue to the social history of Bihar in early medieval times. Thus the distribution of brāhmaṇas as known from land grants may be checked up with reference to the original home, gotra and pravara of the brāhmaṇas at present living in the area to which the grant refers. Where the gotras and pravaras of the present-day inhabitants of a particular locality tally with those of the donees of that locality mentioned in any early medieval grant, it would create presumptions for the continuity of the same clan of brāhmaṇas in that area.

3. For references to studies on Tāranātha see History of Bengal, i., ed. R. C. Majumdar, Appendix III (pp. 182-7).

CHAPTER II

GEOLOGY AND MINERAL WEALTH OF BIHAR

Introduction:

Geology is the science which investigates into the past history of the earth and its constituents from the time the planet formed as an independent unit in the cosmos till the beginning of traces of human history. The period intervening between geological and human history comes in the domain of archaeology, which begins where geology ends. These two periods of earth's history are, however, very unequal and cannot possibly be measured by the same scale of time. The geological years, unlike the years of history, consist of millions of years, the minimum time taken by the geological events to shape themselves. Buried in this remote past are the numerous episodes and phenomena the relics of which tell us about the several vicissitudes the planet has undergone before coming to its present form. To imagine an atmosphereless and dry earth with only vast stretches of land and no intervening waters may be a little out of place thought to a historian, but to a geologist it forms the very basis of his thinking—a thinking which is not in any way new to the modern geologists but which had its beginning in our remote historical past, a couple of thousand years before. The conception of earth's evolution, together with the evolution of its multitude of organic beings, finds frequent mention in our Vedic literature. Evolution of land through volcanic outbursts and marine transgressions or encroachments and ideas of continental migrations and supposed alternate periods of repose and disorder, which to-day get support through the meticulous work of the modern geologist, seem to be common thoughts envisaged by our ancestors. This clai-
rity of presentation, in the annals of our ancient history, of modern geological thoughts, which even now form jig-saw puzzles to us, clearly reflects to a period of dark history when man separated himself from nature and began thinking in terms of mastery over it. Had it not been to the archaeological studies, the modern man could never behold such a rich inheritance of ideas which tell him that what appeared to be a common thought to the ancients, forms the subject of his deep contemplations and controversies even today.

Geology on the one hand deals with the present constitution of the earth, on the other, it also unfolds the series of events which together were responsible for such a constitution. Any piece of rock or mineral which we find to-day has a glorious ancestry, the genealogical studies of which form the subject matter of geology. The raindrops which fell millions of years ago, or the animals which crawled in the mud of those days all have left their impressions which provide the basis of reconstruction of geological evolution. This is true both for the animate as well as the inanimate world which were complementary to each other. As the presence of old relics of animals and plants stamp the age of the rocks in which they lie buried since ages, similarly, the changes in distribution of land and sea or climatic variations and their impact had influence on the past organic world.

In the geological setting of India, Bihar enjoys an envious and strategic position having preserved in one way or the other all the relevant documents of the earth’s history of this part, together with such treasures which form the back-bone of the present industrialisation of this country and to which owes the largest share of contribution towards the three successive Five Years Plans. Looking back in time when the country stood on staggering legs due to all round exploitation by the foreign rule, the present rapid growth of the nation owes considerably to this state. Since time immemorial, the mineral wealth of this state has been extracted, as every
geologist witnesses when he comes across the relics of the old workings amidst thick jungles now infected only by wild animals. Among such minerals and rocks were iron, placer gold, fire clays, shales, sandstones, limestone, laterite, copper, lead, red-ochre etc.

Such a position of this state in mineral wealth is not merely a 'chance relict' of nature but because of its association throughout the remotest geological past with all the vicissitudes of geological history of this country. While in its southern part lie such segments of earth crust which have witnessed the upheavals of the ancient volcanic outbursts and earth movements, its northern part has preserved the history of the great ocean which formed its northern boundaries and in which was written the geological history of the relatively younger periods.

**Geological Divisions**:

Geologically the state can be divided into three distinct units which are as different in their physiography as in their geological histories. These three divisions are:

1. The mountainous tract of the outer Himalayas bordering the state in the north and covered by comparatively younger geological formations.

2. The southern plateau of Chotanagpur, including in the extreme south the deeply eroded roots of some of the oldest mountain chains of India, and

3. The Gangetic plain lying amidst the former two divisions and covering a large tract of north Bihar by the thick alluvium brought by the river Ganga and its tributaries.

These three units have followed to a large extent, their own different courses of history and as such geologically there is little in common between them. Out of these divi,
sions the central part has so far remained of least geological interest though recent explorations of oil may possibly change this conception altogether.

Physiographically also these geological units fall into different categories. The one in the north is dominated by the foot hills of true tectonic mountains with deep river valleys which are still in their youth. The Gangetic plain forms a vast stretch of recent alluvium in which the river Ganga along with its tributaries flows. There are indications which show that this plain can be divided into two types, the one on the north of Purnea consisting of coarse conglomeratic river sediments and the other to its south being composed of fine sandy alluvium. The southern physiographic unit, like the geological one is of great geomorphological interest as it provides excellent physiographic facets completely different in character. In a north-south section across this unit four distinct geomorphological types can be seen. In the extreme north is the low plateau of Hazaribagh which is succeeded in the south by the Damodar valley, which is a faulted trough containing chiefly river detritus. To the south of this valley emerges the plateau of Chota Nagpur which shows typically a granitic terrain which has been peneplaned except for the dome shaped oval tors known as the dome gneisses. In the extreme south the country becomes very much rugged and shows several east-west running hilly areas. Much of this physiographic evolution owes its origin to the various cycles of igneous activities and earth movements which have plicated the thick pile of geosynclinal sediments which were laid down in this vast region.

**Geological formations:**

The various geological formations which occur in this state are given below in order of succession:
The Archaean Rocks:

Rocks belonging to the Archaean period cover a large extent of this state south of the river Gangā. The archaean history of Bihar is as interesting as it is complex. In it are hidden at least 3 cycles of marine geosynclinal sedimentations with intervening periods of igneous outbursts. To the oldest cycle belong the highly metamorphosed rocks consisting of
mica, chlorite, sillimanite, hornblende schists with quartzites and highly weathered gneissic rocks. On the deeply eroded edges of these older metamorphics lie unconformably younger formations, belonging to the second cycle of sedimentation. These consist of shales, phyllites and a thick series of banded haematite ores together referred to as the Iron Ore Series which is the source of the rich iron ores of this state. The age of these rocks based on radiogenic measurements has been estimated to be about 2,050 million years. This cycle of sedimentation seems to have come to a close with the emplacement of a large granite of batholithic dimensions known as the Singhbhum granite. That a part of this granite has been derived through the melting of the rocks of the older geosynclinal sediments is clearly ascertained from the field relationships of the Singhbhum granite and the rocks associated with it. This vast period of earth's history contains also relics of basic, ultrabasic and intermediate volcanic activities in the form of sills and dykes which intrude the sedimentary rocks and are now represented by gabbros, anorthosites, epidiorites, amphibolites etc. After the iron ore cycle there had been a period of non-deposition when erosion of the newly formed highlands has followed. Such lapse of time when no geological history is written is known as unconformity and it has a great significance in geology. The time involved in this period of quiescence was of the order of 100-200 million years, as the rocks lying over this unconformity are not older than 1500 million years. From this period onwards the Singhbhum region which formed so far the site of the former two sedimentations seems to have been split up into a north and a south segments due to a thrust running east-west for a distance of not less than 100 miles. To the north of this thrust zone which forms the sight of copper mineralization and is hence known as copper belt thrust zone occur rocks of Chaibasa stage, Dhalbhum stage together with thick piles of basic ejecta known as the Dalhna lava. The rocks occurring in the south
are geologically different both from the point of view of their metamorphism and composition. They consist of quartzites, conglomerates and lava flows known as the Dhanjori group. In this region are also developed unmetamorphosed violet sandstones and shales impregnated with manganese. These are known as the rocks of Kolhan series.

The last event in the archaean history of both the north and south regions has been an igneous activity which started with the emplacement of granitic rocks and was followed subsequently by intrusions of basic and ultrabasic lava, which mark the end of Archaean period in this region.

The geological history of the Chota Nagpur plateau situated in the north of Singhbhum region has been markedly different than that of the latter. No older rocks of the type met with in Singhbhum are witnessed here, a fact which clearly demonstrates that geologically the Chota Nagpur plateau belongs to a relatively younger period of the earth history. The dominant archaean rocks of Chota Nagpur consist of mica schist, granites and granitic-gneisses which, on weathering, develop a peculiar oval form from which the name dome gneisses has been derived. This region has undergone a period of intense metamorphism culminating into large scale granitization of the older metasediments. Some of the rocks of this region have undergone metasomatism through an influx of sodium and or potassium. This has given rise to picturesquely-looking porphyritic rocks. In age the rocks of this region are about 1,250 million years.

In the north of the Chota Nagpur plateau beyond the valley of the river Damodar, younger archaean rocks are exposed consisting of marbles, granulites, calc-silicates, limestones and pelitic meta-sediments carrying some of the important minerals of this province. These rocks compose the Hazaribagh plateau including parts of Ranchi and Palamau districts as well. In the extreme north of this region are the famous mica-bearing pegmatites which form a store house of economic minerals.
The presence of these three Archaean cycles can also be inferred from the different tectonic trends of these formations. Thus, the trend of the Singhbhum rocks is NE-SW, that of the Chota Nagpur NEE-SWW; and of Hazaribagh almost E-W. A lot of structural interpretations are now available which tell the tectonic history of this part of India.

The Purāṇa Group:

The Archaean era was succeeded in India after a long lapse of time by a much younger era known as the Purāṇa Era. Since during this interval long continued erosion followed, the Purāṇa group of rocks rest over the deeply eroded edges of the Archaean. It is divided into a lower and an upper divisions, known respectively as Cuddapah and Vindhyan systems. The type area of Cuddapah system is in the district of that name in Andhra Pradesh where a thick succession of quartzites, shales and slates associated with basic igneous intrusions form a crescent shaped outcrop. In Bihar such is not the case and the only formation equivalent to the Cuddapahs are the Newer Dolerite dykes which occur in a swarm in Singhbhum area. It may be mentioned that some writers have included the Kolhan series in the Cuddapah system, but there is little evidence to confirm such a hypothesis. In Bihar on a more extensive scale occur the younger Purāṇa rocks known as the Vindhyan System, the name having been derived from the famous Vindhya mountains which are composed of these rocks. The historical fort of Rohtasgarh is situated on the Vindhyan sandstones whose outcrops begin from Garhwa road in the east and extend across the western boundary of this province. The Vindhyan system in this area comprises a lower calcareous group, consisting chiefly of thick massive limestone which are the principal source of cement industry in this state and a sandy upper division which has yielded enormous quantities of fine-grained red sandstones used extensively for building pur-

poses.
Recently near Bhawanathpur south of the river Sone a thick succession of lower Vindhyans has been found. It consists of limestone, porcellanite and shales which form the Semri series. With this new occurrence the future possibilities of cement industries in this state increase. The principal localities of Vindhyan exposures in Bihar are Banjari, Kalyanpur, Rohtasgarh, and Sasaram.

The question of age of these rocks is a disputed problem of geology. In sedimentary rocks the age is usually fixed on the basis of fossils. In these rocks no positive indications of the occurrence of such fossils have been found. In absence of identifiable fossils, the only indirect evidence is provided by the presence of small oval discs, resembling fossil brachiopoda and carbonaceous shales associated with the limestones of this system. However, considering the total time involved between the deposition of the youngest Archean formations and the oldest Vindhyan rocks, the age of the latter would not be more than 600 million years.

**The Gondwana period:**

The end of the Vindhyan period marks the close of marine sedimentation everywhere in the Peninsula. The marine geological history of this part of the country is very incomplete and fragmentary. Even the freshwater formations which occur above the Vindhyan system belong to a much younger period. The enormous lapse of time between the Vindhyans and the succeeding formation must have seen the erosion of a thick pile of older sediments, making thus the geological history still more incomplete. After the Purana era, almost the whole of the Palaeozoic is unrepresented in this region. It were only the series of earth movements, which started with the advent of the middle Carboniferous, that were responsible for bringing back depositional conditions. A series of linear faulted troughes were formed as a consequence of these movements and these subsequently gave place for the deposition of a thick series of sediments. Geolo-
gical history after the middle Carboniferous again assumes significance both in the Peninsula and the extra-Peninsula.

In the linear faults the then drainage of the Peninsula was diverted and fluviatile deposits were laid down in them. The gradual subsidence of these faulted basins provided condition for deposition of a thick series of fresh water beds as it also saved the newly formed sediments from the subsequent earth movements and thus preserved for us the great wealth of coal in almost an undisturbed manner. The latter point is of significance as to it we owe the rich coal seams of this state.

These fresh water sedimentary deposits which cover a vast extent of time from upper Carboniferous to the lower Cretaceous periods occur here along the valley of the river Damodar and its principal tributaries. These are known under the name of the Gondwana system from the former Gond kingdom of Madhya Pradesh. The entire sequence of formations covered by these beds is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lower Cretaceous</th>
<th>Umia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jabalpur</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jabalpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chaugaon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppen Gondwana</td>
<td>Kota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(characterised by Ptilophylum flora)</td>
<td>Rajmahal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parsora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maleri</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Denwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pachmarhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Gondwana Permian</td>
<td>Panchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(characterised by Glossopteris flora)</td>
<td>Parchets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damuda</td>
<td>Raniganj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iron-Stone shales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karharbari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Carboniferous</td>
<td>Talchir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talchir shales and sandstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talchir boulder bed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Gondwana system is not restricted to Indian boundaries alone but also occurs in the adjoining continents of Australia, Madagascar, South Africa and South America. All of these continents including the triangular plateau of Indian Peninsula are believed to have formed one landmass known as the Gondwana land, which during those times formed the southern hemisphere and was separated from the northern Eurasian continents through a large stretch of water encircling almost the entire globe like a true Mediterranean sea. The northern boundaries of this landmass stretched up to Sikkim and Darjeeling in the north where also Gondwana rocks with coal deposits have been found. There are good evidences to show the existence of the Gondwana land, and the only dispute which still remains is the mode of connection between these different continents which composed it. Principally there are two hypothesis, one believing in drifting of these continents and their eventual separation as independent units and the other believing in a series of isthmus or land bridges existing across these to provide a free migration of the organic world in these areas.

The Gondwana system, in the stratigraphy of Bihar, enjoys a unique position as to it we owe our great wealth of coal which formed the starting point of our locomotives and the rapid industrialisation and development of the country. The principal coal fields in this state occur in six basins namely Auranga, Bokaro, Hutar, Jharia, Giridih and Ramgarh and a part of the Raniganj basin.

The span of time covered by the Gondwana period saw several vicissitudes of climate. Thus, during the upper Carboniferous a glacial condition prevailed in this region in common with other parts of India. The evidences of this glaciation can be seen in the Takchir boulder beds which occur below the Damuda series. The glacial climate was followed by a warm and humid period when a luxuriant growth of vegetation, thrived and which gave rise to thick coal seams after its
decomposition. The warm period did not continue long and was taken over again by a cold climate, the evidences of which are met with in the undecomposed feldspar grains occurring in the rocks lying above the Damuda series. The next spell of climate was towards arid and desertic during which red unfossiliferous sandstones were formed.

The Deccan Traps:

Hardly the youngest rocks of the Gondwana period had been laid down that a vast volcanic outburst started in the eastern corners of this state, a territory now occupied by Rajmahal. This volcanic activity ultimately manifested itself on the western coast of India where it covers today no less than sixty thousand square miles of area. This igneous activity which was basic in character has no parallel in the world. Thick pile of lava was ejected through long fissures giving rise to rocks known as basalts and dolerites. That this volcanic activity was intermittent is evidenced from the occurrence of thin fossiliferous sedimentary beds in between the lava flows. They are known as the intertrappean beds. The Rajmahal traps are of unique significance on account of the associated intertrappeans with them and also because they represent the earliest lavas erupted during the Deccan Trap activity.

The Tertiary rocks:

After the deposition of the Gondwana rocks the site of the geological history in Bihar seems to have shifted from South to the north of the present Ganga basin. Situated at the foot hills of the Himalayas in the extreme north occur a group of fresh-water Tertiary deposits, known under the name of the Siwalik system. With the development of this system is connected the ancestral history of the rivers Ganga and its tributaries. It is envisaged that the Ganga of to-day was an integral component of the then Siwalik river, which flowed from remote easternmost corner of India towards the west,
following the foot hills of the Himalayas up to the Punjab, from where it took a southerly turn ultimately debouching itself in the Arabian sea near Sind.

It is supposed that isostatic adjustments involved in the downwarping of the Rajmahal-Garo hill tract and uplift of the Delhi-Ambala ridge, dismembered this big river into three parts, the easternmost forming the Brahmaputra, and the western most the present Indus. The central portion which could not cross the Delhi-Ambala ridge was forced back towards the east forming the present Gangā.

The Siwalik deposits consist of river detritus and except their compaction and folding, resemble the alluvium of the present river. They range in age from mid-Miocene to lower Pleistocene. The chief rock types of this system are sandstone, conglomerates and clays. As a matter of fact, there is a strong possibility that a part of these tertiary formations especially in the extreme north of eastern Bihar is covered below the alluvium, and if such were the case the possibilities of finding oil in North Bihar will enormously increase.

**Laterite:**

Some of the plateaux of Ranchi and Palamau are covered by lateritic deposits varying in composition from iron-rich laterite to aluminium rich bauxite. These are chiefly associated with the coarse granitic rocks from which they have originated by weathering caused by alternate wet and dry climate. Some of these occurrences are of great economic interest. Laterite also occurs in Monghyr district in association with clayey rocks. In this case the genesis of bauxite is obviously different. In the eastern Singhbhum also a number of laterite caps occur.

**Alluvial Deposits and Soils:**

Most of the north Bihar is covered by a thick mantle of alluvium brought by the river Ganga and its tributaries obscuring, thus, the older formations in this region. It is held that the Gangā basin represents a foredeep formed due to
sagging of the frontal edges of the Peninsula as a result of the uplift of the Himalayas. Somewhere below this alluvium, approximately passing through Saran, Purnea and north Monghyr is the weaker zone which marks the contact of the oldest rocks of the Peninsula with those of the newly formed sediments of the Tethyan geosyncline. This zone, therefore, provides a very unstable structure and due to uneven movements of the adjoining masses is always susceptible to earth movements resulting into severe earthquakes which usually frequent this region. The Himalayan mountains which are still growing always cause isostatic disturbances which effect adversely this region of weakness.

The thick alluvium occurring here is chiefly of two types, the one in the north is coarse and conglomeratic, while that in the south is fine-grained clayey or silty. On the surface, however, their composition is very variable and depending upon topography, vegetation and climate they give rise to local types such as reh, khari, saji, kutheya and lona matti. These are very rich in sodium and potassium salts, and since a long time have been a source of alkali salts chiefly saltpetre. The agricultural soil of this region essentially consists of a mixture of clay, silt and sand, the proportion of which varies from place to place and accordingly the local inhabitants grow their crops.

In south Bihar the type of soil described above is not met with. On the other hand, this region is covered by a soil cover which has been derived through the decomposition of the geological formation occurring below them. These soils are therefore of residual type having been formed in situ. The nature of the soil, therefore, varies from rock to rock and consists of mixture of both kaolin and sand. On the basic rocks the soil is dark black loamy and being very rich in iron and deficient in alkalies. The soil which covers the Gondwana formation is both siliceous as well as clayey depending upon whether the underlying rocks are sandstones
### The Sequence and approximate age of the geological formations occurring in the state of Bihar are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geological Formations</th>
<th>Equivalent Formations of standard Geological Scale</th>
<th>Igneous Activities</th>
<th>Absolute Age in million years</th>
<th>Climate</th>
<th>Economic Deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alluvium</td>
<td>Recent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sodium and Potassium salts, reh, salt, petre etc. Laterite, bauxite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterite Siwalik System</td>
<td>Quarternary Lower Pleistocene to Middle Miocene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Glacial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deccan Traps</td>
<td>Basic Igneous Activity 80</td>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>Road metal, amethyst, agate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gondawana system</td>
<td>Jurassic do Triassic</td>
<td>Warm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panchet Series Permian Upper Carboniferous</td>
<td>Cold.</td>
<td>Coal, iron-ore, fire-clay sandstone, apatite.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vindhyan system (Limestone, shales, sandstones )</td>
<td>Algonkian Basic lava flow 750</td>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>Road metal and concrete.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newer Dolerites</td>
<td>Proterozoic Acid Igneous Activity. Basic Igneous Activity.</td>
<td>Arid</td>
<td>Limestone, sandstone, shale, iron pyrites.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soda granite and granophyrex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pegmatites of Gaya, Hazaribagh, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ultra basic rocks Chota Nagpur gneiss Dhanjori group and Dalma lava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kolhan Series ?</td>
<td>Unconformity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singhbhum Granite Gabbros, Anorthosites etc,</td>
<td>Basic Igneous Activity. 1580</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unconformity</td>
<td>Older metamorphics (mica, Sillimanite, hornblende, chlorite, schists)</td>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>Kyanite, sillimanite, graphite, steatite.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or shales. The residual nature of these soil is of great help to geologist both in mapping and mineral prospecting as in such soils some of the elements migrate upward from the bed rock and get concentrated in the soil cover producing an anomaly which can be used for locating valuable deposits occurring underneath.

One characteristic soil type which is common in the Chota Nagpur region and is also met with at places in Singhbhum falls in the category of marl. It originated due to accumulation of calcareous material through capillary action and ultimately forms lumps known as kankar deposits are restricted to the regions of more water precipitation or where the water table level is pretty low e.g. near the streams. In the eastern parts of Singhbhum some recent and sub-recent alluvium belonging to this type has obscured the older formation completely.

**Mineral Wealth of Bihar:**

From the point of view of mineral wealth, Bihar is the richest state of India and through the multitude of its strategic minerals it has supported all the chief industries of this country. As a matter of fact, the country's stability and industrialization considerably depend on the supply of good quality coal and iron which are largely distributed in this state.

Much of this mineral wealth is associated with the archaean rocks of Chota Nagpur so much so that the latter has been referred to as the 'store-house' of strategic minerals. Among these iron, manganese, limestone, kyanite, sillimanite, steatite, dolomite, chert, quartzite, slate, graphite, garnet, china clay, building stones are associated with the para-metamorphic rocks. Chromite, some of the steatite deposits, vanadiferous iron ore, asbestos, magnesite occur in the basic igneous rocks belonging to the Archaean system, while some of the china clay deposits occur in association with granites.
In the pegmatite of this age occur mica, feldspar, quartz, beryl, apatite, columbite, tantalite, tourmaline, monazite, cassiterite, pitchblende, samarskite and triplite. Besides these the archaean rocks also contain apatite-magnetite, baryte, copper and gold.

The rocks of the Vindhyan system have yielded limestone, sandstone, pyrites, alum shale and glass sand. In the Gondwana rocks occur coal, sandstone, iron ore, fire-clay and china clay. Associated with the other geological formations are found some important minerals such as iron and manganese in the Kolhan series and amethyst, agate in the lateritic zones. The alluvium supports kankar, saltpetre, reh and sodium sulphate deposits and also provides clay and sand for preperation of bricks. In some of the river sands gold and platinum have been found to occur as placers. The mode of occurrence, distribution, genesis and future potentialities of these mineral deposits are described below:

Apatite:

There are three main sources of apatite in Bihar, as vein deposits, as crystal in pegmatites, and as a constituent of the mica-lamprophyric rocks of the coal fields. As veins it occurs in Singhbhum in the schistose rocks, chiefly along a belt running from the east of Saraikela upto Khejurdari situated at a distance of 40 miles. Apatite in the veins is associated with magnetite and in such cases it finds use as a source of phosphatic iron ore. The three main localities in this area which are known for this mineral are Nandup, Chandru Buru, and Badia to Sunrji. In all these places the mineral is fine-grained and white to buff in colour. The veins are from a few centimetres to as much as eighteen metres in thickness and 300 metres in length.

In the mica-pegmatite belt in Gaya, Hazaribagh and Monghyr districts, apatite occurs as crystals, from where the
only method of its recovery is by hand-picking from the mine dump.

Asbestos:

Asbestos is used in textiles as yarns, in paper industry, as brake lining, as compressed and corrugated sheets, in paints and roofing cements, in filtering and packing, and in the manufacture of heat-resisting article. It occurs in two main varieties, one as thin veins and veinlets in the basic and ultrabasic rocks and the other as massive fibrous asbestos formed as a result of alteration of serpentine. The former variety known as chrysotile is of special use and is many times costlier than the ordinary asbestos. The chief asbestos-producing localities in Bihar are Manpur, Mahespur, Lipokocha, Digarsai, and Barabana. The chrysotile variety occurs in Roro and east of Hat Gamharia.

Baryte:

There are no productive occurrences of baryte here though a series of veins carrying baryte occur near Silwai, Baheca, Bougabera in Ranchi district and also Kolpatka in Singhbhum. Geologically there seems no reason why more deposits of baryte cannot be located, if proper systematic investigations are carried out for its search.

Bauxite:

Bauxite, a hydrated oxide of aluminium and the only commercial source of this metal, occurs on the hill tops in south Palamau and north Ranchi districts and also in the district of Monghyr. The important localities are Khamar, Banjari, Dudha Pat and Bagru Pat near Lohardagga, the latter being the best known deposit. In Monghyr district bauxite occurs in association with shales, with which it is genetically connected. The chief localities are Maira, Maruk, and Khapra hills in Kharagpur.
The bauxite occurrences of Bihar are very promising and are sufficient to meet the domestic requirement. A part of it can as well be spared for the country’s need. Intense forestation has so far stood in the way of the prospectors and transport facilities now coming up giving easy access to the main roads may be able to bring forth several new deposits.

**Building Stones:**

Rocks suitable for construction of building and civil engineering purposes occur in plentiful in Bihar. These include alluvial clays used for brick making, all sorts of sand, cement-concrete material, road metal, railway ballast, roofing slate, ornamental stones and limestones. Besides these, the granite and granite-gneiss which are widely distributed throughout Chota Nagpur, the sandstones and quartzites which occur associated with the sedimentary formations and basalts which cap many of the hills are also used extensively for this purpose. Good quality slate occurs in Monghyr and Singhbhum districts and marble in Palamau district.

**Chromite:**

Chromite is an important ingredient of stainless steel and is also used in the manufacture of other rustless tools and machinery. As a refractory material chromite has its own utility as a neutral refractory. The other uses of this mineral are in pigments, in calico-printing and in the manufacture of chromates.

Chromite always occurs in association with basic and ultrabasic rocks. During differentiation it occurs disseminated in the parent body. In Bihar chromite occurs in Singhbhum, near Jojohatu about eleven miles to the west of Chaibasa, and also at Kitta-buru, Roro and Karakata-Kuti. In all these places it occurs as lenticular veins, pockets, lenses, and disseminated ore in ultrabasic rocks, namely dunite, peridotites and serpentinites,
Clays:

Clays have a wide range of composition and, depending upon their purity, they are used in different industries for different purposes. The ordinary impure clay finds use in village pottery, bricks and for building purposes. The better qualities have two varieties namely, refractory and non-refractory. The refractory clays are used for the manufacture of fire-bricks and other refractory articles while the non-refractory clays are used in the manufacture of ceramic goods. The variety known as china clay is used in paper and textile industries.

Bihar possesses good deposits of all types of clays. The impure clays have a very wide occurrence throughout the province, but specially in the northern gangetic plane. Fire clays occur with the coal seams of the Gondwana system associated with Barakar and Raniganj series. The important localities for this type of clay are Patherdih, Rajhara, Kumar-dubhi, Patal Bari and Pirpahar in Monghyr. In the last mentioned locality it is associated with the archaean rocks. The china clay and kaolin varieties occur associated with the Gondwana rocks and also with the archaean granites. The important localities of china clay are found near Hura and and Mangal Hat. In Singhbum, near Hat Gamharria the best variety of kaolin is being worked at present. Some lithomargge which is a variety ot clay occur in Ranchi district at Serandag, Bagru and Dischmatia plateaux. Besides the above localities fire clay and kaolin occur at several places in Bhagalpur, Gaya, Hazaribagh, Monghyr, Palamu and Santhal Paragana districts.

Coal:

Much of the country's coal comes from the Godwana coal fields situated in this state. The principal coal fields lie along the Damodar and Auranga valleys, but a few are situated in the Rajmahal hills. Geologically all the coal occurs
the Barakar and Raniganj stages of the Gondwana system. In the Baraker stage is situated the Jharia Coal field having eighteen workable seams. The well known localities can be classified thus:

*Manbhum*—Jharia, Chandrapura and part of Raniganj.
*Hazaribagh*—Bokaro, Ramgarh, South and North Karanpura, Itkhor, Chope, and Giridih.
*Palamau*—Auranga, Hutar and Daltonganj.
*Santhal Paraganas*—Jaintia, Sahajuri, Kundit, Karaia, Brahmani, Pachwar, Chupar, Bhita, Jilbari and Hura.

**Copper:**

Copper is known to have occurred in large quantities in the Chota Nagpur region of Bihar, but many centuries ago this industry came to an end. At present the only localities which produce copper lie in Singhbhum district. These are Rakha, Mosabani, Rome, Sidheswar, Badia and Raksha. Copper in these localities is associated with a felspathised zone which is supposed to form a thrust belt running east-west for about eighty miles from Duarpuram in the west to Kharashwan, Saraikela and Dhalbhum in the east, and thence to Rakha, Mosabani, Bahragora in the south-east. The total reserves are estimated to be of the order of four million tons, which can easily meet the demands of this state for many years, though it is not enough to meet the demands of the entire country. There are other occurrences of copper minerals in Hazaribagh and Santhal Paragana districts but they require a careful resurvey of their mode of occurrence and total reserves before any venture for their extraction can be undertaken.

**Feldspar:**

The mineral feldspar is used in the manufacture of glass, pottery, ceramic wares, glazed porcelain and false teeth. The mineral occurs in association with pegmatites.
The mica belt carries a good amount of feldspars of high quality which can be sorted out and put to use.

**Glass sands:**

Raw materials for the manufacture of glass occur here in good amount, though, excepting a few industries which have cropped up recently there seems to be a general lack of initiative in this respect. The principal constituents for manufacture of glass are silica and soda, both of which are available here. Silica occurs as sand along the main rivers and as quartz it is obtainable from the quartzite situated in Gaya, Monghyr, Ranchi, Singhbhum and Santal Pargana districts. Besides these some of the Vindhyan sandstones are very pure and can be used in the manufacture of glass. Soda, the next ingredient occurs as sodium carbonate and sodium sulphate in North Bihar.

**Gold:**

The occurrence of gold in Chota Nagpur region has been noted since long. The ancients knew that some of the rivers carried gold, as several of the streams are named accordingly. Even at present gold is washed from the Subernarekha river, and other streams like Sona Nadi, Sanjai and Gara Nadi.

Some of the quartz veins occurring in Singhbhum (Pahardia), Sausal, Porhat, Bhitardari, Digarsai, Kunderkocha, are reported to be auriferous.

**Graphite:**

Graphite occurs in veins, thin bands or as dissemination near Arapur, Tulbula, and Hataikhas (Daltonganj) and Hutar in Palamau district. Some graphite has also been recorded in Monghyr, Manbhum and Singhbhum districts. Out of these the Daltonganj deposits are the only paying ones at present. This zone extends for many miles though only at a few places the ore is tapped.
Iron ore:

Like coal, Bihar is the principal iron-producing state of India. Indeed, the first iron factory at Kulti and the subsequent Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur were founded on the iron ores of this place. Iron occurs as haematite and magnetite which are its two principal ores. They are associated chiefly with the Iron Ore Series of the Archaean system. The ore which is sedimentary in origin occurs as banded-haematite-quartzite or banded-haematite-jasper. The principal localities are situated in the Singhbhum district, where they form more or less a continuous ridge from Gua to Rontha in Orissa. The famous occurrences are those of Noamandi, Badam Pahar, Gorunahisani, and Gua, though there are a number of other localities where the ore is mined at present. Iron in the form of magnetite also occurs in the Palamau district and as vanadiferous magnetite in Gaya district.

The iron reserves of Singhbhum are estimated to be of the order of several thousand million tons.

Iron pyrites:

Recently in the Vindyan rocks of Sahabad district a huge deposit of iron pyrites has been found. The ore occurs in thin beds and veins in the shales, where it seems to have been derived through solution and deposition. With the discovery of these deposits at Amjhor the future prospects of sulphur and sulphuric acid have enormously increased.

Kyanite:

Kyanite is a refractory mineral and is used chiefly in the manufacture of porcelain and fire bricks, pots, retorts, crucibles, gas fires, muffles and other electrical refractories. It is specially suitable in glass-house tanks. It occurs along a belt, about eighty miles in length situated in the north of the copper belt. It is segregated in veins and at places forms
massive deposits of kyanite-quartz rock. The locality where kyanite occurs is Lapsabbru near Kharsawan. It is the largest known deposit of the world. The other localities of lesser importance are situated in Saraikela, Ghagidih, between Badia Bakra, Mohanpur and Kanyalupa. Near Rakha mines at Singpura and Chirugora also kyanite occurs.

**Lead and Silver:**

Though lead and silver do not form workable deposits, there are several localities from where the occurrence of these ores has been reported. These lie along two belts, one across north Singhbhum and south Manbhum and the other extending from Palamau, Hazaribagh, south Monghyr, south Bhagalpur upto Santhal Paragana district. The latter belt is situated between the mica belt in the north and the Damodar Valley in the south. Lead occurs in Singhbhum in quartz veins at Pahardih and Sausal, and in Manbhum at Janijhor. Galena has been recorded from Silli and Silwai in Ranchi district and at Dudhijarana, Gonor, Kajuria and Gauripur in Bhagalpur district. In Santhal paragana this mineral has been found at Panchbahar and Bhaburukhi.

**Limestone:**

Limestone forms the backbone of cement industry. It is also used in the form of marble as a building stone. A good amount of limestone is required as flux in iron and steel industry and a certain amount in the manufacture of glass. The impure varieties are burnt for the preparation of lime for mortar and plaster.

Limestone occurs both with the older archaean sediments as well as with the younger deposits belonging to the Vindhyan system. With the archaeans, it occurs as crystalline limestone in Palamau and Singhbhum districts. The Kolhan basin in Singhbhum contains limestone beds extending from Chaibasa to Jagarnathpur. The principal localities are Ramgarh, Hosir,
Khalari, Daltonganj, Majhautli, Bakoria, Kukru, Gobindpur, and Tamakhum. Associated with the Rohtas stage of the Vindhyan, limestone is found in the Shahabad district and western part of Palamau district in a belt running from Garhwa in the east to across the state boundary in Mirzapur. Considering the extent of limestone deposits in this state there are not many corresponding industries for the manufacture of cement and in this respect there is a wide scope for the future enterpriser.

**Manganese:**

Unlike other minerals, manganese deposits are rare in Bihar. The only principal deposits are in Singhbhum district, where manganese occurs in the Iron Ore Series and Kolhan series, near Chaibasa and Leadabura and Langi. Some ore also occurs between Noamandi and Gua, but as said above, all these occurrences put together are not enough to meet the requirements of this state if future industries are to be planned.

**Mica:**

Bihar has been famous in the world for its mica deposits which extend along a 90-mile belt from east of Gaya upto Bhagalpur district. Both in quality as well as in quantity these deposits excel all others in world. The famous ruby mica is almost a monopoly of Bihar.

Mica occurs in the pegmatites as a replacement mineral as well as a primary deposit. More interesting are the pegmatites which cut across the schistose rocks.

In the pegmatites it occurs in the form of books from which it is separated into thin sheets by hand splitting, an art which is highly developed in the native labourers. The chief mica-producing centres are Kodarma, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Gaya, Monghyr and a part of Bhagalpur district. Inspite of the huge deposits of best-quality mica it is unfortunate that
only a part of it finds access to the world market because of the
defective and unscientific methods of production. There is
hardly any coordination between the producer and the
Government with the result that there is a growing slump in
this industry. Weight to weight mica is costlier than silver
and as such it can be a very good dollar earning commodity
provided all out efforts are made in this direction.

**Mineral springs:**

Mineral springs are distributed in the districts of Hazari-
bagh, Manbhum, Palamau, Monghyr, Patna and Gaya.
Some of these springs are famous for their medicinal prop-
ties and their radioactive and sulphur contents. The chief
occurrences are grouped below:

Hazaribagh :-Surajkund, Kawa Gandhwani, Duari, Kathun-
sandi, Kesodih and Indra Jurba.

Monghyr :-Sitakund, Rishikund, Bhim Bandha, Bhurka,
Janarkund, Lakshmi kund, Punch Bhur, Rameshwar Kund and Singhi, Richi, Tatal
Pani.

Rajgir Hills :-There are three distinct localities along which
springs are situated in this region:

1. Rajgir Springs in Patna district.
2. Tapowan Springs-12 miles from Rajgir in
   Gaya districts.
3. Agni kund 8 miles from Rajgir in Gaya
district.

Santhal Parganas :-Seven springs have been recorded from
this area. These are Bhumka, Manbhil,
Susumpani, Taputpani, Jharia, Bara-
massia, Lau-lau-dah.
Besides the above four regions several springs have been found associated with the coal fields. Among them the following are well known, Tathi (west of Raniganj field), Sarsa Kund (east of Jharia field), Indra Jurba (west of Bokaro field), Kawa Gondhwani (south of Karanpura field), Jaram (north of Auranga field) and Kokraha (on the Hutar fields).

Radioactive minerals:

With the setting up of the Atomic Energy Department the search for radioactive minerals has been intensified and the data which are available show good prospects of the occurrence of radioactive minerals like samarskite, annerodite, pitchblende, columbite, and tantalite. Good quality beryl which is also used during the production of atomic energy occurs in the mica belt of Bihar. The chief occurrences of radioactive minerals are in Gaya, Hazaribagh and Singhbhum districts. In the last mentioned locality the ore occurs in the copper thrust zone at Jadugora and Bhatin.

Besides the list of above minerals there are others which occur in small quantities. Among these are antimony, arsenic, bismuth, molybdenite, platinum, tin, zinc, wolfram and steatite.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to outline the geology and the mineral resources of Bihar. Before concluding it is important to lay stress on the disparity which exists between the states mineral-wealth and the wealth of its people. It is well known that Bihar forms the most mineralized part of the country and besides providing the back bone of industrialization it also produces minerals which have the capacity of earning dollar. But in the economy of the country, Bihar is one of the weakest links. This wide gulf between its geological resources on the one hand, and its poverty on the other is very anomalous.
### Bihar's share of mineral output in India (1961)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the mineral</th>
<th>Unit of quantity</th>
<th>All-India output</th>
<th>Value (Rs.'000)</th>
<th>Percentage share of Bihar in the all India output</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coal</strong></td>
<td>Mill. tonnes</td>
<td>56.07</td>
<td>27.16</td>
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<td><strong>Metallic minerals</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(i) Ferrous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chromite</td>
<td>Tonnes</td>
<td>45,326</td>
<td>4,703</td>
<td>476</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iron Ore</td>
<td>Mill. tonnes</td>
<td>12.27</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>22,426</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manganese</td>
<td>'000 Tonnes</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>8.83</td>
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<tr>
<td>(ii) Non-ferrous</td>
<td>'000 Tonnes</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>154</td>
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<td>Bauxite</td>
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<tr>
<td>Copper ore</td>
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<td>423</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>22,981</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Non-metallic minerals</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Apatite</td>
<td>Tonnes</td>
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<td>China-clay</td>
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<td>Dolomite</td>
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<td>721</td>
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<td>Tonnes</td>
<td>9,073</td>
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<td>Fire-clay</td>
<td>'000 Tonnes</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>58</td>
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<td>Kyanite</td>
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<td>27.2</td>
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<td>14,346</td>
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<td>Mica (crude)</td>
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<td>28.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quartz &amp; silica</td>
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<td>97,452</td>
<td>12,451</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steatite</td>
<td>Tonnes</td>
<td>96,793</td>
<td>5,267</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER III

Physical Geography & Natural Wealth of Bihar

Bihar ranks tenth in area and second in population among the States of the Indian Union. It covers an area of 1,74,038 square Kilometres (67,196 square miles). The total population was 4,64,55,160 persons in 1961. Since States reorganisation of 1956 it has experienced no change in its shape and size.

It is bounded by the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal in the north, the State of Orissa in the south West Bengal in east and the States of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh in the west. Approximately it extends from 22° 00' North to 27° 31' North latitudes and 83° 20' East to 88° 17' East longitudes. It is roughly quadrangular in shape with pronounced bulge in the middle.

(A) PHYSIOGRAPHY

As regards surface configuration Bihar displays monotonous plains and rugged broken country of hills and plateaux. It is comprised of mainly the Ganga plain and the dissected highlands of Chota Nagpur. Kaimur Plateau in Shahabad and Rajmahal hills of Santhal Parganas form prominent features of relief south of the Ganga. In the extreme northwestern corner in the district of Champaran, the Himalayan foothills occupy a very small tract nearly 0.54 percent of the total area of the State. So Bihar may be divided into three distinct but unequal physiographic units:

(i) The Ganga Plain.
(ii) The Southern Highlands.
(iii) The Himalayan Foothills.
(i) The Ganga Plan:

This is the largest physiographic unit of Bihar covering slightly more than half of the total area. It is a vast depositional plain formed by the Ganga and its affluents from the Himalayas in the north and Chota Nagpur Highlands in the south. The river Ganga divides this region into two well marked sub-units, viz. (1) The North Bihar Plain and (b) the South Bihar Plain. The former is entirely alluvial and monotonously flat, totally devoid of any rock out-crop. In case of the latter, there are several groups of hills known as Barabar, Maher, Rajgir-Jethian, Shaikhpura, Kharagpur and Giddhaur hills which stand more or less isolated in the alluvial plains. They generally present scarped faces formed of massive quartzites.

(a) The North Bihar Plain:

The average height of this area is nearly 200 feet above the mean sea level. The general surface slope is both from north to south and from north-west to south-east. The surface imperceptibly descends to 200 feet level along the Ganga in the west and to 100 feet level in the east. The slope is steeper in the east than in the west. The streams debouching from the Himalayan ranges take north-west to south-east course to meet the Ganga. But for the natural levees along the rivers, the topography of the entire region is monotonous.

(b) The South Bihar Plain:

It is smaller in size than the North Bihar Plain. It is roughly marked by the contour of 500 feet above the mean sea-level beyond which extend rugged, deeply dissected Highlands of Chota Nagpur. It is wide open in the west and gradually tapers towards the east, north of the Rajmahal hills. The surface gradually rises towards the south. The gradient is steeper than that of the North Bihar plain. As it has been built by streams descending down the Chota Nagpur Highlands so the alluvium is coa-
rse. All along the Ganges the natural levee forms a prominent surface feature. It is responsible for the formation of 'Hethar' in Shahabad. It debars the Poonpoon, the Phalgu, the Paimar and other streams from discharging their load into the Ganges. The well known 'Mokamah Tal', a low lying treeless tract is another salient surface feature. It is inundated every year during the rainy season. Scattered low small isolated hills ranges break the general monotony of the plain. They appear like islands and promontories in the vast sea of alluvium.

(ii) The Southern Highlands:

South of the Ganges Plain extends a wide wild region of hills and plateaux of varying elevations accounting for about 46 per cent of the total area of the State. It includes the Kaimur Plateau, rugged hilly Santhial Parganas and Chota Nagpur region. Its northern limit is formed by the contour line of 500 feet above the sea level. The highest point of this region is represented by the Parasnath Hill, 4,480 feet above the sea level, in the district of Hazaribagh.

Chota Nagpur is comprised of a series of Plateaux of varying altitudes deeply dissected by incessant weathering and erosion. It is the north eastern extension of the Deccan, one of the ancient stable land masses of the world. It has experienced diastrophic movements and igneous activities several times.

The highest plateau surface is represented by flat topped hills, having an average height of 3,600 feet above the sea level and locally called 'Pats'. Netarhat and Bagru are well known Pats. Though found today as separate bodies, the 'Pats' must have formed one mass as is indicated by their accordant submersive levels. They cover a vast area along the borders of Ranchi and Palamau districts and further continue to Surguja district of Madhya Pradesh. They look like massive natural wall. On a closer inspection, however, they are found to consist of spurs, deep valleys and numerous
ravines. Their slopes are generally thickly forested. There are picturesque waterfalls hidden under dense vegetative cover. Noteworthy among them are the Burhaggh or Lodh falls, Sadani falls, Ghaghri falls and Nindnighagh. Burhaggh is the highest water fall of Bihar.

The general flatness of 'Pat' Plateau more is ascribed to the almost horizontal disposition of lava flows. This lava has entirely been altered into laterite, due to combined action of hydration and carbonation. Below the laterite cover there lies a vast store of bauxite.

The second Plateau surface lies mostly in Ranchi district and hence is generally referred as the Ranchi Plateau. It is 2,000 feet above the sea level and is composed mostly of gneisses and granites. It is separated from the Central Hazaribagh Plateau of the north by the faulted basin of the Damodar river. The two Plateaus, however, are interconnected by a narrow neck in Chandwa-Tori region.

The central Hazaribagh Plateau though smaller in size displays almost the same elevation, lithology and surface configuration. Probably prior to the formation of the Damodar trough they might have formed a single Plateau mass.

The general topography of the second Plateau surface is senile in character. The slopes have been terraced by human beings for cultivation. Beautiful waterfalls are found on the wooded margins of this Plateau, such as, Kanti Falls, Hundra Falls, Jonha Falls, Sita Panj, Dasom, Hirni Falls and Parewa Falls.

The next lower Plateau has an elevation of 1,000 feet above the sea level. It is described as outer or Lower Chota Nagpur Plateau. It is composed of gneisses, granites, schists, phyllites and other Dharwar rocks. It covers a wide area on the outer parts of Chota Nagpur girdling the 2,000 feet Plateau on most sides from Palamau via Hazaribagh and Ranchi to
Singhbhum district. It also abounds in water falls but of lower elevations.

The next lower surface is formed by river valleys erosional plains and undulating rugged country between 1,000 and 500 feet above the sea level. They are also composed of gneisses, granites and partly of schists etc.

The above mentioned Plateau surfaces of 3,600, 2,000 and 1,000 feet descend respectively to the next lower levels not by gradual slopes but by rather narrow and steep slopes called scarps.

In the north-east Chota Nagpur the rugged hilly country continues right up to the river Gangā through Santhal Parganas culminating in the Rajmahal hills. These hills are composed of Basaltic traps overlying Gondwana sediments. They form a scarp on their western side but slope away in the form of a Plateau dipping below the Ganga-alluvium towards the east and also to the north. Traps have been altered into laterite on the summits. The western and south-western side of the Rajmahal Plateau has been deeply dissected.

In the north-west across the riverSon, the Kaimur Plateau forms a salient feature of the landscape. The summit of the Plateau displays old gently undulating character while the edge is a precipitous scarp from which streams emerge through deep gorges. Some of the streams have magnificent water falls.

(iii) The Himalayan Foothills:

This is a small protrusion of the Siwalik Range of the Himalayas. It covers a very small area, nearly 365 square miles accounting for only 0.54 per cent of the total area of Bihar. It lies in the north western part of the State and is roughly enclosed by the contour line of 500 feet above the sea level. It is comprised of two distinct hill-ranges and intervening longitudinal valleys almost parallel to the border of Nepal in a north-west south-east direction. The southern
range of very low hills is known as Ramnagar. It is nearly 20 miles long. Its maximum height is 793 feet above the sea level. The Harha Dun Valley extending for 14 miles lies north-east of Ramnagar. Though less than 500 feet above sea level yet it is higher than the North Bihar Plain. Somehwara range lies further north beyond this valley and forms the international boundary between India and Nepal. From Bhaisalotan to Bhikarna Thori Pass it extends for nearly 46 miles. Its average height is 1,500 feet. The highest point, Someshwar Fort, is 2,884 feet above the sea level. There are three important passes across this range, viz. (i) Someshwar Pass (ii) Bhikarna Thori Pass and (iii) Marwat Pass. They provide access to Nepal. Being composed of young sedimentary formations of Late Tertiary Era, the entire region has become a land of ravines due to heavy erosion.

(B) DRAINAGE

The Ganges forms the main line of drainage. It receives on the left the rivers of North Bihar Plain which rise in Nepal Himalayas. The Son is its most important right bank tributary which comes from Amarkantak in Madhya Pradesh and renders irrigational facilities to the districts of Shahabad, Gaya and Patna. Other important rivers of South Bihar Plain, such as the Phalgu, the Sakri etc, fail to meet the Ganges.

The Ganges enters from the west and flowing due east leaves this State past Sahebgunj taking a south south-easterly course under the influence of the Rajmahal hills. Though not important for irrigation in Bihar it has a lasting value as the commercial waterways.

The rivers of North Bihar below the Himalayan foothills flow through tortuous meandering courses in broad shallow channels following very low gradients. They have been shifting their meanders leading to the formation of numerous ox-bow lakes and chaus. The Ghaghra, the Gandak, the
Burhi Gandak, the Kamala and the Kosi are the important rivers of North-Bihar. The Kosi, "the sorrow of Bihar" has been tamed recently. It used to flow east of Purnea town. Now it has shifted several miles west and flows in an arcuate form touching the district of Darbhanga. After the completion of the Kosi Project it will prove to be an asset. The Gandak is waiting for the completion of the Gandak Project to render its best assistance for the agricultural prosperity of Champaran and Saran districts.

The rivers of Chota Nagpur flow towards the north, east and south. There are five river basins, viz. (i) Damodar (ii) Subarnarekha (iii) South Koel (iv) North Koel and (v) Shankh.

The Damodar rises in Khamar Pat and flowing due east drains an extensive basin. The Barakar and the Konar are its main tributaries. The Damodar Valley Corporation is now providing hydel power not only to Bihar but also to West Bengal.

The Subarnarekha drains the eastern part of Ranchi district and Dhalbhum Subdivision. It flows into the Bay of Bengal. It provides water to Hatia and Jamshedpur, the steel city of India.

The South Koel and the Shankh drain the western part of Ranchi district and combine to form the Brahmani river of Orissa. The North Koel is the master stream of Palamau district. It discharges into the Son.

In the northern part of Chota Nagpur lie the head waters of the Poonpoon, the Morhar the Niranjana, the Mohane, the Sakri and other rivers which drain the South Bihar Plain. Though ephemeral in nature many of them are being utilised for irrigation in the district of Gaya. Imperennial canals have been taken out from the Batane, the Morhar, the Niranjana and the Sakri.
Infine, the rivers of Bihar Plain and Chota Nagpur differ a good deal in their nature, gradient and regime.

**Underground Water:**

The underground water resources of Bihar Plains markedly differ from those of Chota Nagpur, Sanththal Parganas and South Shahabad. Tube wells are effective in alluvial region. Over greater part of Bihar south of the Gangā Plains the success of boring for water is quite uncertain. Tube wells may be sunk with more or less success in North Bihar. There the water bearing strata are under sub-artesian condition below 250 feet. It is not quite improbable that at greater depths artesian conditions exist which may give rise to a flow of water at the surface. South of the Gangā the utility of tubewells decreases southwards because of alluvium becoming thinner and chance of rock encounter increases.

Judicious spacing of wells is of prime consideration in the utilization of underground water. Excessive extraction in limited area may result in local exhaustion of supply.

Chota Nagpur, Kaimur Plateau and Rajmahal hills have limited underground water resources because of their lithological characters. Soakage and storage by underlying rocks is checked by impervious beds and compact crystalline rocks. Even deep wells, in most cases, dry up in summer.

**(C) SOILS**

In Bihar plains there are drift soils whereas in Chota Nagpur, most of Sanththal Parganas and on the Kaimur Plateau soils are residual types. The drift alluvial soil is relatively young. It lacks profile development and is mainly loamy. It is "deficient in phosphoric acid, nitrogen and humus but potash and lime are usually in sufficient quantity".

The alluvial soil of Bihar is mainly of two types, viz (i) Older alluvium (Bangar) and (ii) Newer alluvium
(Khādar). The former is heavier and more clayey than the latter. Older alluvium is found away from the rivers and forms the typical paddy land. Newer alluvium is more or less confined to North Bihar in the riparian tracts. It covers a narrow belt south of the Ganga in Shahabad and the eastern part of Patna district. It is par excellence the soil of rabi and autumn crops.

In the western districts of North Bihar salt petre or potassium nitrate is a natural formation. Over the Kaimur plateau red sandy soil has developed.

Tropical red soil has developed in Chota Nagpur and its fringe. The soils derived from Archaean gneisses, granites and schists are rich in alumina and potash but poor in lime, magnesia and phosphates. The diffusion of ferric oxide imparts the red colour to the soil. Terrain governs the colour, texture and thickness of the soil.

Laterite soil is found in ‘Pat’ region of west Ranchi and south Plamau, Rajmahal area of Santhal Parganas and in south-eastern Dahlbhum. Thorough leaching, low moisture retaining capacity, deficiency in lime and potash have rendered it not much suitable for agricultural purposes.

(D) CLIMATE

There are three distinct and well marked seasons in Bihar—winter, summer and rainy. The cold weather begins at the close of October and lasts till about the middle of March. From mid-March the hot weather is experienced which lasts till the middle of June. By this time, generally the monsoon sets in. The rains continue off and on till the first fortnight of October.

Winter Season:

January is the coldest month of the season when the normal temperature is everywhere below 16° C (60° F). The
wind blows from the north-west and west with a velocity of 2-3 miles per hour. Shallow extensive cyclones bring cloud, rain and cold winds particularly in January and February. The low winter rainfall is uniformly distributed.

**Summer Season:**

Hot weather begins in March. It is marked by rise in temperature and fall in humidity and pressure. The mean daily range of temperature is highest in April. May is the hottest month. The mean temperature in May ranges from $29.4^\circ C$ in the east and north east to $32.2^\circ C$ in the west. At several places maximum temperature even more than $44.44^\circ C$ is recorded. Except in the high plateaus of Chota Nagpur, heat wave, is widely experienced and cases of sunstroke are common. Hot scorching 'Loo' winds are experienced in Bihar plains. In early summer thunderstorms bring rain and sometimes hail in their trail. Dust storms are often experienced in late afternoon. The rainfall during March-May ranges from 127 mm (5") on the western border to about 254 mm (10") in the north-east.

**Rainy Season:**

The advent of monsoon in Bihar in June is marked with sudden arrival of an intense cyclonic storm with thunder lightning and torrential rain. Precipitation lowers the temperature a good deal. The rainfall varies from 190.5 cm (over 75") near north eastern corner to a minimum of about 101.6 cm (40") on the western border. What matters most is the distribution of rainfall during the asterism or 'nakshatra' of precipitation and not the total amount of rainfall.

Variability is the most remarkable feature of the monsoon rains. The high percentage of variation, 60-65% in June and 60-75% in September, indicates the irregularity of the Monsoon winds in their arrival and departure.

Infine, the Monsoon is the pivot round which the life of the people revolves. If it marches rhythmically and dances
according to the cadence of nakshtras, it showers, wealth, happiness and ease and if it behaves erratically, it brings forth devastation, disaster, diseases and death.

(E) FORESTS

Bihar possesses 31,460 square kilometres of forest area which accounts for only 18.10 percent of the total area. As per National Forest Policy 33 percent of the total area should be under forest. So there is a great need of afforestation. The per capita forest area is 0.20 acre only.

There are Monsoon or the Tropical deciduous forests, both moist and dry types. Moist deciduous forests are found in areas having more than 50 inches annual rainfall while the dry types occur in areas of less rainfall.

Tropical Moist Deciduous Forest:

This type of forest is found in the Himalayan foothills of Champaran, a large part of Chota Nagpur Plateau and Santhali Parganas. A largely leafless period of about three weeks in early summer season is the characteristic feature of such forests. Several evergreen trees are also found. The undergrowth is mostly that of semi-evergreen shrubs. Sal (Shorea Robusta) is the dominant tree which thrives well in valleys and on low grounds of relatively thick soil. It is of gregarious nature. On drier, steeper slopes or upper surfaces of thinner soil mantle trees of smaller stature e.g. Salai, dhak, aonla, harra, piar and bamboo get an upper hand. The companions of Sal are Asan (Terminalia tomentosa), Gamlhar (Gmelina arborea), Kend (Diospyros tomentosa), Simal (Bombax malabaricum), Kusum (Schleicherd trijuga), Shisham (Dalbergia sissoo), Tun (Cedrela toona), Mahua (Basia latifolia), Dhaunta (Anogeissus latifolia), Khair (Acacia catechu), Amaltas (Cassia fistula), Karanj (Ponamia glabera), Bamboo (Dendrocalamus strictus), Mangoes (Mangifera indica), Jamun (Eugenia Jambolana), etc. Palas (Butea frondosa)
is the tree of wastelands. Besides the numerous species of trees the forests of Chota Nagpur contain over 200 species of grasses, about a dozen undershrubs and more than two dozen herbs. Sabai is the most valuable grass.

The thickness and height of growth varies from its best in Saranda forest of Singhbhum to scrubs in the north.

**Tropical Dry Deciduous Forest**

This type covers the poor forests of the northern fringe area of Chota Nagpur and the Kaimur upland in Shahabad. The leafless period is more pronounced here. Trees have stunted growth and the forest canopy is rarely above 50 feet. It includes a dry sal forest mixed with bamboos, amaltas, semal, harra, kend, khair, palas, shisham, siris, asan, mahua, etc. The grasses include sabai, kus and spear grass.

In the southern parts of Gaya, Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts the forest is dominated by shrub. Teak has been planted along the roads while eucalyptus and shisham are favoured in areas of afforestation.

Chota Nagpur accounts for 74 percent of the total area under forest and is rightly called 'Jharkhand', the 'forest Tract'. South Bihar claims about 23 percent while in North Bihar the percentage is nearly 3 only.

The following table shows the distribution of forests in Bihar during 1962-63.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial no.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Area under forest in sq. kilometres</th>
<th>Percentage of the area under forest to the total area of the district.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hazaribagh</td>
<td>8,296.31</td>
<td>45.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Palamau</td>
<td>5,851.92</td>
<td>45.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Singhbhum</td>
<td>4,564.33</td>
<td>34.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ranchi</td>
<td>4,348.63</td>
<td>23.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial no.</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Area under forest in sq. kilometres</td>
<td>Percentage of the area under forest to the total area of the district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Santhal Parganas</td>
<td>2,080.83</td>
<td>14.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Shahabad</td>
<td>1,786.97</td>
<td>15.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Gaya</td>
<td>1,570.32</td>
<td>12.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Monghyr</td>
<td>1,305.07</td>
<td>12.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Champaran</td>
<td>922.43</td>
<td>10.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Bhagalpur</td>
<td>406.24</td>
<td>7.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>268.17</td>
<td>9.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Patna</td>
<td>46.38</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Purnea</td>
<td>12.17</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The districts of Saran, Muzaffapur, Darbhanga and Saharsa are totally devoid of forests.

**Forests Products:**

The forest wealth of Bihar may be divided into three groups:

(1) Major products.
(2) Minor products.
(3) Plantation products.

Among the major products timber is by far the most important article. The sal, gamhar, tun, shisham, asan, paisar and simal are the most important timber yielding trees. Forests supply firewood in a large quantity. The total outturn of major forest produce during 1962-63 was:—Timber 1,10,20,000 and firewood 1,68,00,000 cubic feet.

Bamboos, grasses, gums, fruits, flowers, herbs, honey, myrabolands, lac, leaves and barks are important. Besides mango, jamun, jack fruit there are various shrubs and trees yielding fruits which afford a valuable food supply to the aboriginal
inhabitants in periods of scarcity. Mr. Slack has given the names of ninety seven forest produces used as medicine. There are not less than thirty varieties of creepers or bark of trees used as rope fibres. Various trees such as kusum, palas, dumar, bair and karam are used for the cultivation of lac but the best lac is obtained from kusum and palas. The total outturn of minor forest produce was worth Rs. 52,95,776 in 1962-63.

Tea is the only plantation product. Tea gardens are located in the former culturable jungle areas within a radius of 16 miles from Ranchi and belong to the Assam Frontier Tea Company. They manufacture only green tea for export. Prospect of sandal wood plantation over Parasnath hill is under consideration.

There has been a marked gradual increase in the revenue received from forests after independance. It has increased from Rs. 67,16,000 in 1951-52 to Rs. 2,48,11,000 in 1962-63.

(F) POWER DEVELOPMENT.

The development of electricity in Bihar is low. Hydroelectricity is confined to the Damodar Basin which is rich in coal too. North Bihar is expecting hydel power from the Kosi and Gandak projects.

The following table shows power position in kW in 1959-60:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ownership</th>
<th>Hydroelectric Plants</th>
<th>Thermal Plants</th>
<th>Oil Plants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Damodar Valley Corporation (Public Sector)...</td>
<td>1,72,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. State Electricity Board...</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>13,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Private Sector (Companies)...</td>
<td></td>
<td>27,770</td>
<td>4,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td>2,06,20</td>
<td>17,793</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The chief consumers of electricity are industries and power traction. Next comes domestic and residential light. Use of electrical power for irrigation is fast growing. The salient features of recent developments of the Damodar Valley Corporation include:

(a) The Patratu Thermal Power Station at Patratu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>1,00,000 kW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>4,00,000 kW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Chandrapura Thermal Power Station

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>2,80,000 kW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>5,60,000 kW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Construction of the Maithon Hydel Plant to raise the total hydel capacity of the Damodar Valley Corporation about 1,04,000 kW.

(d) The supply of power to cities and towns of Bihar south of the Ganga.

North of the Ganga the Barauni Thermal Plant has a capacity of 30,000 kW which will be raised to 1,45,000 kW. This will be connected into a grid with the plants of the Gandak and the Kosi Projects. The power capacity of the Gandak and the Kosi Plants will be 15,000 and 21,000 respectively. After the completion of the Gandak and the Kosi projects the power problem of North Bihar will be solved to a great extent.

(G) CROPS

As regards agricultural resources, Bihar occupies a significant position among the States of India. She is second to West Bengal in the production of rice and accounts for about 14 percent of the national output. Having about 13 percent of the total output of maize her rank is third and maintains almost the same position in the production of barley, potato and sugar cane. She is an important producer of
tobacco, jute, oilseeds, pulses, chillies and fruits like mangoes and 'lich' etc.

The following table shows the relative importance of crops.

1958-59 (Figures in million acres)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhadai</th>
<th>Aghani</th>
<th>Rabi</th>
<th>Garma</th>
<th>Area under orchards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bhadai and Aghani crops are important throughout Bihar. The rabi crop is relatively insignificant in Chota Nagpur. The gram crop is significant in North Bihar.

The following table shows the relative position of different crops:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>Percentage of the acreage under the crop to the gross cultivated acreage.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1958-59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Rice</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Maize</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Wheat</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Barley</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ragi</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other cereals or millets</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total cereals and millets</strong></td>
<td><strong>68.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gram</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Arhar</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other pulses</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total pulses</strong></td>
<td><strong>20.8</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sugarcane</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Chillies</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Other spices</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Other food crops</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Fruits and vegetables.</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Oilseeds</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Total</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Other non-food crops.</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus we see that food crops account for 94.7 percent of the acreage. Rice is the dominant crop. Maize, wheat and gram are next in importance. Sugarcane is an important cash crop of Bihar. It is clear that the agricultural economy of the State is food crop oriented.

**Some Important Crops:**

**RICE:**—Rice is cultivated throughout Bihar. In plains autumn paddy is raised on loamy uplands. Normally about 90 percent of the rice grown is winter transplanted rice. The remainder is autumn or broadcast rice. The summer rice has a negligible proportion.

**MAIZE:**—Maize is raised in the North Bihar Plain from Saran to Saharsa, in eastern south Bihar and in Hazaribagh and P'amau districts of Chota Nagpur.

**WHEAT:**—It is the main rabi crop. The wheat growing region of Bihar includes North Bihar Plain, the canal irrigated western south Bihar. Chota Nagpur is not suited for wheat cultivation because of poor and dry soils.

**GRAM:**—It is cultivated mainly south of the Ganga covering Shahabad, Patna, Gaya and Monghyr.

**SUGARCANE:**—It is cultivated north of the Ganga, without irrigation except in Saran, south of the Ganga it is raised only in such areas where there are irrigational facilities.

**JUTE:**—Its cultivation is almost confined to Purnea and Saharsa districts.

North Bihar is known for mangoes and lichis while Chota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas are noted for jackfruits and Papaya. Vegetables are widely grown.
CHAPTER IV
Races, Tribes and Languages of Bihar
Races of Bihar

After a great deal of debate and controversy scientists have come to the conclusion that all human beings in the world today belong to a single species, Homo Sapiens and are derived from a common stock. There is difference of opinion as to when and how different human groups differentiated from the common stock. Anthropologists use the concept of race as a classificatory device to provide a zoological framework within which various groups of mankind may be put. Hence in its strictly scientific sense, the word 'race' should be reserved for groups of mankind possessing well developed and primarily heritable physical differences from other groups. It is possible to classify human populations into distinguishable racial stocks but due to repeated intermingling of populations over long periods of time some groups may not easily fit into these racial subdivisions.

Physical differences between human groups may be attributed to difference in hereditary constitution and environment in which they have been nurtured. In most cases both factors have been at work. Hereditary differences among population of single species is the result of the action of two sets of processes. Firstly, the genetic composition of isolated populations is constantly but gradually being altered by natural selection and by occasional change (mutations) in the material particles (genes) which control heredity. Human groups are also affected by fortuitous changes in gene frequency and by marriage customs. Secondly, intermixture of blood between different groups is constantly breaking down differentiation so set up. The new mixed population, in so far as it in turn became isolated, is subject to same processes and may lead to other
changes. Existing races are merely the result, considered at a particular moment in time, of the total effect of such processes on human species. The hereditary characters to be used in the classification of human groups, the limits of their variation within this group and the extent of their classificatory subdivisions may legitimately differ according to the scientific purposes in view.

Broadly speaking individuals belonging to different major groups of mankind are distinguishable by virtue of their physical characters but individual members or small groups belonging to different races within the same major groups are not so easily distinguishable. Even the major groups fade into each other and the physical characters by which they and the races within them are characterised overlap considerably. With respect to most, if not all measurable characters, the differences among individuals belonging to the same race are greater than the differences which occur between observed averages for two or more races within the same major group.

Anthropological and psychological researches during the last thirty to forty years prove that the racial factor is not the dominant one in the formation of personality. Psychological traits cannot be transmitted direct as part of heredity. There is no gene covering mind-wandering or power-concentration. Psychological traits do matter in the determination of the effective make up of the normal individual but they exercise only a limited influence on the intellectual and moral qualities compared with that of differences of environment. Under this head the major factors are character and intellectual level of parents, both social and academic training, religious teaching and training in self-mastery, source of livelihood and place in society, in other words elements in no respect traceable to the individual biological heredity and still less to his race, but largely determined by the setting in which he grows up, the society of which he is a part and the culture to which he belongs.
The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing differences between the cultures and the cultural achievements of different peoples and groups. It does indicate, on the other hand, that major factors in explaining such differences is the cultural experience which each group has undergone.

There is no evidence for the existence of the so called pure races. The idea of racial purity depends more on emotionally conceived opinions than on results of any impartial scientific analysis, and it is doubtful whether such terms as pure race and the like carry with them any precise meaning except in so far as they may be applied to communities which are geographically isolated or have for other reasons closely inbred. Skeleton remains provide the basis of our limited knowledge about earlier races. In regard to race mixture, evidence points to the fact that human hybridization has been going on for an indefinite but a considerable time. In fact one of the processes of race formation, race extinction or absorption is by means of hybridization between races. As there is no reliable evidence that disadvantageous effects are produced, inter-marriage between persons of different races can take and have taken place.

Vast social changes have occurred which are in no way connected in changes of racial type. Historical and sociological studies strengthen the contention that genetic differences are of little importance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of men.

In no country has it been possible to find a pure race. The American people have stemmed from mixture of various races Nordic, Mediterranean, North American Indian and the Negro. The present day Englishman can trace his descent from the Celts of the Iberian Peninsula, the Anglo-Saxons from Germany, the Danes from Scandinavia, Normans from
Normandy and France etc. In the same way the Indian subcontinent has from time to time received various strains of blood. According to some authorities the Negrito can be found in some of the primitive tribes of South India. The next strain is the Proto-Australoid which is widely found in the tribal population of Middle India. Then came the Mediterranean and Mongoloids, the broad-headed Alpinoids, Dinarics and Armenoids and last of all the Nordics. All these racial traits are mixed all over India and can be traced among most Indians in varying degrees.

**Racial Composition of Bihar**

In 1904 C. M. Stratx divided mankind into protomorphic or primitive races, archimorphic or prevailing races and metamorphic or hybrid races. According to this classification the tribes of Bihar may be classified in the protomorphic racial group and the non-tribal people of Bihar belong to the archimorphic racial group. Although suggestive, his scheme is dominated by genealogical conjectures and presuppositions to which the physical criteria used are subordinate. J. Deniker’s and A. C. Haddon’s classifications of mankind which came after C. H. Stratx’s are scientifically more sound because they laid emphasis on physical criteria for classifying races. In Deniker’s classification (1926) stress has been given on hair form, nose form and eye colour as major distinguishing features of races. According to his classification the Munda, Oraon, Santhal and other tribes of Bihar would be placed in his ‘B’ group i.e. the members of the group are characterised by curly or wavy hair, dark skin colour, broad or narrow nose, short stature and dolicocephalic (long) head. According to A. C. Haddon’s classification (1929) they would be placed in cymo-trichi-mesocephals having black hair and medium stature.

Hooton distinguishes two types of race, primary race and secondary or composite race. A primary race is one which has been modified only by the operation of revolution-
ary factors, including the selection of its own intrinsic variations and of the modifications, adaptive or non-adaptive, possibly caused by environmental stimuli. A secondary or composite race is one in which a characteristic and stabilized combination of morphological and meterical features has been affected by a long continued intermixture of classic Mediterranean, Australoid (Veddoid), Negrito, Arminoid, Nordic and Mongoloid. The hundreds of millions who inhabit India are not physically homogeneous, yet various ethnic strains have fused to create a distinctive composite race. He has made five-fold classification of the peoples of India based on morphological types. They are (1) Classic Indo-Dravidian (2) Arminoid-Iranian-Plateau (3) Indo-Nordic (4) Australoid (Veddoid) and (5) Negroid. The tribal population of Bihar, according to Hooton, belongs to the Australoid (Veddoid), a racial type having the following physical features—(a) hair form: wavy to curly; (b) skin colour: dark chocolate brown, approaching black; (c) nose form: almost chamaerhine (broad nose), root of nose broad and low; (d) head form: dolicocephalic (long head) with prominent brow-ridges; (e) face form: short, narrow and very slightly prognathous; (f) hair quantity: beard and body hair very sparse; (g) stature: medium. The non-tribal population of Bihar may be grouped under Classic Indo-Dravidian racial type having medium stature, light brown to dark brown skin colour, medium nose and wavy hair. In the Eastern Bihar near the Bihar-Bengal border there may be expected an admixture of the Classic Indo-Dravidian Type with the Arminoid type resulting in brachycephalic (broad) head form.

In the above general classification of mankind into different races by western scholars, we get some references about the racial elements in the population of India. Apart from these general classifications, attempts have been made by others scholars to classify the people of India in different racial groups. From the end of the 19th century to the present day
numerous studies on the racial composition of the Indian people have been made by Risley, Eickstedt, Hutton, Guha, Sarkar, Majumdar and Chatterjee. In their works here and there we get references to the tribes and the non-tribal populations in Bihar. No systematic study of racial composition in Bihar has been made. Guha has divided Indian people into the Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, Mediterranean, the Western Brachycephal and the Nordic. Dr. B.K. Chatterjee classifies them as Nishāda, Kirata, Dravida and Arya, using terminology from ancient Indian literature. People belonging to most of these divisions are found in Bihar.

Dr. Guha writes of a Negrito substratum in the Indian population. Dr. S.S. Sarkar is reported to have met a youngman among the aborigins of the Rajmahal Hills with woolly hair which is a Negrito characteristic. Dr. B K. Chatterjee thinks that this evidence points only to either admixture or mutation. Dr. D.N. Majumdar supports Dr. Chatterjee in this regard.

The other important strain is the Proto-Australoid. The shape of the head, the form of the nose, the projection of the face, the skin colour and the structure of the hair bear a striking resemblance to the Australoid features. Among the Bihar tribes these features are found among the Kharwar, Munda, Bhumi, Ho and Mal Paharia. We do not know when this race came into India. These features are to be found all over the tribes of Central India. With the passage of time the Proto-Australoid absorbed a large amount of blood from other racial groups. This explains the minor differences between one tribe and another.

The racial history of tribes speaking the languages of the Austric group is hidden in the mists of antiquity. They have been variously described by different authorities as Pre-Dravidian, Kolerian, Dravidian, Australoid and Nishadic. Their racial affinity with South Indian tribal groups has not been clearly understood. The racial position of the various Austric speaking groups such as Munda, Santhal, Ho, Birhor, Kharia
etc., has not been definitely fixed. The presence of the Oraon, a Dravidian speaking people in the same area, possessing a slightly different culture from their neighbours has further complicated matters. Dr. A. C. Haddon thought that from the point of view of race, the Kolerians (Austric peoples) can only be classed in the pre-Dravidian group. But he placed the Oraon also in that group though he admits some taxonomic differences between the Munda and Oraon. The ethnic differences between these two tribes living side by side were brought out by Shri P. C. Basu in course of two successive studies based on anthropometric data. Working in the Santhal Parganas which is the home of two tribes one speaking an Austric language and the other a Dravidian, Dr. S. S. Sarkar has pointed out highly significant differences between them. His findings have been borne out by a blood survey among these tribes. The Munda shows some hybrid combinations also, Risley noted nine of them. Obviously these hybrids were descended from intermarriage between Munda men and women of other tribes. MacFarlane and Sarkar (1941) pointed out the high frequencies of the ‘p’ and ‘q’ genes which was a characteristic of Munda people. This points to their affinity with Austric speaking peoples of the East Indies. Dr. S. S. Sarkar is of the opinion that the presence of straight hair among the Santhal and Munda is indicative of a foreign strain in the population.

Dr. D. N. Majumdar holds that Proto-Australoids having mixed with other strains lost their purity of blood. The Bhil who are to be found all over Central India, Rajputana and Gujarat are sometimes identified with speakers of the Austric languages. MacFarlane quotes anthropometric data to suggest their affiliation with the Oraon. The serological data she obtained showed differences which she admitted were difficult to explain.

Dr. Majumdar took up investigations to find out if the Mundari speaking tribes represent the same racial type, whe-
there is any racial difference between the Munda and the Dravidian speaking groups and to examine whether Munda and Ho are more mixed than the Santhal and the Bhumij. His results show marked differences between the Munda, Ho and Bhumij. The Ho differ from the Munda in stature (3.8); *N. L. or N. H. (13.0), N. B. (6.1); N. Index (14.3) in mean measurement. The Ho differ from Bhumij in N. L. or N. H. (5.4) N. B. (6.5), N. I. (9.6), while the difference in stature may not be very significant, nasal measurements show wide diversity. The value for the cephalic index in Dr. Majumdar's Ho series is greater than that of Munda or Bhumij. A comparison of measurement of the Ho and the Saora, a Dravidian speaking tribe of Orissa reveals significant difference in seven out of twelve characters specially in case of nasal length and bizagomatic breadth. Munda and Saora show these significant differences, two being for nasal measurements and one for bizagomatic breadth. Bhumij and Saora show five significant differences of the same order. The cephalic indices for all the four groups are identical.

Attempts have been made to study the racial distance between the Ho and the Saora on the one hand and the high caste groups, the Brāhmaṇa and the Kāyastha. "Of the ten characters, absolute and indical, compared, significant differences exist between the Ho, Saora and the caste groups. The Ho differ from the Brāhmaṇas in stature (10.9) N. I. (14.7), H. B. (15.1), N. L. or N. H. (13.2), N. B. (6.0), Bg. (6.1) and C. I. (4.0), from Kāyasthas in stature (11.1), H. B. (24.1), N. I. (17.6), B. Z. (6.6), Bg. (8.1), N. L. (18.4), N. B. (6.1), C. I. (16.2). The high value of these differences means a racial difference between the Ho and the high caste groups."

* N. L. —Nasal Length.
N. H. —Nasal Height.
N. B. —Nasal Breadth.
N. I. —Nasal Index.
C. I. —Cephalic Index.
A close scrutiny of the racial characters of the tribes of Chotanagpur does not suggest any Mongolian infusion. A few stray cases may be explained by unions between tribal women and aliens among whom there may have been some people of Mongoloid extraction. "On the basis of blood groups, the Mundari tribes of Chotanagpur appear distinct from the lower castes of Bangal, Bihar or U. P." In North Bihar in those parts which are close to Nepal we find Mongoloid characters among the Tharu. Their eyes are very small and they have slight epicentric fold. Their skin colour has yellowish tinge.

Racial Elements among the non-Tribal population in Bihar:

The non-tribal population of Bihar is generally long headed with a fine to a medium nose, average stature, wavy hair form and skin colour varying from light brown to dark tawny. This group of people is classified under Risley's head 'Aryo-Dravidian'. Risley was of the opinion that among the higher castes, the Aryan strain is dominant and among the lower we find more Dravidian characters. Anthropologists have rejected Risley's classification as he had used linguistic terms to describe physical characters.

Dr. B. S. Guha is of the opinion that the lower castes of Bihar represent the basic dolico type, having dark complexion, pointed chin and deep pigmentation. He classifies them under the Palaeo-Mediterranean group, but Eickstedt prefers to call them the Melanid type, because in some physical characters, they represent the Melanesian Negroids. Eickstedt's views have not gained acceptance in India. The upper castes of Bihar come within the Mediterranean racial group because of its close connection with the European Mediterranean. In Western Bihar, people have moderately full stature and have fine to medium noses. To them Dr. D. N. Majumdar gives the name 'Indo-Nordic'.
Ethnically the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas belong to the same stock. Of them the Brāhmanas are fewer than the Kshatriyas as the former are very particular about their marriage alliances. The original Kshatriyas married into later day Rajput families. The various lower castes the Koiri, Kurmi, Kahar and Ahir do not differ significantly from each other but represent a mixture of various strains. Among Doms and Chamars there is large hybrid element. The average Dom has more comely features than a Chamar. Handsome feature of Dom women is both the cause and effect of mixegenation. The higher castes show a greater admixture of Mediterranean and Nordic features than others.

THE TRIBES OF BIHAR

These are according to the constitution. 30 Scheduled tribes in Bihar. They are:

1. Asur 5,819 18. Kisan 12,011
5. Bedia 38,241 22. Mahli 67,979
7. Birhor 2,438 24. Munda 6,28,931
12. Gorait 4,793 29. Savar 1,561
13. Ho 4,54,746 30. Bhumij 1,01,057
15. Kharia 1,08,983 (in the district of Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Santhal Parganas & Manbhum only).
16. Kharwar 10,9,357
17. Khond 814 Parganas

Most of the scheduled tribes live in the five districts of Chotanagpur Division viz., Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Singhbhum and Palaman and the district of Santhal Parganas
in the Bhagalpur Division. They are found in some other pockets viz., in the hilly tracts of the sub-divisions of Sasaram and Bhabua in Shahabad and in the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea and Champaran.

They form more than fifty percent of the population only in the district of Ranchi. Ranchi along with Singhbhum (minus Dhalbhum) and the Latehar sub-division of the Palamau district comprises the Scheduled area in Bihar.

The population of Scheduled tribes in Bihar is 42,04,770 (1961) which is 9.05% of the total population of the state. Figures for the 1961 census are given in the table.

1. The **Asurs** are a small tribe found in Lohardaga Bishunpur, Ghagra, Chainpur and Mahuadandur police stations of the Ranchi and Palamau districts. Their original occupation was iron smelting but now very few live by this profession. Due to scarcity of iron ore in that area and lack of facilities for cutting fuel from the jungle this occupation has disappeared. Most of the Asur also practise jhuming on the Neterhat plateau. Dalton is inclined to connect them with the Asur who according to Munda traditions were destroyed by Singbonga. It has been conjectured that they were the descendants of the original inhabitants of the Chotanagpur plateau and were here even before the Mudas. They were driven out by successive tribes into the inhospitable hills and forests. Another conjecture is that they are a branch of the Mundas who like the Turi, split off from the rest of the tribe on account of their profession. The ancient Asura about which references are copious in Vedic, epic and later literature were a matrilineal people worshipping female goddesses and were spread over the whole of northern India from the Punjab to Magadha.

Asur sites were discovered from the northern banks of Kanchi and near Kalamati village in Ranchi police station to the Phuljhara river on the borders of Singhbhum. Sarat Chandra Roy found villages here and there containing re-
mains of ancient brick buildings, stone temples and structures, cinerary urns and huge slabs and columns of sepulchral stones mostly silted up which are locally attributed to an ancient people called Asurs. Traces of iron-smelting, copper ornaments, gold coins, stone implements and beads have been found in the excavations. A welfare plan for Asur areas has been put into operation.

2. Very few Baiga are found in Bihar. They are different from the tribe known by that name found in Madhya Pradesh. In a number of villages, the priest is called the Baiga and this name might refer to such persons alone.

3. The Banjara are a very small nomadic community in the district of Santhal Parganas. They eke out their livelihood by singing and begging at child birth and marriage ceremonies in their neighbourhood. In their social organisation clan is unknown.

4. The Bathudi are found in Dhalbhumi and the Sadar sub-division of Singhbhum district.

5. Bedia: They are confined to Ramgarh thana. They were formerly regarded as gypsies and thieves. They had a reputation for kidnapping children and were adept in laying snares and traps for animals. Their women dealt in charms for exercising the devil and also knew palmistry. They were reputed to be of loose character. They are now essentially cultivators. They are known to submit to circumcision and at the same time consult Brahmanas on particular occasions. Their village priest is called ‘Pahan’ as among the Munda and they are divided into exogamous clans called Killi.

6. Binjha: It is one of the four sub-divisions of the Binjharw tribe. Binjha are now cultivators or labours. They do not have any clan exogamy. Marriage takes place in the house of the bridegroom and bride price is paid in rice. They bury their dead. They celebrate Karam festival in September and worship daggers, spears and arrows on the Dusehra Day.
7. Birhors: The Birhors are a small tribe found in the districts of Ranchi and Hazaribagh. There are two sections of the tribe, one Uthlu or Bhuliya Birhors who are migratory and live in small settlements of eight or ten families. They move about from jungle to jungle to catch monkeys, collect chop fibres with which they make ropes and also make wooden vessels like Kathaus. These articles as well as the monkey which they sell in the weekly markets give them cash for purchasing articles of food. They build conical leaf huts which are almost waterproof and airtight. Most of the Uthlu Birhors in Ranchi district have been settled in two government colonies. They have been given land and agricultural implements as well as houses to live in, but their heart is still in the forest.

Another section of the tribe called Jaghi Birhors lead a settled life, practising shifting cultivation and raising a scanty crop of millet, maize and beans. Timid to a degree, they are prone to leave a settlement at the slightest provocation.

8. Birjia: They are confined mostly to the Garu and Mahuadangr thanas of the Latehar sub-division of the Palamau district. They speak a language which belongs to the Mundari stock. They are considered a branch of the Asur tribe. They are divided into clans, but few Birjia know their totemic names. Individual totems may be adopted at birth. Clan exogamy is not strictly observed. They have separate youth dormitories for boys and girls. The traditional bride price is fixed at sixty seers of rice, twelve seers of pulse, one sari and Rs. 7/- in cash.

They are shifting cultivators and live in small settlement of not more than fifteen houses. The walls are made of bamboo and thin twigs. They grow a scanty crop of maize and marua. Their two great problems are inadequacy of water supply and the elephant menace. Now most of them are engaged in bamboo cutting, and bamboo contractors and moneylenders exploit them badly. They are also employed in soil cutting for road construction work. They frequent the distilled liquor
shops. Most of them are heavily indebted. They do not have any formal panchayat. Their religious headman is called the ‘Baiga’. They celebrate Phagua (Holi) and Dussehra with great enthusiasm. The State Government has recently sanctioned a scheme for the uplift of the Birjias.

9. **Chero**: The Chero are found in Dal tonganj, Latecher and Patan thanas. There are two divisions of the tribe, Barahazar and Terahazar or Birbandhi. The former are higher in rank and include some of the descendants of ruling family houses in Palamau. Wealthier families among them and Terahazar have married into local Rajput families and now call themselves Chauhan Rajputs. Once the lords of Palamau, Cheros have never forgotten that they were a great people and their descent is honourable one. Only the poorest will hold the plough. None will carry loads on their head. They are extravagant and fond of display and run very often into debt. The distinctive physical traits of Chero have been softened by their alliances with pure Hindu families which their large possessions enabled them to secure. They have proto-Australoid physiognomy and vary in colour but are generally light brown. Their facial features are marked by high cheek bones, small eyes, obliquely set, and eye brows to correspond, low broad noses and large mouths with protuberant lips. Their religion is in a stage of transition. The Chero worship has distinct traces of non-Aryan descent. For the worship of Hindu gods they employ Brāhmaṇas who are received on terms of equality by other members of the sacred order, their spiritual guides are either Brāhmaṇas or Gharbari Gosains. They worship tribal deities also; goats, fowls, sweets and wine being offered to them in October to secure a good harvest. In these sacrifices Brāhmaṇas take no part. They are conducted by the Baiga who belongs to one of the aboriginal tribes.

Cheros formerly lived in a sub-Himalayan tract called Morang but migrated to Kumaon and thence made their
way south to Bhojpur where they ruled for seven generations. The fifth ruler of the line Sahabal Rai invaded Champaran with a large army. He was defeated by a force sent by Jehangir and taken to Delhi where he died fighting a tiger. His son Bhagwat Rai was the head of a long line of Chero chiefs who ruled in Palamau for 200 years. The most famous ruler of the dynasty was Medini Rai, the Just. Cheros took part in the Kol rebellion of 1832 and offered stiff opposition to the British during the Sepoy Mutiny.

10. **Chik Baraiks**: They are a community widely dispersed over many districts in Chotanagpur. They are professional weavers and some have grown rich and own some lands.

11. **Gond**: The Gonds are found mostly in areas contiguous to Madhya Pradesh in the Simdega sub-division. They are part of the great and numerous Gond tribe found in Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. They speak Gondi, a language which belongs to the Dravidian group of languages. They are settled agriculturists and live in substantial villages. They have an efficient village organization with separate secular and religious headmen. They are divided into a number of exogamous clans and worship a number of tribal, clan, village and family deities.

12. **Gorait**: They are a Hinduized aboriginal group, whose members carry messages, act as drummers, make combs and card cotton. Their women do the work of tattooing. In some villages the Gorait family hold what is known as Goraiti Khet.

13. **Ho**: The Ho are found mainly in the district of Singhbhum. They are very much akin to the Munda and speak a language that belongs to the Mundari branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family.

Agriculture is the most important occupation of the Ho. Large numbers also go to iron ore mines and steel factories in Jamshedpur and neighbouring areas. Among them it is
the women who engage in the heaviest and most arduous tasks and it is they who have been the first to take up new types of employment in factory and mine while men have preferred to stay at home in the village.

The Ho are divided into a number of patrilineal and patrilocal clans. These clans are exogamous. The Ho tend to keep their marriage relationship within certain territorial limits. Several forms of marriage are prevalent among them, but the one meeting with the greatest social approval conforms most closely to the regular Hindu form and is accompanied by very high bride price. The number of free will (Rajikhusi) marriages is increasing.

They have developed the concept of taboo into a rigid system which has a direct bearing on their social structure. In case of infringement of such taboos a person becomes an outcast or ‘Kakomesin’ with whom marriage and dining is forbidden. The outcasts have become a separate class altogether. The Ho society is developing a class structure.

The Ho believe in a large number of gods. The highest god is Singbonga but he is not so important among them as among the Munda. The village god Dessauli is very popular. They are very responsive to change and the higher and wealthier classes among them are indistinguishable from non-tribals living in that area.

14. Karmali : They are found in Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Santhal Parganas and Singhbhum. Previously they were iron-smelters but now they have become agricultural labourers.

15. Kharia : The Kharia are found in the Gumla and Simdega sub-divisions of the Ranchi district and in Dhalbhum in Singhbhum district. The Kharia are divided into three sections, the Hill Kharia, Dhelki and Dudh Kharia. The Hill Kharia practise a crude type of shifting cultivation. They are good hunters and collect honey and bee’s wax from the forest. The Dhelki Kharia have long taken to a settled way of life but
their material culture is somewhat poorer than that of the Dudh Kharia. All the sections of the Kharia have the clan system. They observe a number of taboos relating to the division of labour between the sexes. Marriage is generally adult and divorce is allowed if sanctioned by the Panchayat. More than sixty percent of the Kharia have turned Christian. Others believe in a large number of deities and spirits chief among whom is Giring or Bero or Ponomosar (Parameśvara). There are number of village and family deities also which are periodically propitiated.

16. **Kharwar**: They are mainly concentrated in the district of Palamu. They belong to the Dravidian stock and were formerly big landlords. They have not forgotten the memories of their greatness and though now reduced to the position of cultivators they do not carry loads on their head. They consider begar (forced labour) derogatory to their status. They employ Brāhmaṇas in their life cycle rituals. They call the supreme being Parameśvara. They venerate and make offerings to some of their culture heroes like Chandra Rai, a deified Korwa, Chatter Rai who fell in battle and Goraiya who is a deified Kherwar. Another popular spirit is Muchuk Rani also known as the Durjagia Deota. She is held in great esteem and sacrifices are offered to her several times a year. The commonest offering is the goat and the officiating priest during these kinds of worship is the Kharwar Baiga.

17. **Khond**: The Khond are a Magahi speaking agricultural tribe mainly concentrated in the district of Hazaribagh. All of them have been recorded as Hindu in the Census.

18. **Kisan**: The Nagesia or Kisan are a Sadari speaking agricultural tribe mainly concentrated in the districts of Ranchi and Palamu. Though they live with the Oraon, Birjia and Lohar they regard themselves as socially superior to the latter as they do not take buffalo meat and abstain from beef eating. They do not live in compact villages but build their houses on their farms. The houses stand on high plinths
with provision for working place, store room, kitchen, sleeping room and verandah besides a separate cattleshed and pig-stye. They raise one crop of maize and paddy and occasionally also mustard seed. They do not use cattle dung as fuel but use it as fertilizer. Maize stalks are buried in the field, its harder parts being burnt and ploughed in the land.

There is no clan organization among them. Cross cousin and parallel cousin marriage is prohibited as also marriages between near relatives. A period of acquaintance extending from six months to three years precedes every marriage. The boy visits the girl's family several times, each time spending at least six days working with the latter's parents. Similar visits are made by the girl to the boy's home. During these visits the boy and the girl cannot sleep together. Bride price comprises Rs. 5/- in cash and a sari. The marriage rites are performed at the groom's place. On death, the personal belongings of the dead are buried with him. After the introduction of money economy they bury a few rupee coins so that the deceased may buy necessities of life on its journey to the underworld. This practice acts as a check to the accumulation of riches by the Nagesia who are generally carefree spendthrifts.

19. Kora : They regard themselves orthodox Hindu, Sākta or Vaishnava as the case may be. They are found in Dhanbad and Santhal Parganas. They are generally earth workers and field labourers. Some of them have become petty cultivators. Their language belongs to the Mundari stock. 'Manasa' the heavenly patroness of snakes and Bhadu are said to be their favourite deities. The festival of the latter is celebrated on the last day of Bhadra when the Kora and Bagdi carry her image in procession. Bhadu was the virgin daughter of the Raja of Panchet who died for the good of her people. A large number of songs and dances have been composed in her honour. They have a village priest called Laya or Naya. The Kora abstain from beef.
20. Korwa: The Korwa inhabit the Ranka and Patan thanas of the Palamau district. They belong to the Proto-Australoid racial group. They are expert hunters, trappers and food collectors. They sell minor forest produce like honey and bees' wax in the local markets. They know iron-smelting and fashion their own tools. Some of them have also taken to shifting cultivation. The tribe is endogamous and is divided into a number of exogamous clans. They worship a multiplicity of deities, one presiding over crops, one over rainfall, one over cattle etc.

21. Lohra: Lohra are tribal blacksmiths. There are such blacksmiths in all tribal villages. In appearance, manners and customs, they are indistinguishable from other tribals among whom they live.

22. Mahli: The Mahli are labourers, palanquin bearers and workers in bamboo. They do not live in compact settlements but are scattered over the entire region. In most tribal villages we find a few Mahli families. Manasā and Barpahari corresponding to the Marang Buru of the Santhal are their favourite deities. They are experts in basket making and sell combs, fishing baskets and other bamboo stuff in the weekly markets. Some of them are now petty cultivators and landless day labourers.

23. Mal Paharia: The Mal Paharia who live in the Santhal Parganas are a Hinduised section of the Paharia tribe. They employ more advanced methods of cultivation, invariably using plough and bullocks to till the small tablelands of the plateau on which they raise quite substantial dry crops. Prolonged contact with Hindu population has led to the adoption of such custom as child marriage, polygamy etc. They follow the marriage rituals observed by lower caste Hindus, revere Brahmanas, cremate the dead and observe death pollution. Hindu deities like Mahādeva, Kāli, Lākshmī etc., receive habitual worship from them. They speak a corrupt form of Bengali.
24. **Munda**: The Munda are mostly concentrated in the district of Ranchi. Large numbers are also found in the other districts of Chotangapur division. They are an ancient tribe and have lived in Chotanagpur for over two thousand years. Their origin and migrations are covered by a thick veil of mystery. Sarat Chandra Roy who was the first anthropologist to give a detailed account of the tribe, has given us a rough outline of how they came to settle in the land they now inhabit, based on references found in Vedic, Epic and later Hindu literature as well as on their oral traditions.

The Munda belong to the Proto-Australoid racial group and speak a language which belongs to the Austric language family. They live in large permanent villages and their most important occupation is agriculture. They use the plough to till the land on which they grow rice on irrigated fields and millet, pulses and vegetables on dry uplands. Hunting and fishing form a negligible part of Munda economy. They build mud houses with tiled roofs and usually have a kitchen garden in which they grow vegetables.

The Munda are divided into a large number of exogamous units called **Killi**. Members of a **Killi** are believed to be descended from a common ancestor and each **Killi** has a totemic name. The Munda are patrilocal and patrilineal. The position of women though subordinate to that of men is not low. Women cannot inherit real property and generally do not participate in communal worship. Bride-price has to be paid in marriage which is generally performed when boys and girls have become adults.

They worship a number of benevolent and malevolent deities. Their highest god is **Singhonga**. He is the creator of the universe and all other deities are his subordinates. They periodically propitiate some village deities and family deities. In certain areas they have adopted some Hindu deities, festivals and ritual practices.
25. **Oraon**: The Oraon, like the Munda, are concentrated in the Ranchi district. Besides other districts of the Chotanagpur division, they are also found in Shahabad and Chamarajanagar. They speak a Dravidian language and their traditions trace their origin from South India.

In their material culture and conditions of living, the Oraon are almost at the same level as the Munda. They too have totemic exogamous clans. The Oraon have an elaborate system of youth dormitories for boys and girls, where in the evening they receive instruction in music, dance and drama. In tribal Bihar, this is the only example of conscious efforts at formal training of youth and maidens.

The Oraon live in nuclear families. The father plays a dominant role in the affairs of the household. Women share in economic activities both in the house and in the field; but they cannot inherit landed property. Monogamy is the general rule among the Oraon and polygamy is allowed only when the first wife is barren. Widow remarriage and divorce are allowed.

The Oraon recognise ten grades of supernatural powers. The highest god is called *Dharmes*, the creator and the all-seeing power for whom the Hindu word *Bhagwan* is also used. His visible symbol is the sun. He controls the fate of all creatures in both visible and invisible worlds. But he is not worshipped in a shrine. Inferior in status are tribal, clan and village deities. Ancestor worship is important. Sacrifices are offered to a number of other spirits or ghosts so that they may not send calamities on earth.

26. **Parhaiya**: The Parhaiya are found in the Chandwa and Balumath thanas of Palamau district and Chatra subdivision of Hazaribagh district. They are an ex-criminal tribe and live in small settlements of eight to ten on the outskirts of forests. They trap birds and collect roots and fruits from the jungle. Most of them own and cultivate small patches of land in a primitive way. Some own bullocks and domesticate...
and fowls. Men put on only a loin cloth and women a lahanga. They do not accept food touched by others. Their myths speak of their association with wars and their dances with lathis and other weapons look like battles.

27. **Santhal**: The Santhals are the largest of the tribes of Eastern India. Half of their population is concentrated in the Santhal Parganas while the other half is scattered in Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Palamu in Chotanagpur division and Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea districts in Bhagalpur division. They are the last tribe to settle in the areas they now abound in. They were coming in large numbers even in the second half of the 19th century. They reclaimed vast tracts of cultivable lands from the forest, built and occupied new villages and constructed a network of irrigated fields. They are diligent agriculturists and make beautiful designs on their house walls. Their villages are settled in an orderly fashion and have an air of cleanliness.

They are divided into a number of patrilineal clans called 'paris'. Each clan is further subdivided into subclans known as Khut. The Santhals live in nuclear families. Their women possess moveable property like money, goods, cattle etc., and can dispose of such resources as they please. They are in charge of the family purse and work with men in different economic undertakings. Adult and monogamous marriage is the general rule. Different kinds of marriages known as 'Bapla' are found among them. Widow remarriage and divorce are allowed though the latter involves elaborate judicial proceedings.

The religion of the Santhal is bound up with his social and tribal consciousness. The Supreme deity is known as 'Thākur', the unseen and incomprehensible. He is the creator, sustainer and destroyer of everything. Seven categories of godlings and spirits are recognized by the Santhal. The performance of ritual is exclusively in the hands of men. Every
family worships its own family deities though the village as a whole through a common priest propitiates the village deities.

The Santhal have an extreme form of social punishment for the breach of certain tribal rules of clan exogamy or tribal endogamy, called *Bittâha* in the organization of which the entire neighbourhood has to co-operate. It is in this way that the enormity of the course is brought home to the offenders.

28. **Sauria Paharia**: They live in inaccessible hill tops in Godda, Rajmahal and Pakur subdivisions of the Santhal Parganas. Their language Malto is akin to the Oraon language and belongs to the Dravidian language family. They are shifting cultivators and some of them still use the digging stick with which they drill holes in the earth and dibble in the seed. They are the children of the forest and derive most of their sustenance from there. They love their shifting fields called *Kurma*, and live in near and planned villages. Each family lives in a single-roomed house. They are the only tribe which does not have any clan. In some parts the youth dormitory is also found. They have a number of secular and religious village offices. Their deities are known as Gosain.

29. **Savar**: The Savars are a people found in the areas adjoining Orissa. They are settled agriculturists, speak a Mundari language and have an elaborate ritual system. They are more numerous in Orissa.

30. **Bhumij**: The Bhumij or Bhumij Kols occupy parts of the Manbhum district west and south of Kasai river. They are said to be the earliest settlers in Manbhum. In physical appearance they resemble the Munda to whom they are ethnically related. They are dark brown in complexion, have thick nose and lips, broad chest, well developed hands and are short in stature. Some of them intermarry with the Munda of the south eastern portion of Ranchi district. In the western part the Bhumij have retained their religion, customs and original
language to a greater extent than in the east and north. As early as 1833 the influence of Bengali on their speech was marked. Constant contact with Hindus led to adoption of Hindu customs. Their totemic exogamous clans are fast being forgotten and they have adopted the surname of ‘Singh’. Their agricultural techniques are not advanced. As O’ Malley says ‘To the improvidence of the Santhal, he has added the litigiousness of the Bengali, with the result that he has generally fallen a prey as well to the alien Zemindar and Mahajan as to the petty local moneylenders’.

The Bhumij regard themselves as Hindu and employ Brahmaṇa priests in marriage and śraddha ceremonies. Their claim is accepted by the Hindus though their exact position in the caste-hierarchy is not well defined. This does not mean that they have fully assimilated the essential elements of Hinduism and completely left all elements of their tribal religion. Among the benevolent deities they worship, mention may be made of Dharam Deota, Durga, Siva, Goram Deota, Ganēśa, Lakṣmī etc. They also pay obeisance to certain malevolent spirits viz. Baram Bhut, Churkin, Dakin, Jugin etc. Manasā-mā and Kali-mā are regarded with some fear but prove beneficial if propitiated in time. Bhumij still worship their traditional village deities. Bhagwan has replaced Singhonga as the supreme deity. They have also adopted Hindu idols, as their own. Offerings include rice, rice bear, fowl, goat, sheep etc. The influence of the ‘Laya’ the traditional village priest has diminished with the employment of Brahmaṇa priests. Vaishnava mendicants are greatly respected in their midst. They accept a more or less specific status in the regional hierarchy of Hindu castes. They observe a number of Munda festivals like Sarhul, Kāram, Bandhana and Magh Puja besides an equal number of Hindu festivals like Chaitra Sankrānti, Rath Yātra, Manasā Pājā, Ind Parab, Durgā Puja, Kāli Pājā, Saraswati Pujā etc.
THE LANGUAGES OF BIHAR

Though Bihar is an integral part of the Hindi speaking region of India and Hindi is the state language, it is not the mother tongue of its people. Hindi is the language of education, culture, of talk with strangers and is generally spoken out of the home. The Hindi written in books or used in the market, courts and in administration is Khari Boli which is different from the three Bihari languages and many tribal languages spoken in Bihar.

Dr. Grierson has named western Magadhi speeches as Bihari. In this term he includes three dialects, Magahi, Maithili and Bhojpuri. There are four reasons for terming them as Bihari, viz.,

(i) Between Eastern Hindi and Bengali, Bihari has certain characteristics which are common to the three dialects.

(ii) It becomes a provincial language like Gujarati, Punjabi, Marathi etc.

(iii) The name is appropriate from the historical point of view. Bihar was so named after so many Buddhist viharas in the State. Ancient Bihari language was probably the language of early Buddhists and Jainas.

(iv) It is not a fact that in Bihari there is no literature. In Maithili we have extant ancient literature.

Bihari is spoken in one of its forms in Gorakhpur and Banaras division of Uttar Pradesh. In the south, a corrupt form of it is spoken in the plateau of Chotanagpur. From Himalaya Tarai in the north to Dhanbad in the south it is used extensively. Bihari was formerly classified with the speeches of Eastern Hindi. Historically speaking the speakers of Bihari are more akin to the people of U. P. Braja Bhasha was esteemed in Bihar in the medieval period and at present
Khari Boli is the medium of instruction and cultured speech all over Bihar. In spite of all this the fact remains that Bihari is a speech distinct from Eastern Hindi and has to be classified with Bengali, Oriya and Assamese as they share common descent from Magadhi, Prakrit and Apabhransha. It is clear that Hindi and Bihari have originated from two Prakrits. An uneducated and illiterate Bihari when he goes to Bengal begins to speak good Bengali with little effort but ordinarily it is not easy for an educated Bihari to speak correct Hindi. It is quite beside the point that for several reasons Hindi has been and will be the medium of instruction in Bihar. It is indeed fortunate for Biharies that they can enjoy the sweet literature of Bengal on the one hand and express themselves in Bihari the virile language of the west. Though Hindi is highly respected as a literary language in Bihar yet the Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri languages are deeply entrenched in the emotions of the people. Many words of these dialects are being used in Hindi by competent Bihar writers. At present there is no rivalry between Hindi and the Bihari speeches. In fact they supplement Hindi.

Dr. Grierson had viewed Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri as three forms of a single speech. He had come to this conclusion after a comparative study of the grammars of the three dialects. Dr. Jayakant Mishra has challenged the contention of Grierson and thinks that Bhojpuri cannot be classed in the Bihari language as the region had always been under the influence of Braja Bhasa and the Western Hindi. But influence cannot eclipse the fact of origin. The three dialects comprising Bihari are as distinct from Hindi as they are at one with each other. In the three dialects we have the same forms of noun and adjective. The doubts cast by Dr. Mishra regarding the forms of pronouns, auxiliary verb, and plural number in Bhojpuri have been answered by Dr. Udaya Narayan Tiwari.

Among the languages of Bihar, Maithili has a pre-eminent position. In its purest form it is spoken in the northern half of the Darbhanga district but with slightly varying form it is
used in parts of Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Saharsa and Purnea districts. It is the only language of Bihar which has an ancient literary history. Maithili prose literature is even older than Hindi. As early as 1324 Jyotirishwar Thakur produced his book Varnaratnakara. It describes the daily life of a Hindu prince and gives a complete picture of all aspects of aristocratic life. It shows its author as a person of great literary talent.

The greatest name in Maithili literature is that of Vidyapati who flourished in the 15th century A.D. Although attached to successive king of Mithila, his best work was composed in the court of Raja Sivasimha. Though he wrote in Apabhramsa also, his best work is a book of poems called Padavali. The sweep of his imagination and power of his observations and the all pervading sense of beauty make his lyrics, the gems of world literature. His theme was normal human love with all its sensuousness but gradually it rose above all material limitations and merged with the divine.

Govindadas in the 17th century chose the love of Radha and Krishna as his theme. His brother wrote a drama on the marriage of Krishna with Radha and created a tradition of Kirtaniya dramas. In some of the these dramas though the theme is classical, the customs described are peculiarly Maithil. Towards the end of the 19th century Pandit Chandra Jha wrote the Ramayana in flowing idiomatic Maithil. Jivan Jha broke away from the older tradition and wrote plays on social problems in Mithila.

Magahi or Magadhi is spoken in the districts of Patna, Gaya, Hazaribagh and also in the western part of Palamau, parts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur. On its eastern frontier Magahi meets Bengali. Grierson called the dialect of this region Eastern Magahi. It is said to be a rude and uncouth language. While Maithili was under the influence of learned Brahmans, Magahi is the language of the people who have been dubbed as boors since Vedic times. It has no indigenous
written literature. There are a number of folk-tales and popular songs in Magahi which have been transmitted from mouth to mouth. Strolling bards recite long epic poems in this dialect. The people of Magadha have been all through the ages in the nerve centre of cultural and religious movements. Magadha is a holy land not only for the Hindu but for the Buddhist and the Jaina. The emotional sincerity and the poetic excellence of Magahi songs are of a high order. Some of them depict not only important customs but also spiritual and occult practices. There are a host of songs that describe the ecstasy of Spring, Jhoola (swing) during the rainy season, the pangs of separation, the quarrel between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and the joking relationship between a woman and her sister-in-law. The songs sung on the occasion of birth and marriage are very sonorous and entertaining. Kaithi, ascribed to the Kāyasthas, the writer caste, is the script generally used for it. The pronunciation of Magahi is not so broad as in Maithili and there are a number of verbal forms for each person.

Bhojpuri is spoken in the western districts of Bihar such as Champaran, Saran, Shahabad, Palamu and Ranchi. Although Ranchi district is mainly populated by Adivasis, the common language of the people is Sadari or Sadani which is a form of Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri speakers are also found in northwestern Muzaffarpur and the Pirpainti and Golgong police stations of the Bhagalpur district. It is spoken in Banaras and Gorakhpur divisions of Uttar Pradesh.

Bhojpuri is so called after the speech of Bhojpur, a pargana of the Shahabad district. Bhojpuri people have a distinct and virile culture and the area has been famous in the past for a record of bravery. Bhojpuri is spoken in many forms. In grammatical structure Bhojpuri differs in some matters from the other two Bihari languages. It has peculiarities of declension and conjugation unknown to the others. On the whole its grammar is simpler than that of Maithili or Magahi,
Except in a few isolated instances the form of the verb depends only on the subject, the object having no influence upon it. Bhojpuri is also written in Kaithi. This script is being given up in favour of Devanāgari script by the educated people.

Enormous oral literature is extant in Bhojpuri in its folk songs, folk tales and legends. It abounds in proverbs and riddles. In the works of the poets of the Sant school like Kabir, Dharamdas, Dharnidas and Daryadas, Lakshmi, Sakhi etc. the influence of Bhojpuri is immense. Many collections of folk literature have been published by Grierson, Ram Naresh Tripathi, Krishnadeva Upadhyay, Durga Shankar Prasad Singh, W. G. Archer and Sankata Prasad. Present day Bhojpuri literature is down to earth realistic. Its ever recurring themes are the social, religious and family life of the common mass. Songs sung on the occasion of the birth of a son called Sohar and Khelauna are very fine. There is a class of songs to be sung during the various seasons of the year, month by month. Weeding operations in the agricultural field and the grinding of grain are depicted in Sohni and Janta songs. The ‘Biraha’ song depicts the sentiments of menfolk. These songs give a faithful picture of village life. The famous poem ‘Batohya’ written by Raghubir Narayan and the play entitled ‘Bidesia’ by Bhikhari Thakur have made history by their popularity. Bhikhari Thakur was the people’s poet of Bhojpuri and in his poems are reflected the joys and sorrows, the toils and tears of the simple rural folk of his area.

Besides the Bihari speeches, Bengali is spoken in areas contiguous to Bengal such as in Purnea, Santhal Parganas, Dhanbad and Singhbhum districts. It is also spoken by the Bengalis settled in the other parts of Bihar. The total number of Bengali speakers was 11,64,041 in 1961. Bengalis living in Bihar have made significant contributions to the development of Bengali literature. The famous Bengali novelist Sarat Chand Chatterjee wrote many of his novels in Bhagalpur. The local touch seems most pronounced in his novel ‘Srikant’. Bhagalpur is the home of two more talented
literateurs. Sri Upendranath Ganguly was a novelist and a contemporary of Sarat Babu. In our own time Dr. Balai Chandra Mukherjee, ‘Banaphul’ is a famous name in Bengali literature. His short stories, plays and novels are read all over with great interest. Sri Bibhuti Bhusan Mukherjee of Darbhanga is famous for his humorous novels and short-stories while Sri Kedarnath Banerjee of Purnea is noted for his travelogue, novels and essays.

Similarly Oriya is spoken by nearly three lakhs people in the district of Singhbhum contiguous to Orissa. The total number of Oriya speakers in 1961 was 3,02,951. Most of these people are, however, bilingual and also speak Hindi or the other important languages of the region they inhabit.

The second group of the languages spoken in Bihar is the Dravidian. There are two representatives of this group viz. Kurukh spoken by the Oraon and Malto spoken by the Sauria Paharia. They belong to the intermediate group of Dravidian languages and are quite distinct from both the Aryan and the Austric groups. They differ in their pronunciation, in the modes of indicating gender, in their declension of nouns, in their method of indicating the relationship of the verb to the object, in their numerical system, in their principle of conjugation, in the methods of indicating the negative and in their vocabularies. The Kurukh and Malto represent a Dravidian enclave in a region of Munda speech. Kurukh is more closely connected with ancient Tamil and Canarese than with any other of the great Dravidian Languages. Kurukh has no ancient literature though recently efforts are being made through Kurukh Katha Jatra to augment its literature. It is written in Devanagari and Roman scripts.

Malto is the language of the Sauria Paharia who live in Northern Santhal Parganas. It has borrowed largely from Santhali and Bengali in its vocabulary. Recently doubts have been cast regarding the classification of Malto in the Dravidian group as some of its characteristics are not found in the Dravidian languages. Malto has no literature of its own,
The third group of languages is Austric. It was Max Mullar who established for the first time the existence of the Munda family of languages as an independent body of speech apart from Dravidian and gave it a name. In the beginning of the twentieth century Wilhelm Schmidt proved that Mon Khmer forms a link between the Munda languages of India and the languages of Indonesia, grouping the first two with Khasi and some other minor forms of speech under the name of the Austro-Asiatic languages. Going further he has shown that the languages of Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia also form a group which he calls Austronesic. Thus the Austric languages were shown to stretch from Madagascar to the coast of South America.

The Austro-Asiatic languages in India have been the subject of keen controversy between linguists. By 1910 after various attempts have been made to connect the Munda languages with other linguistic families throughout the world considerable evidence had accumulated in favour of a possible relationship between Munda and the few scattered languages found high in the Himalayas between the great Central Range and the Inner Range of the Punjab Hills and also between Munda and the Mon-Khmer languages of South East Asia. The pyramidal structure of the Austric family of speech was so enlarged that Schmidt even tried to fit Japanese and the languages of Australia into it. Trombetti has even seen some connection between Munda and certain Continental and African languages. Grierson did not commit himself to Schmidt's view but the prominent place given to it in the Linguistic Survey of India has probably been responsible in large part for its acceptance. He dismisses Hahn's contention of a fundamental Dravidian origin for the Munda languages although he accepts with reservations the theory linking Munda languages with the Austric family. Not until as late as 1932 was there any challenge of importance to the theory of Munda Mon-khmer connection. In that year Hevesy attacked Sch-
midt's contention and arrived at the equally categorical conclusion that the Munda languages are definitely related to the Finno-Ugrian family of speech.

Sten Konow thinks that probably the Mundas or the tribes related to them had once been settled in the Himalayas where traces of their language could still be observed in the grammatical features of the Western Pronominalized Himalayan languages. Gordon T. Bowles is of the opinion that the most that can be said with regard to the possible affinities of the Munda languages is that eventually we should expect to find some demonstrable proof of relationship to other languages somewhere. No such proof or even substantial evidence either philological or grammatical is available. Schmidt's classification has recently received the support of F. B. J. Kuiper and remains on the whole the most widely accepted theory.

In Bihar the languages of various tribes like the Munda, the Birhor, the Santhal, the Kharia, the Kherwar, the Ho etc., belong to the Austro-Asiatic language family. Their speakers number more than 2½ million. The more important speeches are Mundari, Santhali and Ho. Mundari is written in Devanāgari and Roman scripts. It is an ancient language with a rich vocabulary and an intricate grammar. Some significant features of the language are as follows:

1. It has three numbers, singular, dual and plural.
2. It has three genders, masculine and feminine for animate objects and neuter for inanimate objects.
3. Verbal forms do not change according to gender and number.
4. Mundari has plenty of conjugations.
5. It has eight cases.
6. Six different verb endings are used varying according to the status (elders, equals or youngers) and gender of the person addressed.
Its rich oral literature is now being written down. Hoffmann's great work Encyclopaedia Mundarica written in thirteen volumes shows the wealth of ideas and concepts in Mundari. Recently a collection of its folk songs in original together with its Hindi translation has been brought out by Shri Jagdish Trigunayat. The same author has also edited a collection of its numerous folk tales. The folk songs and folk tales depict the life of the Munda in an exquisite way. Their love of nature, joys and sorrows, common pursuits, beautiful musical sense and rich imagery flow out of their folk literature. The Munda have a long religious epic called 'Sasobonga' composed in the form of a ballad. It has been written down. It tells the story of the creation, the fight between the Munda and the Asur and of the ultimate victory of good over evil. Fresh work in Mundari is also being done. The State Government has appointed a committee to prepare elementary school text books in Mundari. Similar efforts are being also made in Ho.

In Santhali its numerous folk tales have been compiled by C. H. Bompas. Two journals appear in Santhali and there is no dearth of articles for them. Santhali has been recognised as a subject of examination for the School Examination Board. The structure of the Mundari, Santhali, Kharia, Birhor, and Ho languages is the same. The difference lies in the vocabulary. A person with a sound knowledge of Mundari can make himself easily understood among all the tribes of the Mundari speaking group. Due to long contact with speakers of Indo-Aryan languages, Mundari, Santhali and Ho have borrowed a good many words from Sanskrit, Bengali and Oriya respectively.

The most important feature of the linguistic position in Chotanagpur is the widening range of bilingualism. A large proportion of the speakers of tribal languages speak some other Bihari language. This is a result of contact and facilities in the communication of new ideas.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Mother tongue</th>
<th>Total number of speakers</th>
<th>Second language</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>4,43,562</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>43,492</td>
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Besides these there is another language spoken in Chotanagpur known as Sadari or Gawari. It is a mixture of Bhojpuri and some tribal words. It is understood by most of the tribals residing in towns and even in the interior. This language has spread due to the influence of up-country merchants and zamindars. So wide is its expanse that it is actually the lingua franca of Chotanagpur. As it is not a cultured language but only a dialect, and since it generally is the second language of the speakers, it was counted as their mother tongue for 1,93,787 in the Census of 1961.

References
2. Ibid; p. 37.
CHAPTER V

(A) Territorial Divisions of Ancient Bihar.

In ancient times there was no state such as modern Bihar. We do not find any reference to the name Bihar in Pali or Sanskrit literature. The name was applied to the adjoining tracts of the modern small town of Bihar-Sharif for the first time during the invasion of Bakhtiyar Khilji. The invader found a large number of Buddhist Vihāras or monasteries in this region, so the whole area was named as Bihar. The town of Bihar-Sharif became an administrative centre during the early Muslim rule and with the expansion of their conquests, the whole land to the north and south of the Gaṅga came to be known by this name. The Chotanagpur area remained a separate unit under the name of Jhārkhand. Bihar was definitely recognised as a province during the reign of Akbar, and the district of Champaran, which lies in the extreme north of this State was a sarkar in its jurisdiction. Thus we see that Bihar as the name of this State is not an ancient one.

In ancient times, the area now falling under the jurisdiction of Bihar comprised several states—some as a whole and some in parts. The states of Mithilā (Videha), Vaiśāli (Licchavi), Magadha and Anāga definitely formed parts of Bihar as a whole, while some portions of the states of the Mallas, Kośala and Vaṅga were also contained in its territory.

Let us discuss these ancient states one by one and mark the changes that took place in course of centuries.

Videha:—Of all the ancient states which existed in the region of modern Bihar, the land of the Videhas was the first to come into contact with the Aryan civilization. We find a casual reference to the Videhan country for the first time in the Saṭapatha Brāhmaṇa. The text relates that Māthava Videgha,
accompanied by the priest Gotama Rahugana, proceeding from the bank of the Saraswati came to the Sadanira, the land beyond which was not touched by the sacrificial fire and so was uninhabited by any Brahmana. The Fire god, Agni, promised to live there but not in physical form. Then Mathava Videgha cleared the jungle, dried up the marshes and established his kingdom. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks that this is the land referred to in the Mahabharata as Jalodbhava or 'reclaimed from the swamp.' But in our opinion this epithet has been applied to the territory which comprises the modern district of Saharsa and Purnea and the eastern part of Darbhanga District.

It is clear from the Vedic story that Mathava was the leader of the first emigrants to spread Aryan culture in that part of India and so it was after him that the territory was known as Videha.

The name of Videha is evidently derived from the chieftain's name 'Videgha' and story of Agni's promise to live there in disincarnate form is probably a late tradition developed after the region got its name, on the basis of a false etymology (Videha—"deprived of body").

The boundary of Videha is a matter of controversy among scholars. We have no authoritative source to ascertain its northern, eastern and southern limits. As there is no mention of a state to the north of Videha, it is possible that the modern Nepalese Terai formed its northern boundary. On the east, the Kosi is the only natural boundary. The Videhas may have spread up to this river without much difficulty. But the course of this river has shifted from time to time and we are not sure of Videha's eastern limit. The western branch of the main river Kosi may have formed the eastern limit of Videha. It is more difficult to trace the southern limit of the Videhan territory. In the sixth century B.C., there were two main States on the northern side of the Ganga—Videha and Vaishali. As the city of Vaishali has been located at Basarh,
just to the north of the Ganga, the Videhan territory must have been to the north of it. There should be no doubt about the western boundary. The Sadanira is the modern Gandak. The people inhabiting the western bank of the Gandak are quite different in speech and culture from the people on its eastern side. They must have originally belonged to a separate tribe and a different state. Pargiter, taking Sadanira as the modern Rapti, states that “Videha comprised the country from Gorakhpur on the Rapti to Darbhanga, with Kosala on the west and Anga on the east. On the east it approached the hills and on the south it was bounded by the small kingdom of Vaisali.” As the boundary given by Pargiter is far to the west, we cannot agree that Videha comprised such a large area. The Suruchi Jataka states that the whole kingdom of Videha was three hundred leagues in extent. This is typical of the exaggerations often to be found in the geographical data of the Buddhist sources. That the kingdom was of this size does not seem to be plausible. The kingdom of Videha, even including the Vaisali territory, could not have extended over 1500 to 1800 miles. In the Ramanaya, the territory is generally referred to as Mithila but this epic does not throw any light upon its extent. It seems to have been an important kingdom as it has not been included among the states under the influence of King Darasratha. Varahamihira locates Videha to the west of the Sona and the Narmada. Did a group of the Videhans settle in the Madhya Pradesh and gave the region the name of Videha, as we find in the case of the Ikshvakus and the Kosalas?

In the sixth Century B.C., before the rise of Buddhism, the Videhan kingdom had sunk to a low position. The monarchy had been replaced by a republic and the territory itself formed a component part of the Vajjian confederacy whose capital was Vaisali. This is probably the reason why Videha has not been enumerated as one of the sixteen great Janapadas in the Anguttara Nikaya.
Vajji:—The people known as Vajji or Vrijji are referred to by Pāṇini and Kauṭilya. They appear to have almost merged with the tribe of the Licchavis who are more widely referred to.

The territory of the Licchavis was called Vaiśāli which was also the name of their capital and lay a little further from the north bank of the Gaṅgā. We have not found any detailed accounts of its boundary, but from various casual references in Pāli, Prākrit and Sanskrit literature, we can determine it roughly.

The Rāmāyana says that Viśvāmitra showed the city of Viśāla, which is probably no other than Vaiśāli, to Rāma and Lakshmana just after crossing the Gaṅgā. The Udāna explicitly mentions that the Vaggumudā river flowed to the east of the Vaijī territory. This river is the Bagmati of modern times which flows through the Darbhanga District. This river thus seems to have been the eastern boundary of the Vaiśāli territory. The kingdom of Videha was on the northern border of the Licchavi territory, but no line of demarcation can be traced to distinguish the two territories. As modern Basarh, the site of ancient Vaiśāli, is to the east of the Gandak, we may assume that this river formed a natural boundary on the west. It should be noted that then the Gandak flowed a little to the west of its present course. Rāhula Saṅkṛtyāyana believes that modern Dighwara, where from the Gandak flowed in those days, was the western limit of the Vaijī territory.

Thus the territory was bounded on the west, south and east respectively by three rivers—the Gandak, the Gaṅgā, and the Bagmatī while on the north was the kingdom of Videha.

The modern districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and a part of Darbhanga may have been comprised in the Licchavi territory at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., when the Licchavis were at the zenith of their power.
The joint territory of the Videhas and the Licchavis was bounded by the Nepalese Terai on the north, the Kosi on the east, the Ganga on the south and the Gandak on the west.

Kautilya draws a distinction between the Licchivikas and the Vrijjis. Hsuan-Tsang distinguishes Fu-li-chih (Vrijjis) from Fei-She-li (Vaisali). The Vrijjis were a separate clan, but Vaisali was the common capital of the confederacy. Of the remaining tribes of the Vajjian confederacy, only one name is known that of the Jaatrikas, famous in Jain legend; they appear to have been largely merged with the Licchavis and to have resided in the neighbourhood of Vaisali. The remaining four tribes must have been quite insignificant.

In early medieval period, this region was known as Mithilā. But the common people may already have known it by the more modern name of Tirhut. This word is probably a corruption of Tirabhukti which has been explained in different ways in medieval Sanskrit works. According to the Mithilā Khanda of the Brihadavishnu Purāna, Tirabhukti means the land along the banks of the fifteen rivers which flow from the Himalayas to the Ganga between the Kosi and the Gandak. Some scholars explain Tirhut as connected with Trihutam which means the land of three sacrifices. The second explanation seems to be merely based on an eulogy of this region by its local Pundits and we do not think that it carries any weight. The first explanation may be correct in the sense that the land was encircled by three rivers—the Gandaki, the Ganga and the Kauśiki.

However we may offer a third explanation. Some seals of the Gupta period have been discovered from the Vaisali region with inscriptions addressed to the Officers-in-charge of Tirabhukti. This seems to suggest that Tira may have been proper name of a bhukti, which was definitely an administrative unit during the Gupta Period. This bhukti of Tira may have been situated in the adjoining banks (Tira) of the Gandak
and Gaṅgā whence the whole region derived its name. The Sanskrit grammarian Vāmana, whose probable date is eighth century A. D., has mentioned Tīrabhukti as the name of a country.

Al-Beruni, who came to India with Mahmud of Ghazna, seems to have referred to this region. He states that opposite to Tīlwat, the country to the left is called Nepal. This Tīlwat can be no other than the modern Tīrhut, which seems to have extended in those days to the extremity of the Nepalese Terai. The Terai people even at present use a dialect which is more akin to the Maithili language than to Nepali.

The Mithilā Khanda of the Brihadvishnu Purāṇa defines the boundary of Tīrabhukti as the Himavat on the north, the Gaṅgā on the south, the Kośi on the east and the Gandak on the west. The Saktisangamatantra describes Tīrabhukti as extending from the Gaṇḍaki to the end of the Champakāranya. Here the Gandaki may mean its confluence with the Gaṅgā, Champakāranya is definitely Champaran of today. The text is silent about the boundaries in other three directions.

It is possible that the Terai area once formed a part of Tīrhut or Videha. The Saṃyutta-Nikāya states that there was a 'Pabbataratthā' in Videha. But there is no hill in north Bihar excepting a few ranges in the district of Champaran. We, therefore, may suggest that the Pabbataratthā should be identified with the Nepalese Terai.

The Buddhist literature throws a flood of light upon the geography of the Terai. There were many cities and civilized tribes settled in Terai region. But in modern times the case is quite reverse. At present it is full of jungles and is thinly populated. There seem to have been changes in the climate of the Terai. However, we have not got data to tell explicitly when these changes took place and the Terai became depopulated, but from the account of Fāhsien who found Kapilavastu deserted, it should appear probable that the process was completed by about A. D. 400.
**Malla:**—The modern district of Saran which lies to the west of the Gandak, should have fallen in the Kośala Janapada according to the evidence of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. Owing to the scarcity of facts with a firm chronological basis, we cannot say how long the Kośalan monarchs ruled over this region. From the Aṅguttara Nikāya, we learn of tribal or republican states like the Mallas and Moriyas. The Mallas were divided into two branches—the Mallas of Pāvā and the Mallas of Kuśināra. Both places have been located in the Gorakhpur District. We are not sure of the region where the Moriyas ruled. The Buddhist literature associates them with Pippalivana which is generally identified with Nygrodhavana of Hsüan-Tsang, a village in the Gorakhpur District of Uttar Pradesh. According to some traditions, Pippalivana is identified with a village Piparia in the District of Champaran. But this identification lacks corroborative evidence. Having all these considerations in view it seems that the modern Saran District in this region differs in dialect and culture from those who inhabit the area to the east of the Gandak. The Mallas were the close allies of the Liechavis and they formed a confederation to oppose the Magadhan ruler. We do not know what became of the Mallas but it is possible that they were subjugated by Ajātaśatru with their neighbours, the Liechavis.

The most important river, mentioned for the first time in the Vedic literature in connection with the Videhas, is the Sadānīra which means a river always full of water. This river formed a boundary line between Kośala and Videha. It is generally identified with the Gandaki or with the Rapti, while some identify it with the Karatoya which flows through northern Bengal. If we identify the Sadānīra with the Rapti, we shall have to presume that the boundary of Videha extended much farther west than it was in later times and at the same time we shall have to locate the Malla terri-
tories between Kośala and Videha, which is not possible according to the Vedic texts. The identification of the Sadānirā with the Kāratoṣa is now rejected by all authorities, since it places it far too much to the east.

Thus the Sadānirā can be no other than the modern Gandak. The course of this river was more westerly in ancient time. Megasthenes knew it as a tributary of the Gaṅgā and called it Condochates.29 Artemidoros30 speaks of a certain affluent of the Gaṅgā as breeding crocodiles and dolphins. He named it Oidentes. At present time, the Gandak is the only tributary of the Gaṅgā which breeds crocodiles. We, therefore, think that the Oidentes of Artemidoros is no other than the Gandak.

Vegavatī:—The Jain literature31 mentions a river Vayavai which seems to be the Sanskrit Vegavatī. Martin32 identified it with the Gandak. The Vegavatī is probably the ancient name of the Bāvā, a small stream which flows through the District of Muzaffarpur.

Bāgmatī:—This river does not play any important part in ancient Indian literature. This river has been variously named as Bāgavatī, Vagamatī, Bāghavatī, Bāhumatī, Vachamatī, Vaggumudā and the like. It formed the eastern boundary of the Vajji territory.

Kosi:—The Kosi has long been the most important river of north Bihar. It is the most notorious river for changing its course. At present the river has a devastating effect on the area it flows through. But there were beautiful gardens and groves33 on its banks in ancient time. The river is frequently referred to in Sanskrit literature. It is mentioned under the name of Kauśikā in the Nidhanpur34 copperplate of Bhāskaravarman. The Kosaimos of Arrian35 and Cosaugas of Pliny are generally identified with the modern Kosi.36
**ANGA:**—The ancient state of An ga has been variously mentioned in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit literature, but altogether the references are hardly sufficient to give any detailed knowledge of this state as they do in the cases of Magadha and the Vajji territories.

We find the An gas mentioned for the first time in the Atharva Veda[37] where they are held in contempt with the Gândhari, Mujavants and Māgadhās. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa[38] alludes to the An gas with the Māgadhās. The Rāmāyana[39] mentions the An ga country between the river Gaṅga and the Sarayū. We know certainly that the An gas were not found in this region in the historical period. However, N. L. Dey[40] concludes from this that "the northern portion of the country of Magadha along the southern bank of the Ganges was then included in the country of An ga." But this is hardly credible when we see the An gas occupying only a small territory in the beginning of the sixth century B. C. It seems possible that the Rāmāyana contains an ancient tradition of the migration of the An gas from west to east in the remote past when they might have settled between the Gaṅga and the Sarayū in course of their eastward march.

An ga is identified with the present districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and a portion of Santhal Parganas. However, its limits have varied from time to time. The natural boundary on the north was the Gaṅga and according to the Campeya Jātaka, the river Campa flowed between the states of Magadha and An ga and thus formed the latter's western boundary. Taking the Campa as the western limit of An ga, we shall have to assume on the basis of its present course that a major portion of the district of Bhagalpur was not under An ga but under Magadha. The An ga territory seems to have comprised the portions of the Santhal Parganas and Bhagalpur Districts. We have no authoritative evidence to determine its limit on the south and the east. To the south-east of the Bhagal-
pur District there is a place on the border of Bihar and West Bengal, called Teliagarhi, which was very important from the strategical point of view. This part might have been the eastern limit of Aṅga while on the south, this State comprised the northern portion of the Santhal Parganas. According to Sir George Birdwood the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad also formed a part of Aṅga. We have no evidence that at any time Aṅga expanded over such a large tract. If it is true, the Aṅgas must have risen to such an eminent position before the rise of Magadha. It seems that the kings of Aṅga in those days expanded their territory in all directions. The Vindhura Pandita Jataka describes Rājagṛha as a city of Aṅga. The Mahābhārata refers to a king of Aṅga who sacrificed on the mount Vishnupada, which is probably the sacred hill at Gaya. This shows that Magadha was at some time or other under the suzerainty of Aṅga. We find Aṅga and Vaṅga forming one Vishaya in the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata. The Kathāsaritsāgara says that Viṭhāmkapura was a city of Aṅga on the sea.

From the Rāmāyaṇa, we may gather that at some time the Aṅga kings either ruled the Kośi area (Kauśīkikṣetra) or had overwhelming influence in this region. The courtesans of Aṅga are said to have beguiled Rishyāśūṅga from his hermitage in this area and brought him to the Aṅga capital. It would be hardly possible to perpetrate such an act in a foreign territory.

Aṅguttarāśa:—The Kauśīkikṣetra, which lay to the north of Aṅga across the river Gaṅgā, was probably known as Aṅguttarāśa to Buddhist scholars. The Saṁyutta Nikaya commentary explains it as a kingdom of Aṅga, near the water across the Gaṅgā. This Aṅguttarāśa should thus be identified with the modern Purnea and Saharsa Districts. This is probably the land which has been referred to as Jalodbhava (reclaimed from the swamp) in the Mahābha-
rata. Dr. Raychaudhuri is inclined to identify this land with that of Videha, but a Videhan king defeated by Bhima has been referred to separately in the same chapter. Nor was Videha ever so much under water as the area to the east of it.

Although Aṅga has no separate existence after the sixth century B.C. the later literary works very often refer to the kings of Aṅga. The Śaṅkhaśāktyamata-tantra gives a fanciful boundary of the Aṅga territory. It says that Aṅga extended from Vaidyanātha to Bhuvanēśa. Vaidyanātha is probably modern Deoghar in the Santhal Parganas and Bhuvanēśa is no other than Bhuvanēśvara, the new capital of Orissa. It seems quite an exaggeration to suggest that Aṅga ever extended to such a distance as Bhuvanēśvara. It may be that divisions of the countries in the Śaṅkhaśāktyamata-tantra are based on some special geographical terminology of Śaṅkya. On the other hand this passage may simply represent the echo of the ancient glory of the kings of Aṅga.

Modāgiri:—From the Mahābhārata, we learn that the Kauśikikshetra and Modāgiri had their own kings, who were defeated by the Pāṇḍava prince. The word Modāgiri seems to have been derived from Mudgagiri. These references may in fact represent petty chiefs reigning in post-Maurya times, when the legend of the Mahābhārata was brought upto-date and almost every region of the then known India was incorporated into the story. The former Kingdom, which was to the north of the Gaṅga, might have cut off its connection with Aṅga and found a principality of its own. But we have no materials available to ascertain the limit of Modāgiri. The territory of Modāgiri or Mudgagiri may have comprised the region adjoining the present Patna and Gaya Districts.
Hsiian-Tsang\textsuperscript{54} mentions the capital of a kingdom under the name of I-la-na-po-fa-to which has been generally identified with the Hiranya Parvata. This is probably the hill in the neighbourhood of Monghyr, the Modāgiri of the Mahā-bhārata. The pilgrim estimated the circuit of this kingdom as 3000 li, equivalent to 500 miles. Cunningham,\textsuperscript{55} therefore, observes that “the kingdom was bounded by the Ganges on the north, and by the great forest-clad mountains on the south and as its circle has been estimated as 3000 li or 500 miles, it must have extended to the south as far as the famous mountain of Parasanātha.” He, therefore, fixes its limit as extending from Lakhisarai to Sultangunj on the Gaṅga in the north and from the western end of the Parsvanātha hill to the junction of the Barakar and the Damuda river in the south.\textsuperscript{56}

**Magadha:**—We do not know how the word Magadha originated or what it signifies. The Rgveda does not mention this word. In the Yajurveda, we often find minstrels called ‘Māgadhās’ singing on the occasion of sacrifices.\textsuperscript{57} It is possible that the region from which the minstrels went to attend the sacrifices, was called Magadha. But we are not sure whether the land ‘Magadha’ was named after the ‘Māgadhā’ or minstrels or vice-versa. Martin\textsuperscript{58} thinks that Magadha was named after the Maga caste of the Brāhmaṇas who are said to have come from Sakaadvipa, but we now know that the region was known by this name long before the Sakas had penetrated into India.

There are some scholars such as Zimmer\textsuperscript{59} and Weber\textsuperscript{60} who identify Māgadhā with the region known as Kīkāṭa in the Rgveda. From a hymn of the Rgveda\textsuperscript{61} it appears that Kikāṭa was famous for its cows, which were not milked. The Āryans must have looked towards those cows, with greedy eyes. At present, however, Magadha is definitely not famous for her cows, nor do we find any reference to the abundance of cows in Magadha at any period of history. This would
suggest that Kikāṭa was a land other than Magadha. The Hariyana region is more famous for its cows and abundance of milk. It might have been outside the Āryan Zone in the days of the Ṛgveda, but near enough for the Āryans to be well acquainted with its cattle. Secondly Pramaganda, the king of the Kikāṭa, was well known to the Āryans, who fought against them. This battle must have taken place some where in the western part of U. P. We do not see any possibility of Pramaganda coming from such a distant place as Magadha to oppose the Āryan horde. Yāska has identified Kikāṭa with Magadha and following him later writers did so without considering the point. The author of the Vāyu Purāṇa identified Kikāṭa with Magadha, while its commentator identified it with the Gaya District only. The Śaktisaṅgama-tantra also follows the Vāyu Purāṇa and explains Kikāṭa as a region extending from Caranāḍri to Griddhakūṭa to the south of Magadha. Martin identifies Caranāḍri with Chunar in the district of Mirzapur and the latter with Gidhaur in the Jamui Sub-division of the Monghyr District. He further says that "it is by many alleged that the whole Kikāṭa in more modern times took the name of Magadha from the Magas who settled in its eastern part; but this is here denied and all the country west from the Son, retains the name of Kikāṭa, which it anciently held, while the Magas from the śākadvīpa communicated their name to the eastern part alone."

We do not know on what basis the author of the Śaktisaṅgama-tantra extended Kikāṭa from Chunar to Griddhakūṭa. The area round about Chunar must have been in ancient times either under Kośala or Vatsa. It could not have been a part of original Kikāṭa. The Abhidhānachintāmāni also identifies Kikāṭa with Magadha. But the identification is uncertain and doubted by Oldenberg and Hillebrandt. It would seem that while Kikāṭa was originally the name of
a Punjab tribe in Vedic times, it was later some times used for parts of Magadha. The word Magadha actually occurs in the *Athravanava* where its inhabitants are held in deep contempt with the Aṅgas, Gāndharis and the Mujavants. Even at a later date there was much uncertainty as to whether Magadha was to be included in the sacred land of the Madhyadesa, where Brahmin orthodoxy prevailed. According to Varāhamihira Magadha was situated in the eastern divisions of India. However, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* included Magadha, which in earlier texts was often considered a non-Aryan land, in the Madhyadesa.

In literature and inscriptions, we often come across the name 'Magadha'. There are other names also which may be identified with Magadha and such a name is Pīthi. The Rāmacarita explicitly mentions Pīthi, a state which helped Rāmapāla in overcoming his enemies. The Janibigha inscription recorded in the 83rd expired year of the Lakshmana Sena era also refers to the state of Pīthi. As the inscription has been discovered in a village, only six miles to the east of Bodh Gaya, H. Pandey arrived at the conclusion that the name Pīthi seems to have been given to the southern portion of Magadha at least about the 12th Century A. D. Dr. R. D. Banerjee is not definite about its location and simply states that Pīthi may have been a state between Kānya-kubja and Gauda. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that in the early Sena times Pīthi denoted the whole of Bihar except Mithilā. The commenator of the Rāmacarita expounds Pīthipati as Magadhādhipati. Dr. Jayaswal's opinion is positively erroneous, as we find a few other states situated in Bihar which are also said to have helped Rāmapāla. H. Pandey seems to be right in locating this state and the name must have been derived from the Vajrasana (Pīthi—throne or seat) of Buddha at Bodh Gaya. The Pīthipati may have been a chief enjoying much power on account of the religious merits of
the place. But S. S. Majumdar\textsuperscript{76} thinks that modern Pirpainti in the eastern part of Bhagalpur District may be identified with the name of Pithī on philological grounds. His arguments are not very sound and we find little similarity in Pithī and Pirpainti.

None of the sources presents a clear picture of the exact extension of Magadha. In modern times Magah or Magadha is identified with the districts of Patna and Gaya including the northern fringe of the Hazaribagh District. Hence Grierson thinks that Magadha in the time of the Buddha corresponded to the modern district of Gaya only. But the ancient Magadha seems to have had a larger area than the modern word applies. The Campeya Jātaka\textsuperscript{77} states that the river Campā flowed between Āṅga and Magadha, which shows that a fair portion of the modern Bhagalpur District was actually in Magadha. The Gaṅgā flowed between the Licchavi state and Magadha.\textsuperscript{78} But we are not sure how far Magadha extended on the west and south. Malālasekhara says that "At the time of the Buddha, the kingdom of Magadha was bounded on the east by the river Campā, on the south by the Vindhyan mountains, on the west by the Šona, and on the north by the Gaṅgā."

The extension of Magadha on the south has not been defined clearly, though Malālasekhara\textsuperscript{80} seems to be right when he says that Magadha was bounded on the south by the Vidihya hills, which would form a natural boundary. But the whole Chhotanagpur area is full of the Vindhyan ranges. Cunningham\textsuperscript{81} therefore extends the limit of Magadha up to the Damuda on the south and N.L. Dey\textsuperscript{82} goes as far south as the Singhbhum District. The modern Chotanagpur area in those days was full of dense forest. It is, therefore, possible that these wild areas were loosely under the influence of Magadha but were not actually a part of it. The people of the northern part of the Hazaribagh District still use the Magahi
dialect and this area may have formed a part of Magadha in ancient days.

On the west, N. L. Dey\(^8\) thinks that Magadha extended up to Varānśi or near it during the reign of Bimbisāra or Ajatasatru, but this simply implies that the whole region up to Varānasī was under the control of the Magadhan rulers, and not that it was a part of Magadha. Cunningham\(^9\) contracts the western limit to the Karmanāśa, which is at present western boundary of Bihar. He bases his arguments on the distances given by Hsüan-Tsang. But the rough measurements given by the pilgrim should not be taken too seriously.

From the Ramayāṇa\(^8\) it appears that the hermitage of Viśvamitra, which is traditionally located at Buxar in the district of Shahabad, was situated in the Karuska and Malādādesa. The Brahmanda Purāṇa\(^8\) refers to Vedagarbhapuri, which is identified with modern Buxar, as situated in Kārufa-deśa.\(^8\) Martin\(^8\) says that according to the local tradition the land between the Sona and the Karmanāśa was called Kārusha-deśa after the Daitya of the same name.

The Kārusha tribe is scarcely mentioned in the Vedic literature. But it is often alluded to in the epics and Purāṇas. The Kārusha seems to have had several settlements. The Vishnu Purāṇa\(^8\) mentions them with the Matsyas, Cedis and Bhojas. Pargiter\(^9\) locates their country to the south of Kāśi and Vatsa, between Cedī on the west and Magadha on the east enclosing the Kaimur hills.

The Vāyu\(^9\), Matsya\(^9\) and Markandeya\(^9\) Purāṇas ascribe the Kārushas to the Vindhya region (Vindhyaaprśīthavāsinah). It is evident that the Kārushas were settled in the region between Reva and Shahabad in early times at least.

We are quite at a loss about the Māladas, who, the Ramayāṇa would suggest, lived in the same region. We have no knowledge of their region.
**Jhārkhand**:—The modern Chotanagpur area is bounded on the north by the Patna and Bhagalpur divisions, on the east by the state of West Bengal, on the south by the state of Orissa, and on the west by the state of Madhya Pradesh.

The tract was almost a complete wilderness in ancient times. We hardly find reference to this region in our ancient literature. We have no authoritative source available to tell us the nomenclature or the size of the tract. There were apparently certain isolated places, such as the Pārvanāth hill, where a few ascetics went to meditate in peace and solitude; these are the only places clearly referred to in our sources.

The Jain literature mentions a region named Sambhuttara or Sumhottara. This region is probably what was known in later times as Sumha. Rahula Saṅkṛityāyana understands that Sumha covered a portion of the Hazaribagh and Santhal Pargana Districts. As the Jain literature was composed in later centuries, we do not hold the name to be very ancient. The Mahābhārata mentions another region Pāubhūmi in the east, conquered by Bīma. This region has not been identified, but one may be tempted to locate it somewhere in the region of modern Chotanagpur. In Chotanagpur there are numerous place-names which end in bhum, such as Manbhum, Dalbhum, Singhbhūm and the like. It is possible that Pāubhūmi was a district in this area which received its name from the abundance of its wild animals.

N. L. Dey, on the basis of the Greek historians, conjectures that the region round the Pārasvānāth hill was called Mallade a. But the mount Malus of the Greek writers cannot be definitely located in the region of the Pārasvānāth hill and this piece of information is not supported by any indigenous sources available to us.

In referring to Jhārkhand, Mangovind Banerjee tells us that “the ancient names by which this country was called were Murunda in the Vāyu Purāna, Munda in the Vīshnu
Purana, Mindala by Ptolemy and Mondes by Pliny. The conjecture of Mr. Banerjee is open to doubt.

As we have said above the Jain sources throw a faint ray of light on the geography of this region. But they are so vague in their description that it is very difficult to identify the places they mention with any amount of certainty. However, scholars have tried to locate a few places in the Jharkhand area.

Bhangya or Bhangi is included in the twenty-five Aryan countries, with Pava as its capital. This kingdom is referred to in the Mahabharata also. It probably comprised the districts of Hazaribagh and Dhanbad. Its capital Pava is located in the region near Parsvanath hills.

Another region Daddhabhumi is said to have been inhabited by many Mlecchas. It may be identified with Dhalbhumi in the Singhbhum District.

Ladhadesa of the Jains was divided into Vajjabhumi and Subhabhumi. The latter may be the Singhbhum District of Bihar.

About 1100 A.D. this region is said to have contained certain small kingdoms whose rulers helped Ramapala in recovering his ancestral throne. There are the Kujavati, Tailkampa and Kajangala Mandala. The Kujavi kingdom is identified with a place of the same name, 14 miles to the north of Naya Dumka in the Santhal Parganas. Tailkampa, on the basis of similarity of names, has been identified with modern Telkapi in the Dhanbad District. The Kajangala Mandala is to the south of the Rajmahal hills. It is probably the same as Kajangala mentioned by Hsian-Tsang.

We have seen above that there is lack of mountain ranges in the north Bihar but just opposite, the South Bihar is full of hills and jungles. Some of these hills are very important from the historical point of view.
The hills at Rajagṛha are very famous in Sanskrit and Buddhist literature. Their total number is five. These five hills bore different names in different periods, they are Vaihāra, Pāṇḍava, Vipula, Grīdhakhūta and Rśigiri.

Besides these hills at Rajagṛha, the Vaidyaka mountain is very famous in its neighbourhood. The latter has been alluded to in the Dīghanikāya only. This hill is also known as Indasala cave. Cunningham identified this hill with that of Giriyaṇ while Broadley preferring Fa-shien as source of his information came to the conclusion that the hill at Bihar-Sharif is the probable site of Indasalagūha. From the general description of the hill as given by Hsüan-Tsang, it appears that the hill should be identified with a hillock two miles to the south-west of Giriyaṇ.

There are many small hills in the town and neighbourhood of Gaya. The most famous of them from the historical point of view is the Mora mountain which has been referred to by Fa-hsien and Hsüan-Tsang both. They say that Buddha performed austerities on this hill and it was here that he resolved to attain perfect enlightenment. Hūsan-Tsang calls this hill Po-lo-ki-Pu-ṭi or Prāgbodhi. This hill is nowhere referred to in Pāli or Sanskrit literature. The identification by Cunningham with Mora mountain seems to be correct.

The Barābar hills in the district of Gaya are very famous. This group has been variously referred to in literature and inscriptions. It was known as Khaltikagiri, Gorathagiri, Pravaragiri and the like at different periods.

The Gurupa hill in the south east of the Gaya District is also famous. The Kukkuṭapādagiri or Gurupaṇḍagiri of Pāli literature is identified by R. D. Banerjee with this hill while Cunningham is of opinion that the small ranges of hills near Wazirganj in the district of Gaya are the famous Kukkuṭapādagiri.
The Mandāra hill in the Bhagalpur District is famous in the Purāṇas. The hill bears several inscriptions of historical importance. It was probably known as mount Maleus to Megasthenes.111

The Kalhua hills stand on the bank of Lilajan river in the district of Hazaribagh. There are extensive ruins on the top of this hill. A large number of broken images are found there. N. L. Dey112 identifies this hill with the Mukulparvat of the Burmese annals where the Budha is said to have passed his sixth rainy season.

The highest and the most important of hills in Bihar is the Pārsvanāth hill in the Giridih Sub-division of the Hazaribagh District. The hill seems to have been an abode of Jain ascetics from a very early date and no less than nineteen Tīrthankaras are said to have entered into Nirvāṇa on the top of this hill. In the Kalpasūtra113 this hill is known as Sammeta-Sikhara.

**References**

1. Ain-i-Akbari, pp. 152, 155.
2. S. B. i. A. 110.
4. II. 30, 4
5. J. A. S. B. 1897, p. 89.
7. Rām Bāl 13, 20 etc.
8. Rām Ayo 10, 37.
10. 1. p. 213.
11. N. 2. 131 Madra vijiyoḥ kan.
Territorial Divisions

20. Al-Berunī’s India, p. 201.
22. Legge—The Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms Ch. XXII, p.49.
23. Ś. P. 1-4; 1.10.
27. Oldenburg, Budda p. 393.
29. Indika, Arrian, Ch. IV. MacCrindle p. 197.
30. Indika, Strabo Ch. IV.
31. Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons p.257.
34. E.I. XII, p. 65; XIX, p.115.
35. Indika Ch. IV, p. 191.
36. Ibid. p. 192 (Foot note).
41. Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 7
    The author does not give a reference to the work of Birdwood,
    much less to Birdwood’s original work.
43. Śānti Parva, 29. 35.
44. II—44.9.
46. Samyuṭṭa Nikāya. Aṭṭṭhakathā Vol. II. pp. 437, 439; Dīgha Nikāya
    Aṭṭṭhakathā III. p. 363.
47. Ibid.
48. Most probably Begusarai & adjoining parts of North Monghyr
    (Ed.).
49. II. 304.
51. Ch. VII. 16.
52. II.30-21.
Modern Monghyr and adjoining regions? (Ed.)

Ou Yuan Chuang II, p. 178.

A. G. I. p. 546


Vājasaneyi Samhitā XXX, 5, 22; Taitiriya Brāhmaṇa III 5,1,1.

Eastern India Vol I, p. 406

Altindisches Lehen 31: 118.

Indisches Studien I, 168.

III. 53, 14,

Ibid.

Nirukta Vi. 32.

Ch. 108, 74.


Buddha pp. 400, 402, 403, Rg-veda No ten 1, 253.

Vedische Mythologie I, 14-18.

Author’s presumption simply on the doubtful premise that cows are not as famous in Magadha as in Haryana today, the Kikāta could not be Magadha is unwarranted (Ed.).

V. 22, 14.

Bṛhatasamhitā ch. xvi-6.

II. 5 (Commentary) p. 42.


M. A. S. B. V. No. 3, pp. 86-89.


pp. 36, 38.

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I. IV 506.

A. III. 439, Dvy. p. 55.

D. P. P. N. Part II, p. 403.

D. P. P. N. II p. 403.

A. G. I., p. 518.


Ibid.

A. G. I., p. 508.

Bāl., p. 24-17.

Purva Khaṇḍa. Ch. 5.

Recent archaeological excavations conducted by the Directorate of State Archaeology & Museum, Government of Bihar reveal no strata and antiquities which could be dated prior to 500 B.C. (Ed.)

B-TIRTHAS IN BIHAR

Bihar received international recognition as a centre of pilgrimage long before the beginning of the Christian era. Buddhists came from far off countries to pay their homage to the places hallowed by the memory of the Enlightened One, Mahāvīra, the greatest of the Jaina Tirthamkāras was born in North Bihar and relinquished his mortal coils in South Bihar. Twenty of the Tirthamkāras, who preceded him, are said to have attained Nirvāṇa on the famous Pārāśānāth Hill. Gayā was recognised as one of the holiest of the holy tirthas long
before Magadha had been completely Aryanised. An old and well-known couplet states that a person visiting Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Magadha and Saurāṣṭra, except with the object of going on pilgrimage, would deserve to be re-initiated. Lākṣmīdhara² in the first-half of the twelfth century quotes Baudhāyana³ to indicate that Aṅga, Magadha, and Trīśaṁkudeśa, were as unfit for the performance of funeral rites and for pilgrimage as Ānarta or Saurāṣṭra, Kaliṅga and Sindhu regions. Trīśaṁkudeśa, according to the Vāyu Purāṇa⁴, covered an area of 12 Yajana, extending from the north of the river Mahānadi to the south of Kikata or Magadha. It is significant that the tradition recorded by Baudhāyana reflects a stage of culture when even the Sindhudeśa, which must have witnessed the composition of many Vedic hymns, was regarded unholy, and places like Dvārakā, Prabhāsa, Raivataka and Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra and Puri in Kaliṅga had not acquired sanctity. Early works like Vasiṣṭha (v. 11), Brihaspati (verse 20), Yājñavalkya (I. 261) and Uśanas (III. 130) are silent about tīrthas, but they all speak in very high terms about the merits of Gayā. Of the early Dharmashastras Viṣṇu alone gives a list of about 54 tīrthas (ch. 85) but it emphatically declares that the forefathers pray to God for a son who would offer piṅga to them at Gayā or at Akshayavatā in Prayāga. The tradition regarding the heterodoxy of Magadha persisted at least upto the sixteenth century A. D., as is evidenced by Tulasidāsa’s⁴ simile. The prejudice of the Brāhmaṇas against Magadha might have been partially due to the strength of the hold of the Buddhists on the Magadhan people.

If the Dharmashastras are rather silent about the tīrthas, the epics and the Purāṇas are full of eulogies of the hundred holy places of pilgrimage. A careful perusal of the Rāmāyaṇa shows that Mithilā abounded with the hermitages of famous saints, whereas King Lomapāda had to persuade Rṣyaśriga with great difficulty to settle in Aṅga, which according to the Rāmāyaṇa⁵ included the area lying between the confluence
of the Gaṅgā and Sarayū. Viśvāmitra had to seek the help of Rāma and Lakshmana, the young but valiant princes of Avadhā, to chastise the demons who used to disturb the sacrificial rites performed at Siddhāśrama, which is identified by many scholars with Buxar. This was the old hermitage of Vāmana, an incarnation of Viṣṇu and as such a place of pilgrimage.\(^*\) Vālmiki says that Viśvāmitra used to dwell on the banks of Kausīki or modern Kosi which flows through North Bihar. He was originally a Kshatriya prince who by virtue of his austerities attained the status of a Brahmāṣṭhpī. Another Kshatriya prince from whom many Brāhmaṇa sages received instructions in Brahmacidyā was Janaka, whose capital attracted pilgrims from far off places from very old times. The celebrated saint Gautama, father of Śatānanda, the chief priest of Janaka, had his hermitage at Ahiari,\(^*\) 15 miles to the north-east of Darbhanga. The Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas recount the merits of many other holy places in Mithilā, Aṅga and Magadhā.

\(^*\)Ahalyāsthāna has been described in the Rāmāyāna (I. 48, 12) as the spot where Ahalyā was freed from her sin. Scholars have identified the site with Revelganj, Ahrauli and Ahiari in Saran, Shahabad and Darbhanga Districts. Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya’s location in the Shahabad District can be rejected on the ground that it was far off from Janakpur. Pt. Parameswar Jha and Prof. R. K. Choudhary rightly argued that as the Rāmāyāna and the Raghuvamśa (xi. 32-52) tell us that Dāśarathī Rāma covered the distance between Ahalyāsthāna and the court of King Janaka within a day, Ahalyāsthāna should be identified with modern Ahiari, which is 15 miles north-east of Darbhanga (Mithilā-tattva-vimarṣa, pp. 70-73, JBRŚ XLIII (1955) pp. 263-267; cf. Mithilādārpaṇa P. I. p. 39). This Ahalyāsthāna should be distinguished from Ahalyāṭrītha, which has been mentioned in other Purāṇas (under Narmadā in Kūrma II. 39, 42-44, Matsya 191. 90-92; Padma (Venkateswara ed.) I. 18. 84.). The Brahma Purāṇa however gives a different version of the redemption of sin of Ahalyā. It tells us that the sage Gautama cursed Ahalyā to become a river and said that when she as a river would join the river Gautami, her curse would be removed (Brahma P. 87, 1ff.). River Gautami has been considered as identical with Godāvarī in this Purāṇa (Brahma P. 78. 77).
The sanctity of the rivers Sarayū, Gaṇḍaki and the Kauśikī or Kosi in North Bihar is recorded in the epics, the Purāṇas, Viṣṇusamhitā (ch. 85) and accepted by mediaeval digest-makers. The confluences of these rivers with the mighty Gaṅgā have been held more sacred. We find such statements that a bath in the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Sarayū would give the same reward as the performance of five horse-sacrifices. A dip in the Gaṅgā-Gaṇḍaki confluence was considered as equal to the giving away of 1000 cows in gift and a bath in the Gaṅgā-Kauśikī is said to be the cause of amassing of wealth in the next birth. The sacredness of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Ghogra according to Gaṅgāvākyāvali⁷ was due to the fact that Rudra worshipped Viṣṇu there. To a Śākta the Gandaki and the Kauśikī are the pithas where the limbs of Sati fell.⁸

At present Janakapurā is a territory under the Nepal Government, but it was a part of Mithilā in ancient times. Its sanctity to the Vaishnavites and Rāmāītes is well known. It was a Śākta pitha as well. The Tantric texts like the Kulārnava, quoting a passage of the Rudrayāmala (copied in 1052 A. D.), Śivacarita and the Pithanirmaya (composed in the 17th century) describe Mithilā as the spot where fell the left shoulder of the Devī.⁹ The Devī Purāṇa notices the worship of Bhagavati as Bhadrakālikā in Videha¹⁰. A modern writer refers to a Śākta pitha known as Bhadrakālikāsthāna in Koilakha village in Madhubani Thana.¹¹ Probably Koilakha is the ancient Śākta place of pilgrimage mentioned in the Devī Purāṇa.

The Purānic story of Gajendramokṣaṇa or liberation of a mighty elephant from the jaws of an alligator by the grace of Viṣṇu took place at Harihārakṣetra. There are two places of this name in the Purāṇas. The Vāmana and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas¹² locate it on the Traikūṭa hill. The Varāha Purāṇa¹³ locates it at the confluence of the Triveni formed by junction of Gandakī, Devikā and Brahmaputrī rivers. The latter place can easily be identified with modern Sonpur, where a big mela is
held. Strangely enough, Hariharakshetra has not been mentioned as a holy place in any of the digests of the period under survey, Lakshmīdharā speaks of one Hariharakshetra on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā river.¹⁴

Another famous Vaishnavite tīrtha Kokāmukha is to be sought either in Purnea or Nepal. The sanctity of this place of pilgrimage is mentioned by Lakshmīdharā and Mitra Miśra, both of whom quoted relevant passages from the Mahābhārata and the Varāha Purāṇa.¹⁵ None of these vihārakaras have specified the locality. An inscription of the time of Budha Gupta refers to it as a holy place situated on the “Himavacchikara”.¹⁶ Dr. D. C. Sircar says that this ancient tīrtha was situated on the bank of Sun-Kosi in Nepal.¹⁷ But Kane, accepting N. L. Dey’s identification of Kokāmukha with Varāhakshetra, locates it at Nathpur below the Triveni formed by junction of Tambar, Aruna and Suna-Kosi rivers in Purnea District.

As early as the age of the composition of the epics, tīrthas sprang up in Bhagalpur District. The sanctity of Campā, which is about four miles west of modern town of Bhagalpur, is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Matsya and Padma Purāṇas.¹⁸ The holiness of the place continued at least till the time of Vidyāpati and Queen Viśvāsadevi, who in her Gaṅgavakyāvali¹⁹ quoting the Mahābhārata informs us that a bath in Campakātirtha would confer the merit of bathing in Manikarnikā in Banaras. Near Campā lay two other tīrthas at Daṇḍākhyā and Lalitikā mentioned in the Mahābhārata. The tradition of sanctity of Daṇḍākhyā continued for a long time as we find it mentioned as Daṇḍārpaṇa in the Padma Purāṇa.²⁰

Near these two tīrthas we should search for the hermitage of Rṣyaśṛṅga who ended drought in the country of Aṅga ruled by King Lomapāda. The Mahābhārata²¹ states that his hermitage was not far off from the Kauśikī river. O’ Malley identified the Rṣyaśṛṅga mountain, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa,²² with Sringirikh,²³ 20 miles south-west of Monghyr,
Dr. B. C. Law locates the hill with a mountain 8 miles south of Kajra railway station. He also identifies Rṣyasrīgāśrama with Rṣikunda, 28 miles west of Bhagalpur. But as Rṣikunda and Sringirikh are not close to each other, it is difficult to accept the identification proposed by Law.

The sacredness of Mandār hills in Bhagalpur District is mentioned in detail in the Varāha Purāṇa. Their sanctity, according to the Varāha, Agni, Garuda, Nṛsimha Purāṇas and the digest-makers Lākṣṇidhara and Mītra Miśra, is mainly due to the image of Madhusūdana. But the image was removed from the top of the hill at some unknown date. Buchanan mentions in his Account that he could not see the image and was informed that it was removed to a temple near the foot of the hill in about 1589 A. D. Subsequently the image was removed to Baunsi, two miles off from the hills. In 1508-1509 A.D. Caitanya visited Mandār, ascended the hill and paid homage to the deity. Lochana in his Caitanyamaṅgala specifically mentions that the name of the deity was Madhusūdana. The date mentioned by Buchanan might be approximately correct, but it is more likely that the image of the deity was removed some twenty years earlier about 1569-1570 A. D., when Kālāpāhād was ravaging the holy places of eastern India and disfiguring the images. There might be some truth in the traditional account. Now-a-days when the image of Madhusūdana is brought from Baunsi to the foot of the Mandār hills on the Pausa-samkrānti day a melā is held. Besides the image, the Varāha Purāṇa mentions a number of sacred hillocks like Pṛṣaṇa and Meru, tanks and as many as eleven springs on the Mandār hills.

The Matsya Purāṇa mentions that Mandāra was sacred to Kāmacarini goddess. As the 13th chapter of the above-mentioned Purāṇa was composed long before the Varāha Purāṇa, it is quite probable that Mandār hills became a Sākta pitha first and then a Vaishnava tīrtha. The verse occurring in the Matsya is also found in the Padma and Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇas.
The sanctity of Mandār as a Śākta place of pilgrimage is also mentioned in the Tirthaprahāśa, Yogini and Pranatoshanī Tantras.32

Another Śākta pīṭha in Bhagalpur District was Batesvarasthāṇa near Colgong. The Brāhmaṇī Tantra mentions Vatiparvaṭikā or Vataparvaṭikā or Vatīśā as a Śākta pīṭha. Dr. D. C. Sircar identifies the place with Vatēśvaraparvata situated near Patharghata.33 It is interesting to mention here that several places known as Vatēśvara have been pointed out by Kane as tīrthas.34 None of these have been located near Colgong. But we have reasons to presume that Batesvarasthāṇa in Bihar must have also been a tīrtha for religious sects other than Śākta. Referring to the Chaurāsi-mūrtisthāṇa or place of 84 images, Buchanan recorded in 1810-11 A. D. that, “there is no tradition concerning these images, nor is any worship paid to them, and the same is the case with 50 or 60 images of all sorts lying scattered about the temple of Batesvaranātha, which now attracts the whole attention of the pious, and has superseded some old place of worship.”35

Baidyanāthadhām-Deoghar is a well-known Śaiva tīrtha. The Śiva Purāṇa36 includes Vaidyanātha-liṅga in Citābhūmi as one of the twelve jyotirlingas. De and Kane have identified Citābhūmi with modern Baidyanāthadhām-Deoghar.37 The deity, however, is not recognised as one of the twelve jyotirlingas either by Lakshmīdhara or Vallālasena or in the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra37a. It might be contended that Vaidyanātha in Deoghar did not gain an all-India recognition by the twelfth century A. D. But there is no doubt about the antiquity of Baidyanāthadhām as a sacred tīrtha. Both the Matsya and Padma38 Purāṇas mention it as a fit place for funeral obsequies. A perusal of the 108 names of the Devi in the Matsya, Padma and Devi-Bhāgavata Purāṇas shows that Baidyanāthadhām was sacred to the Śāktas as being the seat of Ārogā, one of the names of Bhāgavati.39 This tradition is recognised not only in the Kubjikā and Pranatoshani Tantras but also by Mitra Miśra.40 The Piṭhanirṇaya and
Śivacarita record that the heart of the Devī fell at this place. The Devi-Bhāgavata also informs us that she was worshipped at Vagalāsthāna in Vaidyanātha. Vrindāvanadāsa in his Caitanya-Bhāgavata, written in the first-half of the sixteenth century, says that Nityānanda proceeded from Vakrēshwar in the Birbhum District to Baidyanāth and then went to Gaya. This shows that Baidyanāthadhām was a sacred tīrtha at the beginning of the sixteenth century and it lay on the route from Bengal to Gaya.

In comparison to Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Santhal Pargana areas, Patna District has a larger number of holy places. Modern Patna was considered holy during the period under survey. It was sacred to various religious sects. Mitra Miśra quoting Śiva Purāṇa notes that Śiva was worshipped as Prahaśa at Kusumapura i.e. Patna. Padma Purāṇa informs us that Brahmā was worshipped at Pātaliputra. As the particular chapter in which this information is recorded also mention worship of Brahmā in Angkor and Burma, it is likely that the Srīśṭikhandha of the Padma Purāṇa was written sometime between 900 and 1400 A. D. However, the antiquity of Patna as a Tantric centre goes much earlier than 900 A. D. The fifth pātalā of the Bṛhannilā and Prāṇatoshani Tantras mention Pātalasvari. The goddess Pātalasvari in Pātalā can be identified with Pāñeesvari, whose image is even now worshipped with great veneration. The sanctity of Patna as a tīrtha continued even after the twelfth century A.D. Binābāyi in Dyārakāpattala tells us that her husband King Harasimhadeva ruled over "holy Pātaliputra on the bank of the Ganges." By the time of the Bhārata battle, Rājakṣa or Gīrivṛāja or Rajgir had become a sacred place. Its sanctity continued up to the time of composition of Garuḍa, Agni, Vāyu, Nārādiya, Padma and Skanda Purāṇas, Vācaspati Miśra and Mitra Miśra, who flourished in the 15th and 17th centuries A.D. respectively. In the age of Mahābhārata the sacred objects at Rajgir were the five hills, whose names are enumerated in verses 2 and 11 of the
Sabhāparva. In concurrence with Jaina and Buddhist texts, Dr. D.N. Sen and Dr. B. C. Law identified Vaihbāra with Vaihbāra, Vipula with Vepulla or Pi-pu-lo of Hisuen Tsang, Rshigiri with Isigiri or Isigili hills. The Ratagiri hill mentioned by Jains has been identified with Pāṇḍava mountain mentioned in the Mahābhārata by Dr. Sen. But Cunningham identified it with the Isigili mountain mentioned in the Buddhist texts. Dr. B. C. Law, on the basis of the Jātaka Nidāna-kathā, was in favour of identifying Ratagiri with Vepulla mountain. Cunningham held that Mt. Vipula is identical with Caityaka of the Mahābhārata. But had these two hills been identical, they would not have been mentioned separately in verse 11 of chapter xxi of the Sabhāparva. None so far has been able to identify the Varāha, Vṛshabhya and Maṭaṅga hills mentioned in the above-mentioned chapter of the Mahābhārata. This chapter also shows that Saivism received royal patronage during the time of Jārāsandha. Dr. Law in his monograph failed to note that Rajgir continued to be a Śaiva tīrtha even long afterwards. The Vāmana Purāṇa tells us that there existed an image of Paśupati and Prahlāda went to worship Maheśvara in Giri-vrāja. This fact was accepted by even so late a legist like Mitra Miśra. Rajgir was also one of the 51 Śaṅkta pithas mentioned in the Rudrayāmala and Jñānārṇava Tantras.

The neighbourhood of Rajgir was also sacred. The Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata records the tradition that if any one took the offerings placed before the Yakshini image one would get redemption of sin incurred in killing a Brāhmaṇa. The other equally famous Nāga shrines were those of Svastika and Manināga. The Samyutta Nikāya refers to Manibhaddha at Manimālaka-cetiya. There can not be any doubt about the identity of these two sites with the excavated Maniyār Math.

In between Rajgir and Gayā were situated a number of sacred spots like Janakakūpa and Ahalyāhrada in the epic and Purānic periods. Near Bihar-Sharif also existed a famous river known as Śīva in ancient times whose sanctity was accepted
even as late as the seventeenth century. Another sacred area possibly in the dense forest regions near about the Barabar group of hills was known as Māgadhavana in the Purāṇas. It was sacred to the Vaishnava, for the Vāmana and Agni Purāṇas mention the name of the presiding deity as Vasudhāhipa and Sudhāpati or Vaikuntha respectively. The forest was considered holy by the Śāktas, for Mitra Miśra quoting a passage of the Matsya Purāṇa mentions that Goddess Sugandhā, a variant of the name of Devi, was worshipped. It is interesting to note that the printed Matsya and Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇas retain all the words except the name of the place as ‘mādhava’ instead of ‘māgadhā’ cited in the Matsya Purāṇa used by Mitra Miśra. The Padma Purāṇa mentions the locality as ‘mādhavi’. As Matsya (ch. xiii. 37, Devī-Bhāgavata (Bk. VII. ch. 30.68) and Padma (Śrṣīkhaṇḍa ch. xvii) Purāṇas have common verses, it is likely that the editors of these printed Purāṇas have forgotten the tradition of Māgadha forest as a Śākta area.

In Gaya District, besides Gaya the three sacred objects in the age of the Mahābhārata were Gorathagiri hill, Punpun river and the hermitage of Gyavana. The sanctity of the last two and not Gorathagiri is mentioned in the Purāṇas and nibandhas. Dr. Barua identified Gorathagiri with some Barabar hill or somewhere near Pāshānaka-cetiva. Others like Bas- ham categorically identify Gorathagiri with Barabar hill.

The history of Gaya has been discussed by a number of scholars like R. L. Mitra, A. Cunningham, B. M. Barua, J. C. Ghose, P. V. Kane, T. P. Bhattacharya. In mediaeval times a number of digests on Gaya were written by scholars of Bihar namely, Gayaśādhati and Tirthakalpaśādhati by Vācaspati Miśra, Gayaśādhati by Vidyāpati and Tirthasamānyapaddhati by Rajomiśra. J. C. Ghose and P. V. Kane trace the antiquity of Gaya as a tirtha at least as early as 600 B.C. Mm. Kane argues that explanations of Vṛgyedic passage in I.22.17 by Aurnavābha and Yāska refer to Vishnu’s feet at Gaya, that Vishnu dharmasūtra mentions Gaya as a fit place for performing śrādha and
the Buddha went to Gayāsīsa for its sanctity. He is absolutely right in rejecting Barua's theory of the date of the Gayā-māhātmya in Vāyu Purāṇa in the 13th or 14th centuries A.D. His arguments for placing the date of the Māhātmya in between the 7th and 10th centuries A.D. are that some of the sub-tīrthas mentioned in chapters 105-112 are mentioned in earlier chapters like 77 and 82 of the Vāyu Purāṇa, that portions of the Vāyu Purāṇa have been quoted by Lakshmīdhara, Devannabhatta and Vācaspati Miśra, who flourished respectively in 1100-1130, 1150-1225 and 1450-1480 A.D. and the Uttaramānasā tank is mentioned in the Vāyu and Agni Purāṇas. Dr. Hazra was also in favour of placing the date of the Māhātmya prior to 1400 A.D. But he could produce only the evidence of Vācaspati Miśra. We may add some other arguments for rejecting Barua's date of composition of the Vāyu Purāṇa (chs. 105-112). The Kūrma Purāṇa which mentions Uttaramānasā as a fit place for śraddha was composed sometime between 800 and 1250 A.D. Moreover, Haridāsa, a Gayāwāl Brāhmaṇa was recipient of a land-grant from Vallalasena.

All the religious sects other than Buddhist and Jains, venerated Gayā. It appears that Gayā was sacred particularly to Vaishnava deities like Gopati and Gadādhara as mentioned in the Purāṇas and nibandhas. But Vāmana Purāṇa which assigns Gopati a prime position in chapter 90, states elsewhere that Prahlada worshipped not only Gopati but also Śamkara at Gayā. An early Purāṇa like Matsya and a late work like Padma Purāṇa emphasise that Brahmā is of great importance at Gayā. To a Śākta worship of Maṅgalā, a form of Bhagavati, was the prime requisite. The Śāktas claim for this deity at Gayā, the same position as that of Vimalā in Puri.

Gayā's place as a pitṛ-tīrtha is recognised in most of the Purāṇas. The Revākhanda of the Skanda Purāṇa several times repeat that Gayā is the best place for śraddha. But in two sub-sections of the Vishnuśukhanda of the same Purāṇa,
Gayā pales into insignificance before Purī and Badrikāśrama. The Purushottama-nāhātmya tells us that it is by performance of śrāddha at Purushottama or Purī and not at Gayā which can deliver dead persons who committed the sin of performing non-Vedic rites. The efficacy of funeral rites at Gayā has been underestimated by Viśvāsadevi in her Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī. Quoting Kūrma Purāṇa, which cannot be traced in the printed edition, she held that in the Kālī age, offering of cakes to the manes in the Gaṅgā is more fruitful than at Gayā.83

A comparison of the sub-tīrtas at Gayā would show that the list preserved in the Purāṇas are not always identical. The Mārtandapādamālā has been referred to only by the Brahma Purāṇa.84 The Garuda Purāṇa alone mentions the worship of Baladeva, Subhadrā and Kārttikeya. Sometimes the digest-makers have omitted sacred sites in their works. Among the places mentioned in the Vāyu and Agni Purāṇas, Lakshmīdhara did not mention Pṛetaśīlā, Gopacāra, Mataṅgavāpi and Rāmatīrtha. Both Lakshmīdhara and Nārāyanabhāṭṭa omitted the three verses addressed to the Mahābodhitar in the Vāyu Purāṇa (111.27-29). The sacredness of the Mahābodhi tree however was recognised by Vallālasena, Vacaspati Miśra and Mitra Miśra. The Caitanya Bhagavata87 states that Caitanya offered pīnda at Pṛetaśīlā, Dāksīna Mānasa, Rāma Gayā, Uttara Mānasa, Bhīma Gayā, Śīva Gayā, Brahma Gayā, Sodasa Gayā and Gayāśīrā.

The known holy places in the Shahabad District are Śākta-tīrthas. The Brihannāla Tantra mentions one Vyāghrapura which according to Dr. D. C. Sircar can probably be identified with Buxarp88. Other sacred sites were near Sasaram. An inscription of Pratapadhavala mentions Goddess Tārācāndi, which exists even now-a-days at a place of the same name. Another inscription of the same chieftain mentions a pilgrimage to the Tutrahi falls, which is near Tārācāndi and 6½ miles from modern Tilothu. Buchanan described the Tutrahi falls a holy place "sacred to goddess Totalā".89
BUDDHIST TIRTHAS

The Buddha is said to have stated to his favourite disciple Ānanda that every devout Buddhist should visit Lumbini, Buddha Gayā, Isipattana and Kuśināra at least once in his lifetime. Of these places only one, Buddha Gayā, is in Bihar. There are however other sacred places in Bihar like Rajgir, Nālandā, Vaiśāli and Campā which owe their sanctity to the presence of the Buddha.

Hisuen Tsang visited holy spots in Bihar between 637 and 639 A.D. In North Bihar he first visited a famous stūpa built by A'oka at a place where the Buddha had converted the evil demons. Cunningham identified the stūpa with Sarana stūpa in Chapra. The sanctity of this place has not been referred to in any other Buddhist text.

If the Buddha failed to make much impression in Mithilā, he succeeded in the Vaiśāli area. The places like Ambapālīvana, Beluvaqāma, Vālukārāma and Markatahrada connected with the activities of the Buddha were all situated in or around Vaiśāli or Basarh in Muzaffarpur District. The Buddha visited Vaiśāli thrice in his lifetime. It was at the Cāpala-cetiya that he declared that he would be passing away from this world in three months. This vihāra was situated in the outskirts of Vaiśāli. Recent excavations have unearthed pre-Christian stūpa at Vaiśāli, which is believed by the excavator to be the relic stūpa of Buddha. About three miles to the north-west of Basarh at Kolhua there can be seen the stūpa built by Aśoka, which has been referred to by Hisuen Tsang.

In modern times this stūpa is known as Bhim Sen-kā-lāthi.

Some places in Aṅga were also sanctified by the visit of the Buddha. It seems that he stationed himself at three places, namely, Gaggarā, Āpana and Assapura. Queen Gaggarā dug a tank called Gaggarāpokkharani near Campā. On the bank of this tank the Buddha explained the essential qualities of a true Brāhmaṇa and other salient features of his religion. At Āpana and Assapura he also gave some discourses.
Hisuen Tsang visited a mountain on the western frontier of the country of I-lan-na-po-fa-to to the south of the river Ganges, because the Buddha converted there Yaksha Vakula. Cunningham was inclined to identify the hill with Mahādeva hill which lies at Bhimbandh, situated 12 miles south-west of Kharagpur in the Monghyr district. But Colonel Waddell did not agree to this identification, because the Mahādeva hill is on the extreme eastern frontier of Hiranya-parvata and the hot springs are in the hill itself. Waddell identified the hill with Mt. Uren, which is about 20 miles south-west of Monghyr and 3 miles west of Kajra railway station. Another site known as Lo-in-ni-lo where a monastery and a stāpa built by Asoka, was visited by Hisuen Tsang. Cunningham’s identification of the site with modern Rajaona, 2 miles north-west of Lakhisarai station, has been accepted by all scholars.

Rajgir and its vicinity is sacred to the Buddhists, for the Buddha spent much time there. Amongst the places frequented by him we can be sure about the location of only a few spots like the Isigili, Vebhāra and Vepulla mountains. With the Vebhāra mountain is associated the Tapodā, Sattapanā cave and the Pippala cave. The latter has been described as Pi-pulu by Hisuen Tsang. The Tapodā hot spring in which the Buddha used to take his bath has also been referred to by Buddhaghosa picturesquely: “under the Vebhāra mountain is the residence of the terrestrial Nāgas which extends over a space of 500 leagues and resembles the world of the gods in being adorned with jewelled floor and pleasaunces and gardens. There is a big lake of water on the sporting ground of the Nāgas. The river Tapodā flows heated therefrom as a stream of hot water.” Tapodā spring has been identified by D. N. Sen and Law with the Saraswati stream. Some of the spots near the Tapodā like Tapodā-kandara, Tapodārama mentioned by Buddhaghosa as Buddhist retreats, were forgotten at the time of Hisuen Tsang. However, both Fa Shien and Hisuen
Tsang noticed the Pipphaliguhā or Pippala cave famous in the Buddhist literature. According to Hisuen Tsang it stood “to the west of the hot springs of the Pi-pu-lo mountain.” Similarly uncertain is the location of the Sattapanni or Sattapanna cave, where the Buddha dwelt and the first Buddhist council was held. Both the Chinese scholars saw the cave to the north of the Vaibhāra hill. Cunningham identified the cave with the modern Sonbhandar cave on the southern slope of the above mentioned mountain. But as this identification does not tally with the description left by the Chinese travellers, M. A. Stein and B.C. Law rejected it. Stein was in favour of some site below the Ādināth temple, on the northern site of the hill, where remains of a collapsed cave and verandah are yet visible.

Gījjhakūṭa is famous in Buddhist literature as the place where Buddha narrowly escaped death by a stone hurled by Devadatta. This very hill was visited by foreign travellers like Fa Shien, Hisuen Tsang, Hisuen Chiu, Yuan Hwui and Taou-lin. Fa Shien lit a lamp here in order to pay respects to the Buddha. But where did this mountain exist? Cunningham contended that this mountain and Indrasilaguhā which stood close by, are to be identified with Giriyeck, which is about 8 miles to the east of Nālandā. B.C. Law agreed with his views. He believed that Gījjhakūṭa is to be identified with Udayagiri hills. But now it has been identified with the peak in the Udayagiri hill, 14 miles from Rajgir and slightly east of the Banganga road to Gayā. The following sacred spots lay close to the Gījjhakūṭa, : Sumāgadha tank, Moranivāpa, Patībhānakūṭa identified by B. C. Law with a peak opposite to Udayagiri, Sappini river identified by Law with modern Paṅcāna river, deer park at Madakucchi and Kālaśīla. Jivaka Āmbavana has been identified with a place near Grīdhakūṭa. Recently excavations were started there which revealed remains of structures. Veluvanāramya is identified with the site close to the modern Inspection.
Bungalow in Rajgir. Jivakārāma and Veluvanāramya were visited by of Fa Shien and Hisuen Tsang. Kwei-Chung a priest of Cochin China visited Veluvana.

Outside Rajgir was situated a Buddhist establishment at Ekanāla. Long before the establishment of the Nālandā University, at the Pāvārika mango-grove in Nālandā, the Buddha met here Sāriputta, and had conversation with and converted Upāli, a Nigantha. Strangely enough Hisuen Tsang does not mention this mango-grove.

Between Rajgir and Buddha Gayā lay the holy places called Yaśṭivana or Lāṭṭhivana, Pāshānakacetiya, Kukkuṭā-pagiri and Buddhavana. It was at Lāṭṭhivana that the Buddha halted with the recently converted Jatila hermits on his way from Gayāsāra to Rājagaha. Hisuen Tsang also mentions the same tradition and tells us that King Bimbisāra accorded a warm welcome here to Lord Buddha. But when the Chinese traveller visited the place he found it covered with a dense forest. Fashien does not mention Yashtivana. However, the place has been identified with Jethian, about 2 miles north of Tapovana near Supatirtha in Gayā District, by Stein and Cunningham. But Stein could not discover the stupa of Aśoka which had been built to commemorate the spot “where Tathāgata had displayed for 7 days great spiritual wonders for the sake of Devas”, mentioned by Hisuen Tsang. The cave described by this Chinese traveller, as containing the lofty cavern of the Palace of Asuras, near Yashtivana has been identified by Stein with Rajpind, 2 miles north-west of Jethian.

Hisuen Tsang clearly indicates the locality of Buddhavana. He says that he reached Yashtivana by going 30 li to the east, through the wild valley of the Buddhavana mountains. There was “among the steep mountain cliffs a stone chamber where Buddha once descending stayed: by its side a large stone where Śakra and Brahmāja pounded some oxhead-sandalwood and anointed Tathāgata with the same.” Stein could not agree to
Cunningham's identification of Buddhavana with Buddhain, because Buddhain is 6 miles to the north-east of Jethian. Grierson has upheld the identification of the place by Cunningham. Stein has not given any exact location of the mountain. V. H. Jackson while identifying Buddhavana with Hanriā hill, observes that: "in order to establish the identification of Hanriā with Buddhavana it must be assumed that Hisuen Tsang wrote 'east' instead of 'west' by mistake".

Travelling eastward from Līlājan river, Hisuen Tsang crossed the Mohana-nadi and arriving at a forest and then proceeding north-east for nearly 17 miles he reached Kukkuṭapādagiri. According to Fa Shien, Kukkuṭapādagiri was 21 miles to the south of the holy tree of Bodh Gayā. The hill is notable for the miracles of Mahākāśyapa, the convener of the first Assembly at Sattapanī cave. Fa Shien tells us that "Kāśyapa divided the mountain at its base so as to open a passage. This entrance is now closed up. At a considerable distance from this spot, there is a side chasm; it is in this the entire body of Kāśyapa is preserved". A similar legend in greater detail is given by Hisuen Tsang. This mountain must have been a famous tīrtha for the Buddhists till the invasion of Turko-Afghans. But people have forgotten the site. To-day there is a great controversy amongst scholars about the identification of the mountain. Cunningham identifies it with three rugged hills about half-a-mile to the north of the modern Kurkihār village or 16 miles north-east of Gaya. Stein identifies it with Sobhnāth hill, about 4 miles south-south-west of Wazirganj and V. H. Jackson, Gopal Bose, R.D. Banerji and Bloch with Gurpā hill.

Another Buddhist tīrtha Pāshānaka-cetiya has also been forgotten long ago. Here the Buddha delivered the Pārayāna discourses. Barna identifies it with Gorathagiri in the Barabar hills or some hill near-by.

M. A. Stein accepted Cunningham's identification of the Gandhahastī or "stupa of the perfumed elephant" mentioned by
Hisuen Tsang as to "east of the Bodhi tree, crossing the Nairanjana" with modern Bakraur, 1 mile east of Bodh Gayā. Cunningham noticed the stupa in ruins. This stupa is also neglected by Buddhist pilgrims now-a-days.

Bodh Gayā became sacred to the Buddhists since the attainment of the Enlightenment of the Buddha under the Bodhi tree. The Pali texts do not mention any visit of the Buddha again to Bodh Gayā during the period of his missionary activity. There is also no written or any other authentic record to prove that Buddhist pilgrims visited the Bo tree before the time of Aśoka. Dr. Barua observes: "the task of giving a practical and significant effect to the Buddha's word and actually raising Bodh Gayā into a distinct place of regular Buddhist pilgrimage was really left to be accomplished by the great known Buddhist emperor of India". Aśoka went to sambodhi at least once in his lifetime, in the tenth year of his consecration, as the 8th Rock Edict informs us. Scholars surmise that he may have visited Bodh Gayā again 20 years after his consecration. His pilgrimage to the Bodhi tree is also illustrated in one of the gateways of Sanchi. This king is credited with having repaired to the tree occasionally to "repent himself of his sins, to chastise himself and subject himself to the eight purifications," having erected a brick wall round the roots of the tree. Some scholars do not accept these statements. Hisuen Tsang credits Aśoka with the erection of a small vihāra in front of the Bo tree, which was afterwards reconstructed on a larger scale. This tradition cannot be accepted without caution. Dr. Barua holds these erections to have been made by Neo-Mitra kings sometime about 100 A.D. The Noble Lady and Matron Kuraṅgi, the queen of Indrāgni Mittra has been credited with the erection of the quadrangular shaped sandstone railing serving as an enclosure for the Bo tree, the Vajrāsana and the Ratna-caṅkama-cetiya or the Jewel-walk shrine, and two costly retreats, evidently monastic abodes. Associated with these noble works of Kuraṅgi, were two other ladies, one being
Sirimā, her female attendant and the other Nāgadevi, queen of Brahmanimitra, and according to Barua probably Kuraṅgi’s daughter-in-law, whose names are inscribed on the old railing. Additional rail-bars were provided by Amogha and Bodhirakshita, a Ceylonese pilgrim, both living in round about 200 A. D. The images of the Buddha seen by Fa Shien were first erected during the later Kuśāna and early Gupta age. Both Cunningham and Barua\textsuperscript{112} believe that the earliest figure of the Buddha found at Mahābodhi was that installed by a Buddhist monk and a lay woman named Arthadharmasāhāyītrī in samvat 64 (=142 or 382 A. D.) in the reign of Mahārājā Trikamāla. The seventh century Chinese traveller Wang-Huien-tse informs us that a monastery was constructed at Bodh Gayā by king Meghavarna of Ceylon, a contemporary of king Samudragupta, for the residence of Chinese pilgrims.

Bodh Gayā had before the visit of Fa Shien, the stone railings round the Bo-tree, the Vajrāsana, Jewel-walk shrine and a Ceylonese convent. Fa Shien noticed the monasteries but does not indicate their location. Dr. Barua believes that one of those can be identified with the Ceylonese monastery and the other two being the Rājapāsāda erected by Kuraṅgi and Sirimā, which were divided into two abodes and situated on the north-west and north-east corners of the Ceylonese monastery. Fa Shien found that the monks residing in the monasteries were being supplied with all their necessities. But he found the city desolate and deserted. Dr. Barua surmises that “it is far safer, we think to account for the deserted condition of the Gayā town by certain cataclysmic natural phenomenon causing havoc to the place, such as the overflooding of the hill streams that fed the Phalgu and the silting up of the great river of Gayā with its attendant evil effects.”\textsuperscript{113} But the effect of flood in the Gayā district even now lasts for a few days only and does not make the city desolate. The desolation of Bodh Gayā must have been due to the rise of neo-Brahmanism. The monks
might have been provided with alms by the pilgrims or from endowments.

Between the middle of the fifth and seventh centuries A.D., Bodh Gayā witnessed interesting developments. The Ceylonese continued to erect buildings. Mahānāma II of Amrādvipa or Ceylon according to the Bodh Gayā inscription dated samvat 269/588-89 A.D. erected a temple of the Buddha with an open pavilion at the site of the Bo tree. Almost contemporaneously three other Ceylonese Buddhist monks, Dharmagupta, Dharmadāsa and Damshtrasena dedicated two images. Hisuen Tsang states that the present Mahābodhihāra was built by a Śaivite Brāhmaṇa, whose brother also excavated the Buddhapokhar on the southern side of the great temple. As to the Bo-tree, he says that Śaśāṅka "being a believer in heresy slandered the religion of the Buddha, and through envy destroyed the convents and cut down the Bodhi tree, digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but yet did not get to the bottom of roots." After the passing away of Śaśāṅka, King Pūrnavarman of Maṇḍana reared up anew a Bo-tree from the old roots and then surrounded the new sapling when it rose to a height of ten feet with a stone wall. This is the new stone railing round the new Bo tree, which we find now-a-days. Dr. Barua argues that Hisuen Tsang was wrongly informed of the activities of Śaśāṅka. Instead of heretical actions, Śaśāṅka cleared the site of the original Bo tree which had long before withered for building the Bodh Gayā temple. Śaśāṅka's ministers built the great temple of Bodh Gayā and excavated the Buddha-pokhar.

Between the 8th and 12th centuries A.D. endowments and repairs to the sacred shrine were provided by Chinese monk Prakhyātakirti and Arakanese ruler Allungsittu (1112–1167 A.D.). During this period only two major buildings, two gandhakutiś (temple) were made by Indian rulers, namely Pūrṇabhadra of Sindh and Tuṅga, the Rāstrakūta king.
Inscriptional records also show that Bodh Gayā attracted a large number of foreigners. The Ceylonese monks not only visited it but also built a number of structures and installed images of the Buddha. Amongst the Chinese pilgrims we may mention a number of others, besides the two famous travellers Fa Shien and Hisuen Tsang. Itsing enumerates the names of the following pilgrims, Hisuen-Chiu or Prakāsamati, who remained in the Mahābodhi for four years sometime before 664 A.D.; Tao-hi, engraving a tablet; Hisuen Ta'i, a Korean (c. 650 A. D.); Hisuen-hau a Korean who died at Ta-hsio temple (Mahābodhi); Tao-fang; Tao-sing or Candradeva (c. 649 A. D.); Yuan-hwui; Mocadeva, a Cochin Chinese; Kwei-chung of Cochin China; Tang; Samghavarman, a man of Samarkand who also carved a figure of the Buddha and Bodhisattva in the Bodhi Hall under the tree of Aoka; Tao lin; Ling-Wan, who erected an image of Maitreya Bodhisattva under the Bodhi tree and Wou Hing. Inscriptions reveal the names of other Chinese pilgrims who came in the eleventh century A. D., namely, Chi-I, Hwei-tsei, Kwangfung, Yun Shu (1023 A. D.), I-Ching, I-lin (c. 1029 A. D.), Yu-pi and Hui-wen. Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan pilgrim, visited Bodh Gayā on the wake of the Turko-Afghan invasions.

**Jaina Tīrthas**

Jinaprabhāsūri, the fourteenth century Jain author of the Vividhatīrthakalpa, mentions the following places of pilgrimage in Bihar: Vaibhāragiri and Rajgir, Pāvā or Apāpapuri, Pāṭaliputra, Campapuri and Mithilā.

To the Jains Rajgir is one of the holy tīrthas. One of its names, according to Jinaprabhāsūri, is Rśabhapuri, a name which we do not come across in the Brahmanical or Buddhist literature. It was at Rajgir that Mahāvīra spent as many as fourteen rainy seasons. Out of his twelve leading disciples, eleven died at this place. Jinaprabhāsūri informs us that it was the birth place of Munisuvrata, the twentieth Tīrthankara.
It seems that there was a rivalry between the Buddhist and Jainas for mastery over Rajgir and its neighbourhood for a long time. The Sāmañña-phala-sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya mentions Nigantha Nātaputta as one of the six heretical teachers who contended for solving King Ajātsatru’s ecclesiastical doubts while the Buddha was staying at Jivaka’s mango-grove at Rajgir. Dr. A. L. Basham identifies Nigantha with Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. At Rajgir and Nalanda, Mahāvīra found rich householders like Vijaya, Ananda, Sudarśana and Bahula as disciples. The name of King Śrenika occurs on the pedestal of a Jain image, which has been ascribed to the Kushāna age. Even during the time of Harshavardhana, the attraction of Jains for Rajgir did not decline. Hisuen Tsang found many Digambaras practising austerities on the Vaibhāra mountain. It is clear from the statement of this Chinese traveller that Buddhist hold over the Vaibhāra mountain declined by the seventh century A.D. He observes: “on the Vipula mountain is a tope on the spot where the Buddha once preached: many Digambaras now lodge here and practise austerities incessantly.”

Nalanda was another Jaina śrītha. Mahāvīra spent the second year of his ascetic life there. At this place also lived Dīghatapassi, the hermit and two rich Jain householders named Upāli and Lepa. The two sites famous in the Nalanda area were the Gunaśila-caityya and Kollāga. The sanctity of the Gunaśila shrine continued at least between the days of the composition of the Uvāsaga-dasāno and the Vividhatīrtha-kalpa. If we accept Law’s identification of this shrine with the Kālaśilā or on a side of the Isigili hill, we have to infer that the Buddhists had to share the Isigili mountain with the Jains in the days of the Buddha. Gautama Buddha saw the Nirgranthis performing penance in a standing posture. It was at Kollāga according to the Bhagavati Sūtra (XV, 541) that Mahāvīra visited the Brāhmaṇa Bahula. Near Kollāga was situated Paniyabhūmi, where Mahāvīra accepted Makkhali Go-
śāla as his disciple. Dr. Basham rightly points out that Barua was wrong in identifying Paṇiyabhūmi with Vajrabhūmi in West Bengal.\footnote{124}

Another holy \\textit{tīrtha} is at Pāvāpurī or ancient Pāpā or Apāpapuri, where Mahāvīra breathed his last. The place is referred to in many Jain texts. Situated at a distance of 7 miles from Biharsharif and 3 miles north of Giriyek, it attracts a large number of pilgrims every year.

To the Jains, Vaisālī is important as a \\textit{tīrtha}, for two reasons. Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍagrāma and he spent 12 rainy seasons at Vaisālī. It appears from the Buddhist literature that the Basarh region was dominated by the Buddhists from the sixth century B.C. up to the time of the second Buddhist Council convened at Vaisālī. The schism between the Theravādins and Mahāsāṅghikas must have weakened the Buddhist hold. It is but natural that by the time of Hisuen Tsang “the Buddhist establishments, of which there were some hundreds, were with the exception of three or four, dilapidated and deserted and the Brethren were very few.” During the time of this Chinese traveller, the Digambaras flourished at Vaisālī. The influence of Jains probably did not shrink in succeeding centuries. Dharmanāvīmin the 13th century Tibetan traveller also found Vaisālī as stronghold of the Jains.

Another place where the Jains contended for mastery with the Buddhists was Campā.\footnote{125} Mahāvīra spent three rainy seasons, at Campā and Prśhtha-campā. Vāsapūjya, the twelfth Tīrthamākara attained Nirvāṇa at Campāpura, which has been identified with Mandār hill in Bhagalpur district.

The importance of Pātaliputra is due to the fact that in order to collect sacred literature, Stūlābhadhra summoned a council here.\footnote{126} Its sanctity as a \\textit{tīrtha} is mentioned in works like Tīrthamālā-caityavandana and Aṣṭottaritīrthamālā-caityavandana.\footnote{127} But to what extent this city influenced the religious life of the Jains we do not know.
At Mithilā, also known as Jagati, Mahāvīra spent as many as six seasons and Nemināth and Mallintāh were born and attained supreme knowledge.

One of the most picturesque places of pilgrimage to Jains is the Sammetaśikhāra or Parasnath hill, where at a height of about 5000 ft. there is a Digambara Jaina temple. But its sanctity is not due to Mahāvīra. As many as twenty Tirthmakaras including Pārśvanātha attained nirvāṇa on this hill. The inscribed images in the temple of Pārśvanātha are dated 1765 A.D.

Kuluha hill in Hazaribagh district (Chatra sub-division) is associated with Śāktism, Buddhism and Jainism. The antiquity of the worship of Kuleśvarī Devī, is not known. N. L. De and Stein are inclined to identify this hill with Makulaparvata where the Buddha passed his sixth rainy season according to the Burmese annals of Buddhism. About 143 yards from the Kuleśvarī temple, were found Jaina images, on one of whose pedestals the date samvat 1443 is inscribed. Stein tells us that in 1899 he was shown a book Śrītirthamālā Amolakaratna, according to which Kuluha was the birth-place and the place of enlightenment of the tenth Tirthanikara Sitalasvāmin and the hill was known as Bhaddalapuranagara. But Stein found Kuluha deserted as a Jain tirtha. Hemacandra tells us that at Bhadrilapura was born Sitalanātha. So the evidence of Śrītirthamālā Amolakaratna regarding the ancient name of Kuluha is correct.

Conclusion:

A review of the history of tirthas in Bihar reveals that many of the places had attracted a large number of pilgrims in ancient times but now they have fallen into oblivion. Amongst the Hindu and Buddhist sites, Campākaranya mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Makkādeva-āmbavana in Mithilā, where the Buddha converted Brāhmaṇa Makkāyu, Gaggarā and Assapura in Campā or Bhagalpur, Hatthigāma and Kojigāma which
lay on the route between Rajgir and Vaishāli seem to have been forgotten even before the commencement of the Christian era. Hsüan Tsiang did not visit any of these sites. The Varaha Purana mentions as many as fifteen holy sites on the bank of the Gandaki river, viz., Bilvaprabha, an un-named tank, Cakrasvami, Vishnupada, Kaliydra, Saikhaprabha, Gadakunda, Agniprabha, Sarvayudha, Devaprabha, Vidyadhara, Punya rivulet, Gandharva, Devahra, Visalakshi, and Sambheda. The same Purana also mentions Hamatirtha and Bhrgutunga, situated on east of Salagarma and Gandaki respectively. These places, excepting Bhrgutunga and Devahra mentioned in the Mahabharta, are not referred to in any other religious text. The Vanaparwa of the Mahabharta mentions Vamanatirtha, Kuśikāśrama, Jyesthila, Kanyakamvedya, Nirvirasamagama, Vasishthasrama, Devakuta and Kaušikihra, all apparently situated in North Bihar. Of these Agni and Padma Puranas mention Kanyakamvedya, Devakuta, Kaušikihra and Vāmana. MM. Kane located one Vāmana in the Kurukshetra region. But our Vāmana cannot be identical with it, because the relevant passage in Vanaparwa indicates that it was visited prior to Kuśikāśrama, which undoubtedly was situated in North Bihar. None of the above mentioned places can now be identified. Probably due to change in the course of the Gandaki and other rivers of North Bihar, no trace of these tirthas can be found in modern times. In this context it is interesting to point out that in the days of the Ramayana and Kālidāsa, the river Šona used to flow through Rajgir. We also fail to locate the confluence of the Šona and the Jyotirathya or Jyotiras rivers, which till the seventeenth century A. D., was sacred for śraddha. Lakshmīdharā, of course, does not mention this tirtha. People have also forgotten that Viśvēśvara and Subhadra deities used to be worshipped at the confluence of the Šona and the Gaṅgā. If we do not remember this ancient sacred site it is because the confluence of the Šona has shifted many a time between the Mauryan and modern times. Another holy site, named
Mārkandeya tīrtha was situated at least till the 12th century A.D. at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Gomati.139 The site was possibly in the Saran district. Likewise the Jyotirathya and the Śivanadi must have dried up. The Śivanadi mentioned in the Narasimha Purāṇa, as quoted by Lakshmīdīlāra,140 has been specifically located by Vācaspati and Mitra Miśra, as near the town of Vihāra,141 which we identify with Biharsharif. One of the forgotten tīrthas in the Shahabad district was Mahāsāra, which has been mentioned by Lakshmīdīlāra.142 Buchanan found many images at Masarp.143 Some of the holy places like Māgadhavana, Kukkuṭapāḍagiri, situated between Rajgir and Gaya, were covered by forest. Hsuan Tsang describing the geography of the latter hill says: "going east from the Moha river through a forest and jungle for above 100 li you come to the Kukkuṭapāḍa mountain. The lofty peaks of this mountain are endless cliffs, and its deep valleys are boundless ravines; its lower slopes have their gullies covered with tall trees, and rank vegetation clothes the steep heights."144 It is but natural that in these areas, when Buddhism declined and political situation became unstable during the formative period of the Turko-Afghan rule, vegetation became more luxuriant, ultimately enveloping the region from human sight. Sometime after the 17th century, Cyavanāśrama and Prapitāmahā temple of the Hindus, Gandhahasti near Bodh Gaya, sacred to the Buddhists and Koluha hill sacred to the Jains, had fallen into oblivion. Buchanan referred to the neglect of the first two tīrthas. He observed: "the Prapitāmahā is mentioned in the Gaya-māhātmya but is now neglected as it is not mentioned in a list of holy places now visited that I procured from the most intelligent persons about Gaya."145 Regarding Koluha, once a sacred Jain tīrtha, in the Hazaribagh district, Stein wrote: "we have here a distinct instance how, even with a sect so remarkably tenacious in its traditions and customs, a once well-known sacred site has become completely forgotten within comparatively recent times."146 Kalikūnda, a place near ancient Cempā town, which
was a tīrtha at least in the time of Jinaprabhasūri, has also been forgotten.

Another aspect of the history of tīrthas in Bihar is that rival sects have tried to capture places for their own benefit. The Buddhists ousted older religions in the Rajgir-Gaya regions. Regarding Pāshānaka-Cetiya, the commentary of the Suttanipāta records: "there was formerly a devasthāna or shrine on a large stone, which became converted in the Buddha's time into a Buddhist retreat, known by the name of Pāshānaka-Cetiya." At Rajgir, the three principal religions, including Buddhism, ousted the cult of the Yakshas and the Nāgas, whose existence is recorded in the Mahābhārata and the Nikāyas. By the fifth century B.C. the Hindus had to make way to the Buddhists and the Jains, to whom Rajgir is still now one of the important tīrthas. The history of the Barabhar Hill is a clear pointer to the sectarian animosity. In the Mauryan times the hill was occupied by the Ājīvikas and it continued to be so upto the time of Aśoka, who erected caves for their shelter during the rainy season. Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri suggested that the Ājīvikas were expelled by Khāravela, a Jain. But the Jains themselves did not occupy the hill. Subsequently, the Buddhists occupied the caves, because the words budhimala, daridrapāntara, kleda-kaṃtara are written in Gupta characters on the doors of Karna-Copar and Lomaśa Rāshi caves. Then the Buddhists either evacuated or were expelled from the caves sometime before the visit of Anantavarman Maukhari. An inscription records that Anantavarman placed an image of Kṛṣṇa in the Lomaśa Rāshi cave. Dr. Basham suggests that the date of this inscription sometime before 450 A.D. Then during the rule of the Muslims, the caves were occupied by the Muslim saints.

The Hindus monopolised some of the places which were previously Buddhist holy places. Sometime after the neglect of Yashṭivana or Laṭṭhivana near Jethian, by the Buddhist pilgrims, the place was developed as a Hindu tīrtha. The Nārādyā
alone amongst the Purāṇas mentions Yashṭi as a sacred spot. Dr. Hazra assigns a comparatively late date for compilation of chapters 44-42 of the uttarabhaga of the Nārādiya Purāṇa. The claim of Mahābodhi, Mātaṅgavāpī, Mundapṛṣthha, Uttaramāṇasa and Vīṣṇupāda as Sāktapīṭhas in the Brhadānila Tantra must be dated at a much later period than the accepted list of pīthas preserved in the Matsya, Devi-Bhāgavata, Pādma and Skanda Purāṇas, which do not at all mention any of the above-mentioned sites as sacred to a Śākta.

It is notable that places round about Biharsharif and and Vaišālī which used to be non-Muslim tirthas, became famous as seats of Sūfi saints within two centuries of the triumphant march of the Turko-Afghans in Bihar.

References

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3. Vāyu 78. 21-23
6. Ibid. I. 29. 3.
9. Vaiśālī samaiñamāna 1. 1
   (Reconstructed text of Pīṭhanīṣṭhāya in JASB. XIV. 56)
10. Devī 38. 9 “vaideha bhadrakāllākā”
11. Mithilādarsa Pañca Pt. I. p. 47. The place is 3 miles east of Madhubani Railway Station.
12. Vāmana 85. 4-76; Bhāgavata VIII. 2.
13. Purāṇa 144. 142-154.
16. El. XV. 138-139.
17. IHQ. XXI. 59.
18. Matsya 448. 91; Pādma, svarcakha. 19. 71.
24. Ibid, History Geography, p. 256
25. Varāha 143 1-51; Agni, 305. 9; Garuḍa, pūrva-kh. 81. 15; Tīrtha-
vivekanākāra, pp. 217, 251; Tīrthapratikāla, pp. 115, 454 and 609.
26. Kṛṣṇa-caitanya-caritatam I. 15. 8
27. Caitanyamahāgola Ādi, p. 56.
29. Varāha 143. 10.
31. Padma, śrṣṭi-kh., 17. 186; Devī-Bhāg. VII. 30. 57.
32. Tīrthapratikāla, 130 quoting Matsya 13. 28; JASB. XIV. 91
33. JASB. XIV. 30. 99.
34. HDS. IV. 819.
35. Account of Bhagalpur, p. 128.
36. Śiva P. 36. 19.
38. Matsya 22. 24 reads पूर्विकवर्त मोचनाय नाघालव, but Padma śrṣṭi-kh. XI. 16 has the same passage excepting the word ‘sarna’ instead of ‘pūrva’ in Matsya.
40. JASB. XIV. 20; Tīrthapratikāla, P. 132 quoting Matsya P.
41. JASB. XIV. 35. 40.
42. Devī-Bhāg. 7. 38. 14.
44. Tīrthapratikāla p. 129.
45. Padma śrṣṭi-kh., 34. 135.
47. JASB. XIV. 29.
48. Devārakāpattala, p. 32.
49. Mbh. sābhā, 21. 3. 40.
50. Garuḍa pūrva-kh. 83. 1; Agni, 109. 20; Vāyu, 108. 73; Nārada-P. II. 47. 74; Padma śrṣṭi-kh., 11. 63; Skanda, āventya-kh., 57. 3; Tīrthācint-
tāmanta, p. 332; Tīrthapratikāla, p. 392.
51. Ancient Geography, p. 531-532.
52. MASI. No 58. pp. 6, 7, 30.
53. Ancient Geography, p. 531-532.
55. *Tirthaprabhā*, p. 607.
56. JASB. XIV. 21, 23.
60. *Tirthacintāmaṇi*, p. 279 and *Tirthaprabhā*, p. 399 quoting *Narasimha Purāṇa* तिरस्नीम विवरण कस्म नारायण पुराण ; तिरस्नीम बहुवल्ल नामोऽनि तिरस्नीमः कस्मौऽनि.
61. *Tirthaprabhā* quoting *Vāmanī* 84:35 states मन्यायेयमाराजाष्ट्र दद्दाः सन्यासितम् but *Tirthavinecanakāṇḍa*, p. 239 reads as मन्यायेयमाराजाष्ट्र दद्दाः सन्यासितम्; *Vāmanī*, 90. 25 states दद्दाः सन्यासितम्; *Tirthavinecanakāṇḍa*, p. 90. 12 as दद्दाः सन्यासितम्.
63. *Matsya* 13. 37; *Devi-Bhāg.* 7, 30, 68.
64. *Padma* sṛṣṭi-kh., 17. 195.
66. *Vāyu*, 108. 73; *Naradīya* II, 47 75; *Padma*, sṛṣṭi-kh. 11.63; *Skanda* avayya-kh. 57.3; *Ganadā*, 83. 1; *Agni*, 109. 20
68. Barua : Gayā and Buddha Gayā, I, 84.
69. Basham; *History and Doctrines of the Ājivikas*, p. 158; Jackson in *JBORS.* I, 159-172.
70. Descriptive Cat. of Mss. in Mithila, Vol. I. Nos. 92-94, 96-98, 104, 166 and 170.
71. *JBORS.* XXIV, pp. 89-111; *HDS.* IV, 647, 660.
72. *Vāyu* 77. 108, 82. 21; *Agni P.*, 115. 10.
73. Hazra : *Puranic Records*, p. 17.
74. *Kūmaṇa* II, 36. 42.
76. *Vāmanī* 90.9, 83.4; *Agni*, 305. 2; *Narasimha* 65. 31; *Tirthavinecana*, pp. 172. 253; *Tirthaprabhā*, p. 603.
77. *Vāmanī* 83. 4-6.
78. *Matsya* 22. 4.
79. *Padma*, sṛṣṭi-kh. 34. 131.
81. *Matsya* 13. 65; *Devi-Bhāg.* 7, 30. 65, 38. 23; *Padma*, sṛṣṭi-kh. 17. 193. JASB. XIV. 99 notes rightly that the variant line in some texts on Sākāptāha is मन्यायेयमाराजाष्ट्र, 82. *Skanda* viśva-kh. Āravānās-mahātimya 52.32-63, 53.4; *Badriramām-mahātimya* 7. 1-5.
84. Tṛṭṭhaviścanakāṇḍa, p. 166.
85. Gṛṇḍi, pāruś-kh. 86. 19-20, 27-28 mention Baladeva and Subhadrā. 86. 21 mention Kārttikeya.
86. HDS, VI. 664.
87. Caitanya Bhāgavata, I, 12.
87. JASB. XIV. 32, 100.
89. IA. XIX. 184; EI. XX. 249.
90. Gazetteer of Shahabad District, p. 43.
91. Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta, verse 8.
93. Ibid. II, p. 178ff.
94. JASB. 1892, p. 1.
96. Sāratthappakkāsini I, p. 38.
97. Ibid. and Vinaya Piṭaka, II, 76.
100. Watters: Yuan Chwang, II, 154.
101. IA. XXX, 60.
102. MASI, No. 58, p. 10.
102(a) The Archaeological Survey of India has located Griddhakūṭa, at a distance of about ½ miles from Rajgir slightly east of the road to Vanagāṅga and Gaya.
103. Sumāgadha tank (Sānyutta N. V. 447, Sāratthappakkāsini III. 412), Moranivāpa (Dīgha N. III. 38-39), Paścāhyā-kūṭa (Sānyutta N. V. 448), identified by Law with a peak opposite to Udayagiri, Sappini river (Sānyutta N. I. 153, Sāratthappakkāsini I. 219, Abhutara N. II. 29. 176; identified by Law with mod. Paścāhyā river), Madakucheti (Dīgha N. II. 117, Vinaya Mahāvagga, II. 5. 3; Sāratthappakkāsini I. 77) Kālaśilā (Papaścasūdani, II. 63).
103(a) Veluvana has been identified with place quite close to the Inspection Bungalow and the hot springs in Rajgir, and Jivaka Āmbavana on the way to Griddhakūṭa from Rajgir.
104. Sāratthappakāsini I. 242; Sānyutta Nikāya I. 172.
105. Ancient Geography, pp. 528-529; IA. XXX. 61-63.
106. IA. XXX. 63.
108. JBRSS. Special issue, 1956, p. 265.
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110. JASB. II, New Series 1906, pp. 77-83.
111. Barua: Gaya and Buddha Gaya p. 170.
112. Cunningham: Mahâbodhi, p. 53; Barua: op. cit., I, 182.
114. CII. III. p. 276.
116. Beal: Life of Hsuan Tsang Intro., p. XXVII-XLII.
117. Cunningham: Mahâbodhi, pp. 70-75.
118. Kalparâtra S. 122.
120. JBORS. XX. 80.
121. Watters: op. cit., II. 134.
122. Uddásaga-dasás, 8. 231; Vividhatrîthakalpa, p. 22, verse 15.
126. Stevenson: Heart of Jainism, p. 72; Vividhatrîthakalpa, p. 67f.
128. Vividhatrîthakalpa, p. 32.
129. Ibid. p. 32, lines 11-12; Kalparâtra S. 122.
130. IA. XXX. 91.
131. Ibid. p. 95.
132. Trîśasthîtālakâpurushacarita II., p. 338 (GOS. No. 77).
133. Vârāha 144. 33-39, 41-78, 84.
134. Vârâha 144. 173, 146. 52.
135. Agni 109.20; Padma I : 38.52, 57-58, 26.96, 38.47.
136. Râmâyana I. 32. 8-9; Raghavânda VII. 36.
137. Mbh. Vana, 85.8; Viśvaka Dh. S. 85.33; Padma, svarga-kh. 19. 83; Dânasâgara and Tîrtha-prakâśa, p. 72.
138. Tîrtha-prakâśa, p. 132 quoting Mâtrgī, 13. 45. अत्साधिक ते तीर्थ बुधमानस:; Agni 305. 6 as नित्यनेत्रर तथा रोगे It is interesting to note that in ch. 305 of the Agni Purâṇa Viśvēsvara is a variant of the name of Viṣṇu.
CHAPTER VI

Pre-Aryan Culture of Bihar

Earliest relics of the activities of man are the lithic tools and picture-drawings in their cave-dwellings. So far as the reconstruction of the history of the culture and civilisation of the earliest settlers of the land is concerned, these stone tools are very scanty material. Next sources for the period, under review, are the tales and legends which passed from generation to generation till they were recorded in the Epics, the Puranas and similar other works which were written much later than the happenings referred to in them. Let us see how far these legends, combined with the archaeological sources, help us in drawing plausible inferences regarding the subject in question.

R. E. M. Wheeler has rightly remarked, "if, as is now suspected, man in Europe had already half a million years ago reached a definitive stage in the production of the tools and weapons wherewith to master his environment, it seems likely that for a commensurate period India has been the scene of a similar upward struggle. In many parts of India the river terraces have yielded stone implements of types associated with palaeolithic man in Europe and Africa. . . . also the presence in India of extensive microlithic industries which in many respects recall the 'mesolithic' of Europe and North Africa. Again, the neolithic phase which is represented in astonishing abundance in central and southern India and is not altogether absent from the north, is still devoid of context although it must form the background of important episodes in the development of Indian cultures and even civilization."

Not even from the whole of India and Pakistan, what to speak of Bihar, any fossil remains of the Pleistocene man have
yet been reported. The find of a human cranium by W. Theobald\(^2\) which was supposed to have come from conglomerate bone bed of the Narbadā, was taken by H. De Terra and T. Paterson\(^3\) to be of later date in association with the late palaeolithic tools. A bone\(^4\) of a human skeleton seemingly washed out of the implementiferous conglomerate was discovered along with numerous hand-axes by R. Bruce Foote in the AttirpaKKam terrace near Madras. Professors Busk and Dawkins after examining it declared that it was possibly a human tibia from which both the articulations were lost. The absence of human remains puts forward a great contrast to the sufficient availability of Siwalik fauna in which fossil primates are predominant.

The absence of the knowledge of correct stratigraphy is a great barrier in the path of the real scientific study of the palaeolithic culture. No sustained effort has yet been made to establish a correlation between the Glacial Cycles and the Stone Age industries. Similar is the case with the problem of pluvials and inter-pluvials in the tropical regions. Their various formations have not been classified, nor there has been any attempt to determine the correlation between them and the Glacial Cycles in the Himalayas. Naturally this lack of sound geological basis is a hurdle in the path of correct chronological study of the palaeolithic artifacts.

The chipped stone tools, mostly on quartzite, found from many regions including Bihar in India, constitute the main relics of the pleistocene man. At present we have not come to any conclusion about the exact relationship of the artifacts and the environmental background under which they were manufactured. We have to study the nature of the raw material on which really depend the shapes or forms of the required implements and the techniques employed for the artifacts concerned. In our region quartzite was mostly used for the palaeolithic tool manufacture. Palaeolithic tools have been picked up from
the different sites in south Bihar. [In the whole of Chotanagpur division and the districts of Santal Parganas, Monghyr, Patna and Gayā a number of palaeolithic sites have been reported]. The K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute team picked up Early Stone Age tools, viz., hand-axes and scrapers, on quartzite from Rajarappa in the district of Hazaribagh and from the Sanjay Valley in the district of Singhbhum. In 1967, in course of excavation at Lotapahar, Singhbhum, by the State Directorate of Archaeology, a few palaeolithic hand-axes, embedded in the humus of trench (LTRI) were found. The valley of Ganja-Pahar in the district of Dhanbad yielded from exploration a few scrapers on blackish quartzite belonging to the Middl Stone Age. R.V. Joshi and the Patna University team explored the Man river-bed near Bhimbandh, adjacent to the Kharagpur hills in the district of Monghyr, and they picked up the Early Stone Age tools. The artifacts, which consisted of hand-axes, scrapers, flakes and cores on grey or pink coloured quartzite picked up from the riverbed, showed an advanced Acheulian character. Cleavers were rarely met with. The tools, which were found near the dam-site at Bhimbandh, were made of mostly on greenish grey phyllites, being represented by hollow-and side-scrapers and points. On the hill-tops adjoining the left bank of the Rajjan in the same locality, a few fresh Acheulian hand-axes on pink quartzite were picked up. Needless to say that there are outcrops of quartzite and phyllites on the top of the Kharagpur hills. At the lower level, 20 m. above the river bed, a section consisting of rock-rubble and resting on weathered phyllite, yielded a few hand-axes and other tools on quartzite or phyllites; all were of Acheulian assemblage.

The presence of the Early Stone Age industries in the forested hill-tops is a matter of great interest, because such sites are rarely seen in India. This area showed another peculiar character that there was absence, or extreme rarity, of cleavers
which are supposed to have been a common tool-type for the forested areas of the palaeolithic people.

Further, the Patna University team found a number of Early Stone Age tools from Kurumgarh, 14 Km. to the east of Chainpur Police Station and Rajadera 30 km. north-west of Kurumgarh, both in the district of Ranchi. Besides, the same party picked up a few Middle Stone Age implements on quartzite from Chainpur, 45 km. north-west of Gumla and Kurumgarh.

In December, 1967 the Patna University team found hand-axes on quartzite in the Vanagañga Valley near Rajgir in the district of Patna. From Jethian in the Gavā district also hand-axes cleavers, choppers and scrapers on quartzite of Early Stone Age were picked up. The author reported the discovery of two rock-shelters near Sherghati in the district of Gayā.

All these above-mentioned information simply suggest that the palaeolithic people of Bihar, like their contemporaries of other parts of our country and abroad, were dwelling in natural caves or rock shelters of forest-clad hills and mountains, passing their days on hunting of the wild beasts and birds with their lithic implements and collecting wild fruits, shell, fish etc. It may be pointed out that the implements of our region show resemblance to those of the Madras region both in forms and material. Hence it was rightly concluded by V. Ball that a connection had existed between the peoples who manufactured these implements respectively. Tools from our region showed mostly levallois technique.

The availability of microlithic tools in Bihar both from explorations and excavations leaves no doubt that the inhabitants of this region during the mesolithic age were also under regular process of cultural development. According to Bruce Fott, the microlithic and the neolithic phases were grouped together on the basis of the industrial kinship of pottery occu-
rring in both, but De Terra has agreed with Todd, Gordon, Cammiade and Noone and called the microlithic phase as proto-neolithic, quite distinct from the palaeolithic phase.\\textsuperscript{13}

Since 1868, when Captain Beeching\\textsuperscript{14} reported the discovery of flake tools on chert near Chaibasa and Chakradharpur in the district of Singhbhum, several discoveries in the field have been made. In 1887 an important site near Ranchi was discovered by W.H.P. Driver.\\textsuperscript{15} From Dhalbhum area in the district of Singhbhum E. F. O. Murray\\textsuperscript{16} collected flakes and cores while he was engaged in surveying the ancient copper mining in the locality. G.S. Ray\\textsuperscript{17} reported the site of Bongara in the district of Manbhum (now in Singhbhum). The find of "chips and flakes of flint, chert etc. from Dumka Subdivision of the district of Santhal Parganas was reported by P.O. Boddington.\\textsuperscript{18} A few microlithic sites have been located at Marvania and Pratappur in the district of Palamu, Kuchajharia in the district of Ranchi, Bhimbandh in the district of Monghyr and in the region between Berhait and Sahibganj in the district of Santnal Parganas by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute team.\\textsuperscript{19} Microliths have been found in large numbers from Lalapur, Malakpur, Namsukh-Kothi and Oriup near Antichak in the district of Bhagalpur.\\textsuperscript{20} An abundant microlithic site was located near Sonpur,\\textsuperscript{21} in the district of Gayā by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute team; and at Barwe, Chainpur, Jamatoli, Kandra, Kurungarh, Nawadih and Nawagaon in the district of Ranchi by the Patna University team.\\textsuperscript{22} At places microliths have been found in association with neolithic and coarse grey, red and dark black pottery. But as they all are surface finds, their contemporaneity is not certain. Microliths with the association of the ceramic industry (black-and-red ware) have been found at Sonpur (Gaya district)\\textsuperscript{24} and at Chirand (Saran district) excavation from the low stratum when copper was in use.\\textsuperscript{23} The recent excavation at Lotapahar near Chakradharpur in the Singhbhum district, yielded both
geometric and non-geometric tools on chert and flint but without being associated with any ceramic industry.

The people of Bihar, by now, had developed their culture in many respects. They could make fine microlithic tools on fine stones like chert, chalcedony, agate, crystal etc. The discovery of geometric tools of different types representing lunates, burins, points etc. bears testimony to the developed skill in making of microliths in Bihar.

The availability of microliths within the boundary of copper belt in the Chakradharpur and Dhalbhumi area of the district of Singhbhum suggests the former's association with the latter. Gordon has rightly said that "heaps of copper slag and microliths lie in close proximity and that the presence of microlithic sites from Chakradharpur to Ghatsila, including Talsa, Banabassa and Rakha mines, coincides so closely with the copper belt that it is difficult to suppose that they were not anciently associated." Chirand, in the district of Saran exposed the early settlers using crude and white painted black-and-red ware with copper and microliths. Sonpur in the district of Gaya also presents a culture represented by black-and-red pottery with microliths and copper. The characteristics of the white painted black-and-red ware of Chirand are similar to those found in Gulind and Ahar. In the later phase of this culture, iron came into use, though pottery became slightly finer in fabrics, without changing its shapes. All the above mentioned total assemblage gives the culture a chalcolithic character met with in Gulind, Ahar, Navdatoli etc. The radio carbon 14 dating of this culture at Rajasthan sites takes it back to the 17th century B.C., whereas that of its counterpart in Bihar does not go beyond the 9th or 10th century B.C. Recently an expedition party of the Patna University found embedded in a mound near Oriup close to Antichak (Vikramasila site) a unique channel-spouted dish with paintings in sigma and dotted designs, and dish on stand in black-and-red ware. Rajgir and
Vaiśali have also yielded black-and-red ware. There appears to be no doubt that chalcolithic cultures prevailed in Bihar in between 1000 and 700 B.C., if not earlier, and in later part of the chalcolithic assemblage iron was brought into use as revealed by Chirand excavations. Iron in the association of chalcolithic black-and-red ware has also been reported from Pandu Rajar-dhipi in West Bengal. It is not possible at present stage of our knowledge to say whether the authors of the chalcolithic cultures in Bihar were Aryan or pre-Aryan. However, the chalcolithic cultures might have been the work of the pre-Aryans in Bihar.

It is worth mentioning that through the parallel-sided blades with blunted and curved back and a few geometric shapes like lunate, semi-lunate, trapeze and fluted core of the Sanjai Valley are unassociated with pottery or copper tool or slag, ribbon-flake-blades, reminiscent of the Harappan tradition, side by side, with the earlier hunting types, commonly found in the Singrauli basin near Mirzapur and in the microlithic site of Birbhanpur may, according to V.D. Krishnaswami, point to some connection with the protohistoric phase of western and central India; and the microlithic industry of Tripuri may be considered as a connecting link between western India and Chota-Nagpur plateau.

Bihar does not seem to be culturally backward during the neolithic period of stone age. With the growth of population, requirement in every field increased. Instead of living in caves and rock-shelters men came on the lower ground and began cultivation, though of primitive type, started producing grains, domesticated animals and depended partially on hunting and fishing. Polished stone implements began to be manufactured. People knew how to make pottery and how to use it for cooking and storing purposes.

*In 1917, C. W. Anderson reported the discovery of ground neolithic tools along with microliths buried under a
recent alluvial deposit about 18' thick near Chakradharpur area in the district of Singhbhum. D. Sen surveyed the area and reported that there was a rich neolithic celt site on the Sanjai Valley four and a half miles south-east of Chakradharpur near the Bara Bridge on the Sanjai river by the road leading to Chaibasa from Chakradharpur. He observes: "The celt site is on a high ground above the alluvial flood plain, overlooking the river and is more than fifty feet above the present level of the river. The alluvial deposits which bank against the celt high ground have not yielded any artifacts." Another neolithic site was discovered near Bongara in the district of Manbhum (now in Singhbhum) on a hill-terrace sufficiently high above the surrounding ground level. The author reported that two neolithic celts and a polished roller were picked up from Lotapahar near Chakradharpur and a neolithic celt from Chandil in the district of Singhbhum. Neolithic celts have also been reported from Bhimbandh near Kharagpur in the district of Monghyr.

H. C. Chakladar reported that potsherds, found in association with neoliths from the Valley of Sanjai, after examination, showed that they were made of such material as contained also the husk of grain (paddy). This may suggest that the people of Bihar ate rice even during the neolithic age. Excavations at Chirand in the Saran district have revealed a developed neolithic culture. People used different kinds of wares including post-firing ochre painted ware. They cultivated rice, mung and wheat and used stone and bone tools. They lived in reed-huts plastered with mud and cooked their food in elongated ovens. For the first time in the Ganges valley has thus been exposed a neolithic cultural period as a result of regular excavations. The excavations of Brahmagiri (South India) and Maski (near Hyderabad) supplied evidence for the use of copper tools with the ground stone-implements of the neolithic period. There is no such information from Bihar.
The material used for the neolithic implements in Bihar represented mostly trap, and the main representative types of the tools are axe, wedge, chisel, perforated tool, shouldered hoe and hammer-stone. The techniques applied for making tools seem to have been chipping, pecking or hammering and grinding.

The axe is characterised by rounded-butt and medium cutting edge; bifacially ground. Its transverse section is either ovoid or lenticular. This tool, predominant in the district of Singhbhum, is also available in Assam, Kaimur and Banda.

The wedge is a variant of axe; the difference lies in the flat character of the butt which seems to have been due to the chipping transversely of the butt-end.

The chisel is, generally, distinguished by rectangular cross-section. It has a flat-butt and its cutting edge is, sometimes splayed, but generally, bifacially and unifacially ground. This kind of tool is reported by Sen and is also found in the collection of the author from Singhbhum. Such a tool has been reported by Mitra from the excavation at Jaugada in Orissa.42

The perforated tool is a circular or oval flat stone having a central hole, showing work on both sides. It has blunt edge; it shows no sign of grinding.

The hoe having protrusion at the shoulder is a shouldered hoe. Such an implement has been reported from Bongara and Dhalbhum in the Singhbhum district of Bihar. It is found also in Deulbarh in Midnapur, Mayurbhanj in Orissa, in Assam, Central India, at the mouth of the Godāvari, Hyderabad and northern Mysore.43

The hammer stone is an elongated pebble having no sign of any working.

Besides, some more types have been found in Bihar. The bar-chisel is reported from the Santhal Parganas. It is available
also at Ban-Asuria, Jashpur, Thakurani, Sitabhanji and Daspalla in Orissa. The tool shows a close affinity with its counterpart in Malaya; the difference lies in the fact that the Malayan tools are ground. We have miniature faceted tools in jadeite from Lohardaga of the Ranchi district. This type of tool is not available on the mainland of South-East Asia; it is found in the river-valley cultures of northern China and Yunman. A thin-sectioned broad axe was met with in the Santhal Parganas; such a tool is found in numbers in the Garo hills of Assam. A unique tool, shaped as a screw-driver has been reported from Singhbhum.44

Krishnaswami opines that the shouldered hoe, splayed axe and the faceted tool, so common in South-East Asia, arrived in our country very late, because they are reported sporadically without any archaeological context. He argues that the occurrence of the shouldered hoe inside the fortifications of Kausambi, Śisupālagarh and Rajgir bears testimony to the late arrival of the tool. These types seem to have immigrated from the neighbouring countries into the hilly regions of eastern India and slowly have integrated with the indigenous industry of our country. Further, the sporadic distribution may suggest either the import of the tools or the local imitations of the foreign types, but not the products of a separate and distinct cultural grouping of our country.45

Two separate tool-traditions are seen in the State of Bihar; these traditions are prevalent not only in eastern India but also in the whole of South-East Asia. The first of these is represented by chipped and flaked stone tools. These tools seem to have been immediate descendants of the chipped palaeolithic tools; naturally they are earlier. These tools are characterized by edge-grinding. The later neolithic tradition is represented by ground, sawn and fully-smoothed tools. As we move towards the east from Chota-Nagpur, we find this tradition gaining importance up to Malaya and Indo-China.
Further, this tradition is seen in association with pottery in South-East Asia, which, according to V. D. Krishnaswami,\textsuperscript{46} suggests an intrusion from outside. The bar-chisel or adze reflects the characteristics of the late tool-types of Malaya. According to Noone, these tools were probably used as ploughshares, because they are found unfinished, i.e., they are flaked but not ground.\textsuperscript{47} The occurrence of these tools is limited only to the boundary of eastern India in the hilly tracts of southern Bihar, West Bengal and northern Orissa in the same complex as they are found in Malaya. On this evidence V. D. Krishnaswami rightly infers that a maritime communication seems likely. The bar-celt, the shouldered hoe, the splayed axe and the long rectangular chisel of copper are found together in the copper-hoard site of Madhya Pradesh and the Ganges basin. These tools seem to have copied their shapes from their stone counterparts of the region. Hence it is pertinent to conclude that the copper-hoard complex immediately developed from their prototypes in stone when metal began replacing stone. The ochre-coloured pottery of Hastinapur has been found in association with copper tools from the pre-Painted Grey Ware level, suggesting the copper-hoards of the Ganges basin to be pre-Aryan, assignable to about 1500 B. C.\textsuperscript{48}

The shouldered hoe in bronze is first reported from Anyang in Hupei, from the burials of the Yin dynasty (1300 to 1226 B. C.)\textsuperscript{49}. A few examples in stone have been picked up from the outside of the grave area in Honan, and the faceted square-cut axe has been reported from the cultural area of China from the metal assemblage. This northern Chinese culture infiltrated into the southern countries the evidence of which is seen in Szechwan and Fukien. This culture, probably, may have proceeded further south, into South-East Asia, where it was recognised as the developed neolithic culture. It seems that the metallic tradition in South-East Asia is not earlier than that at Anyang. On the other hand, the finds from Hongkong,
Somrongsen and Malaya are indicative of a date somewhere about the second half of the first millenium B.C. for the metallic tradition in the regions concerned. This metallic tradition persisted even in association with bronze and iron in the regions of Malaya and Indo-China. The later group of ground tools has been reported from Kelantan in Malaya in association with pottery which included Chinese glazed ware. A few sherds of a typical highly polished black ware (said to be 'Greek or Attic'), reported from the upper levels of the Kelantan sequence and datable between the fourth and second centuries B.C., suggests a clue. Dani opines that the above date may come down to first or second century A.D., if it resembles the types unearthed from Arikamedu in India.

The shouldered type of hoe has been found at Kausambi and Rajgir in association with the Northern Black Polish Ware. Hence it may be suggested that highly-polished black ware of Kelantan sequence may be reconsidered in this light. Mrs. Mitra found a stone axe with the black-and-red ware at Jaugada in Orissa. This association of black-and-red ware with neolithic celts is strengthened by the similar evidences from Sonepur in Bihar. The type of celt is characterized by its tiny dimension with a rounded-butt and thin lenticular section, and another type represents a rectangular adze with quadrangular section. A neolithic celt is reported by Krishna Deva and Mishra to have been found in associtaion with the N. B. P. ware at Vaishali. All this shows that the late neolithic complex in Bihar or in South-East Asia persisted till the time of the black-and-red ware, N. B. P. and even after the introduction of iron and punch-marked coins. This may be compared with the evidence in Malaya and Indo-China.

The legends and tales, recorded in the ancient Indian literature, are important sources for the reconstruction of a history of any region in India. The Rgveda mentions the word Kikaṭa which, in accordance with Yāska, was the name of a
non-Aryan country. Kikata is a synonym for Magadha. It may be inferred that while the Aryans had already settled in north Bihar, Magadha was still largely non-Aryan. This may be corroborated from the legend of Videgha Māthava in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* which mentions that he with the priest and the sacrificial fire proceeded from the bank of the Sarasvati river (Punjab) towards the east and crossed many a river but when they reached the Sadānīra (Gandaka) the fire refused to cross it. So the first Aryan settlement was only up to the bank of the Gandaka. Magadhas⁵⁸ are described as the people who were associated with the Vṛāyas having altogether different culture from the Vedic Aryans and living beyond the boundary of the Aryan sway, and they were the victims at human sacrifice (Purushamedha). It seems that during the Samhitā period, Bihar was not at all touched by the shadow of the Aryan culture, which seems to come to this region during the time of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āranyakas. According to Pargiter the Āṅgas and the Magadhas were non-Aryans and they came to Bihar from somewhere beyond the sea. But this seems to be an exaggerated inference as there is no record, at hand, to prove the over-sea migration of the Āṅgas and the Magadhas. The words Mālada and Kārusha, in the *Rāmayana*⁵⁷ of Vālmiki, have been taken as non-Aryan words signifying hilly countries representing the regions of Buxar in the district of Shahabad. Mālada is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁵⁸ in the list of eastern countries conquered by Bhima, second of the Pāndavas. The region is represented as the dwelling place of Rakshasi Tādakā who was killed by Rāmacandra. Gayā was the seat of the Āsura culture during the time of Gayāsura who was done away with by Vishnu.⁵⁹ R. L. Mitra⁶⁰ pointed out that this story of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* might signify the expulsion of Buddhism from Gayā. In the Chota-Nagpur area of south Bihar, there are numerous Āsura sites signifying the non-Aryan character of the region. In comparison with south Bihar, north Bihar contains negligible relics of the non-Aryan culture and religion. From these
descriptions it may be concluded that Magadha (districts of Gayā, Patna and some portion of Monghyr), Aṅga (some part of Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts) and Mālada and Kārisha (district of Shahabad) had been, for centuries, the seat of pre-Aryan culture. The Atharvaveda mentions that once fever was sent to visit Kāśi, Magadha, Aṅga, Vaṅga etc. and in the later Dharmaśāstra literature it is said that people, not as pilgrims, visiting Magdha, Aṅga and Vaṅga would be sinners and they would have to undergo a penance.

**Main features of the pre-Aryan religion.**

It would not be pertinent to think about the religion of the Stone-Age people. We can guess something of the pre-Aryan religion only from the life of those non-Aryans who lived in different regions of India side by side along with the Aryans for centuries together and about whom the Aryan literatures directly or indirectly mention.

Mahādeva, who, later on, was accepted by the Aryans, seems to have been the first God of the non-Aryan people. The Mahābhārata mentions that Jarāsandha of Magadha, who was a great enemy of Kṛṣṇa and who is represented as an Asura or demon, was the worshipper of Mahādeva.

The worship of Nāgas (serpents) seems to have been another feature of the non-Aryan religion. Magadha was a great centre of serpent-worship. The Manināga temple of Rajagrha, though belonging to the Gupta period, reminds us of the incidents when Kṛṣṇa (of the Mahābhārata) from the top of the Gorathagiri pointed it to Bhima and Arjuna. Similarly several other Nāga deities like Arbuda, Śakravāpi and Āshtika were worshipped by the people of Magadha. The Nāgas (serpents) were holding honourable position in Gayā. There is a reference to a terrible snake in the Agniśāla of Kāśyapa (at Vīruvīlva near Rajagrha) which was conquered by the Buddha. Nāgarāja Maṇcilinda protected the Buddha from the
sun and rains while he was in meditation. It may be inferred from this that the Nāgas (tribe), who were non-Aryan and worshippers of serpents, thinking that the Buddha was against the Vedic religion might have extended their help to the religious pursuit of Tathāgata. People of Magadha regarded Nāgas as generous deities who, they believed, could bring rains if properly appeased by worship.

The worship of vaṣa, aśvattha and tulasi trees, which is now popular in Bihar and other parts of India, seems to be non-Aryan in character. The Vedic literature does not refer to it. The Rgveda has spoken very highly of the forest (Aranyāni) but no where in it is any reference to the worship of any particular tree. The fig tree (aśvattha) has been considered the best (holiest) among the trees in the Bhagavadgītā. This is quite likely that the Aryans borrowed it from the non-Aryans. The tulasi tree stands for a chaste lady named Tulasi Brndā who was the wife of a powerful Rākshasa. Vishnu, the leader of gods, by destroying the chastity of Tulasi could win over that dreadful demon. Does it not suggest that the Aryans succeeded in Aryanising the region of Tulasi worshippers only by embracing their faith (i.e. the tulasi tree-worship)? It was a belief among the people that the trees like aśvattha were the abode of different divinities or departed spirits which could help the worshippers in many ways. Even during the late mediaeval period of the Indian history, it is said that Tulasidāsa, the author of the Ramacaritamanasa, was helped by a tree-spirit in finding out Hanumāna. One of the scenes in the sculptures at Bharhut, where a tree-spirit is offering a dish with precious presents to devotees, is another testimony to this belief. It has been suggested that Gautama Buddha selected the pipal tree for his meditation only because he, probably, had that belief that tree-spirit, associated with that particular tree, helped people in obtaining spiritual achievement. Earlier Buddhas and Tīrthaṅkaras have been asso-
ciated with trees in the Buddhist and Jaina legends. This might be due to the fact that the tree-worship was popular among the pre-Aryans. Negritoeces of the hilly tracts of south Bihar were tree-worshippers.

Next important feature of the non-Aryan (or pre-Aryan) religion was the caitya-worship. In the beginning the Caitya was nothing but a stūpa built on funeral remains. After the death of the of the Buddha eight caityas,87 which were nothing but stūpas, were built over the relics of the Tathāgata. But later on, as witnessed by evidences, caityas were differentiated from the stūpas. They were now temples, generally apsidal on plan, enshrining either the image of the Buddha or the stūpa. The epics distinguish the caityas from the devāyatanaś (temples) for the former had the association with the funeral remains. In the Rāmāyana there is a comparison between Rāvana and the Caitya situated in a funeral place at the time the former wooed Sītā. All these suggest that the caityas used to be built generally outside the skirt of the habitational area, i.e., village or town.

The worship of the caityas was, generally, accompanied by animal sacrifices. There was a big caitya outside the boundary of Rājagṛha which was honoured like anything by the people of Magadhā. It contained the corporeal relics of a demon or daitya who was done away with by king Bṛhadṛatha. Bhīma and Arjuna, in course of their arrival at Rājagṛha with a view to assassinating Jārāanadha, demolished this caitya.

Though generally the object of worship in the caitya in historical period was either stūpa or an image of Buddha, yet there are instances of merely rock and tree as the objects of worship in the shrine. The Pāśanaki Caitya near Rājagṛha enshrined only a rock. Udenaka and Satamura Kaityas at Vaiśāli in the district of Muzaffarpur (north Bihar) had trees as the objects of worship. The Gotamaka Caitya of the same place
enshrined a nyagrodha (vāṭa) tree, while the Sattāmraka had a grove of seven mango ones (trees). As suggested by the sculpture at Bharhut, where it has been erected around the Bodhi tree, it may be inferred that the caitya tree generally had a railing or pavilion around it. From all these instances it is inferred that the caitya-worship was highly popular in Bihar. The Buddha also wished that Licchavis should continue honouring caityas.

The Yaksha-worship was no less common in the pre-Aryan religion than any of its religious features. The Yakshas are considered as semi-divine beings and attendants of Kubera, and sometimes also of Vishnu. In the Mahavastu the word Yaksha is applied to Māra. Hence the Yakshas were both benevolent and malevolent spirits. The Ramayana mentions that Tadakā of (Mālada and Kārūsha) Buxar in the district of Shahabad, daughter of Mātrṣyaksha Suketu, continued to be called as Yakshinī even after she had become a man-eater. A large number of Yakshas are said to have been converted by the Buddha to good life. Hārīti, a Buddhist deity, has been referred to as Yakshinī and the Lalitavistara mentions the Yakshas as Hārīti-puras. Hārīti, who was a child-devouring Yakshini of Rājagṛha, was converted by the Buddha and made lover of children. The Jātakas refer to so many malevolent Yakshas who were man-eaters. It was a popular belief that persons of bad disposition, after death, became evil spirits or Yakshas and vexed their former foes and they could be transferred into benevolent spirits only when they were appeased by worship.

It seems that the people of Bihar during the time of the Buddha worshipped benevolent Yakshas. A title of honour named as Yaksha was given to the Buddha and Indra. The Yaksha has been indentified with Brahmā residing in the human body. Yakshas have been described as possessing various qualities. A barren woman could get a child by worshipping a benevolent Yaksha. The Yakshas were helpful in checking the
spread of epidemics like small pox, plague, cholera etc. and in devising to foretell the arrival of enemies. The spread of small pox was checked by Mañibhadra Yaksha of Samilla, as a consequence of which the people of the locality showed gratitude by besmearing his (Yaksha) temple with cowdung regularly on eight and fifteenth day of the every fortnight. It is said that Ghanṭika Yaksha of Vaiśāli was a door-keeper in his previous birth who after his death told his son in a dream that his temple should be built and a bell should be hung there which he would ring in advance if any enemy would approach the city. Same is the case with the custom officers of both Vaiśāli and Campā. They also became Yakshas after their death and asked their sons to construct temples for them. The Yakshas, Umbardatta and Surambara were worshipped with devotion by childless ladies wishing for children.

The temples of the Yakshas used to be built generally outside the boundary of the village or in a desert or in jungle because they were considered as spirits. In special cases they used to be built on the gate of the town or city and even inside the palace itself. The Jaina literature mentions about a Yakshasthāna near Campā. The shrine, adorned by umbrellas, bells and banners, was of remote past. The temple had no image of a Yaksha but there was merely a dais coated with cow dung and scented flowers were strewn over it. Aupapatikasāra mentions about one temple named Pūrṇabhadra temple which was the abode of jesters, dancers, acrobats, reciters of ballads etc. These temples, as suggested by the sculptures of later period, had barrel shaped domes with a railing all round. We know from the Buddhist sources that Suciloma Yaksha was worshipped by the people of Gayā, Indrakīta and Rājagṛha while at Pātaliputra people had Ajakalpaka Yaksha to worship. The images of Yakshas, as suggested by the Patna Yaksha giant figure and the Didarganj (Patna) Yaksini, kept in the Patna Museum, were common in the Śuṅga period.
The Śāligrāma worship is another feature of the pre-Aryan religion. The worship of Śāligrāma, which is a black pebble found in the Gándaka river, is not mentioned in the Vedic literature nor does it mention of any other stone-worship. There is a place named Śāligrāma in the Upper Gándaka Valley, whose people were probably non-Aryans and who might have been Śāligrāma worshippers. By and by the Śāligrāma worship was accepted by the Aryans.

The amalgamation of cultures of the Aryans and non-Aryans seems to have begun in the very early stage of Aryan settlement. The Vedic Aryans adopted the practice of erecting funeral mounds. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa\textsuperscript{78} has referred to the funeral mounds of the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. But the practice of building funeral mounds could not continue among the Aryans. The Buddhists accepted it with wholehearted devotion and started building stūpas over the corporeal relics of the Buddhist saints. During the late period of Buddhism commemorative votive stūpas (without relics) began to be built. The worship of pipala, vāṭa and tulasī trees is still common among the Hindus in many parts of India. Mahādeva is now the great Aryan God. The Nāga-paṇcami is the proof of the continuity of the Nāga-worship which is being observed by the Hindus in various parts of the country. Vishnu, the great God of the Aryans, has been given the bed of Nāga. The Yaksha became popular in the 2nd century B.C. Now the Yakshas were no longer malevolent spirits. The worship of Śāligrāma and the tulasī tree has been taken over by the Vaishnava sects throughout India.

**The problem of the Vrātyas**

The sober students of history still face problems regarding the social position and the habitational location of the Vrātyas, for different views have been put forward by different scholars. The term ‘Vrātya’ is as ancient as the time of the Atharvaveda\textsuperscript{74} where the Rājanyas and even the Brāhmaṇas are
said to have sprung from the Vrātya who is identified with the Supreme Being (Mahā-deva). According to Sāyana the word 'Vrātya' means 'fallen'. In accordance with the Apastamba Dharmaśāstra the derivation of the word is from 'Vrata' which means a 'vow' and the Vrātya stands for a Srotriya or religious mendicant who has learnt the Śruti or Veda as faithfully as one follows a vow. Baudhāyana means it 'a son of an uninitiated man'. The Manusmyiti and the Vishnudharma purāṇa mention that the man who is not invested with the sacrament of initiation (Śāvitripatita) is called 'Vrātya'. In the Mahābhārata the Vrātya has been described in the rank of poisoners, pimps, adulterers, abortionist, drunkards etc. The Vṛātyas belonged to a mixed caste e.g. a son of Śūdra and a Kshatriya (a Kshatriya woman) or an illegitimate son of a Kshatriya. St. Petersberg Lexicon by Bhotlingk and Roth mentions that the word 'Vṛātya' means 'a pious vagrant or a wandering religious mendicant.' It would not be out of place to mention that in the Vaiṣṇasamhitā the vrātya along with the Magadhas and Pumācali is included in the list of victims at the Purushamedha (human sacrifice).

There are a lot of surmises about the location of the homeland of the Vṛātyas. As the Vedic gods are mentioned in Boghazkoi treaties, K. Chattopadhyaya opines that between 2000-1500 B.C. there came several waves of Aryan intruders in Asia minor simultaneously with the similar entry in India of other Aryan tribes who were called the Vṛātyas. Raja Ramkrishna Bhagawat mentioned that the Vṛātyas belonged to Bihar. He has argued that according to the Śūtra the chariot of the Vṛātyas and that of the eastern people (people of Bihar) were similar. In the province of Magadha there was a custom in which the garment of the enfranchised Vṛātyas was given to a Brāhmaṇa only when a vrātya was not available for that purpose. R. K. Choudhary has asserted that the Vṛātyas represented a definite cultural milieu of eastern India with
Magadha as the centre." The *Mahābhārata* brings the Vṛātyas to the land of five rivers (Punjab), viz., Šatadru (Sutlej), Vipāsā (Bias), Irāvati (Ravi), Candrabhāgā (Chinab), Vitastā (Jhelum).

Let us see how the religious belief of the Vṛātyas helps us in solving the problems, in question. In the *Atharva-veda* there is an indication of the non-sacrificing character of the Vṛātyas.

"The man, to whose house, when the fire has been taken up from the hearth and the oblation to Agni placed therein, the vṛātya, possessing knowledge comes as a guest, should of his own accord rise to meet him and say, 'Vṛātya, give me permission, I shall sacrifice.' And if he gives permission he should sacrifice, if he does not permit him he should not sacrifice."  

It is inferred from this that fire-sacrifice (Agnihotra) was not performed by the Vṛātyas. It (fire-sacrifice) was introduced by the Aryans, for we have the reference to it in the *Ṛgveda* where the Brāhmaṇas perform the Agnihotra daily before the sun-rise. Hence the non-sacrificing character of the Vṛātyas compels us to infer that they were non-Aryans. The *Kaushitaki* Upanishad informs us that the people of the olden time never performed Agnihotra (fire-sacrifice). The 'people of the olden time' definitely stand for the pre-Aryans or non-Aryans who had no knowledge of fire-sacrifice. Father Heras, while commenting upon this statement of *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, has compared the Vṛātyas with the Dravidians. He argues that the 'wise men of old', who never performed Agnihotra, were certainly pre-Aryans as the Agnihotra is mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. It was the race of Dravidians who were learned people. Hence the 'wise men of the old', in the Upanishad, were none but the Dravidians.

The *Atharva-veda* describes the Vṛātya as one who does good to the human society. The Eka-Vṛātya has been taken as the Supreme Being. The hymn thus says:
"He roused Prajāpati to action. Prajāpati beheld god in himself and engendered it. That became unique, that became excellent, that became devotion, that became fervour, that became truth: through that he was born. He (Eka-Vrātya) grew, he became great, he became Mahādeva. He gained the Lordship of the Gods. He became Lord. He became Chief Vrātya (Eka-Vrātya). He beheld the bow, even that bow of Indra. His belly is dark-blue, his back is red. With dark-blue he envelops a detested rival, with red he pierces the man who hates him, so the theologians say." From the above passage one can well infer the supremacy of Mahādeva or Śiva. Heras on the basis of the hymn, referred to, compares this supreme or Eka-Vrātya or Mahādeva with Ān of Mohenjodarians.  

R. G. Bhandarkar holds that Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Mahendra, Paśupati and Isāna were protectors of the Vrātyas or outcasts: "The gods made Bhava the archer, the protector of the Vrātyas, or outcasts, in the intermediate space of the eastern region, Śarva of the southern region, Paśupati of the western region, Ugra of the northern region, Rudra of the lower region, Mahādeva of the upper region, and Isāna of all the intermediate regions." R. K. Choudhary stresses upon the pre-Aryan character of Śiva, who has been described as the god of the nomad vrātya or the spirit of the vrātya. R. Kimura is of opinion that Śiva is the god of the Nishādas and the Vrātyas. He further puts forth that as the Vrātyas fought against the Vedic Aryans, they selected Śiva as their leader.

Ān, Ānīl and Ammā believed forming the Divine Triad in the Mohanjodaro inscriptions, have been compared respectively with Śiva, Kārttikeya and Pārvati. Some hint to the Divine Triad is seen in the Atharvaveda where in Śraddhā has been replaced by Punischali of Eka-Vrātya. Similar ideas of Divine Triad are found in one of the hymns of the Rgveda, which thus speaks:
"Stay the male demon (Yātudhāna) : Indra: Stay the female joying and triumphing in arts of magic (Māyā).

Let the Muradevas with bent necks fall and perish and see no more the sun when rises."

Here the male demon may be compared with Śiva or Eka-Vrātya in the Atharvaveda. The word 'female' stands for Puṁścalī and Muradeva for Dravidian Muruga (early name of Kārttikeya). D. R. Bhandarkar has aptly taken Puṁścalī of the Atharvaveda as the Mother-Goddess of the Mohenjodarians. 95 The word 'Ammā' has not been used in correct sense even in the Satapatha Brahmana where in Ambikā has been taken as the sister of Rudra. 96

The Atharvaveda further mentions about the penance and the Yogic powers of the Vrātyas.

"For a whole year he stood erect. The Gods said unto him, why standest thou, O Vrātya? He answered and said, let them bring my couch." The hosts of gods served him as attendants, solemn vows were his messengers and all the creatures were his worshippers.

"... of that Vrātya there are seven vital airs, seven downward breathes", 97

Further we find reference to the dress of the Vrātya... "the day was his Ushnīṣa (head-dress) yellow the Prevaratas (ear-rings), Kalmali, the Mani or jewel." 100

From these hymns we know that the Eka-Vrātya observed penance for one year by standing erect. He had his couch to sit on. He used to put on turban like head-dress which has been compared by D. R. Bhandarkar with that of Paśupati represented on the Mohenjodaro seals. 99

The learned Vrātya was greatly honoured in the society. One of the hymns speaks: 
“So let the king, to whose house the Vrātya who posse-
sses the knowledge comes as a guest, honour him as Superior
to himself. So he doth not act against the interests of his princ-
cely rank or his kingdom.” ... “Let him, to whose house, who
possesses this knowledge comes as a guest, rise up of his own
accord to meet him and say, Vrātya, let it be as thou pleasest,
Vrātya, as thy wish so let it be.”

Śiva, inspite of being a pre-Aryan God, is indirectly
mentioned in the Ṛgveda in the form of Rudra who has been
associated with Asura. But at the same time he has been
considered as the foremost physician and a more powerful
personage than Vishnu. Again Rudra has been taken as a de-
ity of the mountain. He with braided hair and putting on a
skin garment is an archer representing a malevolent character.

We find a reference to the dress and customs of the Vrātyas
in the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa. The passage runs thus “The Vrātyas
are those who wear a turban (Ushnīsa) on their heads, which
they put on one side. They carry a whip (Pratoda) in their
hands and a small bow (Jyāhroda) without arrow, by which
they make depredation and trouble people. They ride in wag-
gons (Vipatha) with bamboo sticks without cover and drawn by
horses and mules. They wear on their bodies white garment
with black borders (Krṣhna‘a) or garments made of wool with
strips or sheep-skins (Ajina). They use Nishka.”

The Paṇcavimśa Brāhmaṇa mentions that the leader of
the Vrātyas or a householder put on a turban. They carried
whips in hands and bows (Jyāhroda) on their shoulders. The
colour of their dress was white and black (Krṣhna-Valaksha)
and they used rough waggons covered with planks (Phalakā-
tīna). The members, junior to the leader, put on red coloured
dresses, skins doubly folded and sandals (Upānaha). The
name of one of the ornaments used by the leader of the
Vrātyas is Nishka which stands for coin according to R. R.
Bhagawat. The Sūtras inform us that the sandals of “the
Vrātyas were of variegated colour, e. g. black hue.”
The Vṛātyas spoke the language of the consecrated and were not permitted to enter in the fields of agriculture and commerce. No Vṛātyas observed brahmacarya. There is a reference to the fact that the Vṛātyas drank wine (sūra).

That the Arhantas and Āudhās formed the two different groups or classes of the Vṛātyas is mentioned in the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa. It has already been discussed that the Rājanya (Kshatriya) and even the Brāhmanas originated from the Eka-Vṛātya. Srikanta Sastri is of opinion that the Vṛātyas belonged to the Vaiśya class. R. K. Choudhary differs from Sastri and suggests that as the chief gods of the Vṛātyas were Rudra, Isāna and Mahadeva, who formed the trinity and were the only various manifestations of the one and the only god, Eka-Vṛātya, they (the Vṛātyas) were Ekeśvaravādins.

It appears that by and by the Vṛātyas began to be looked down upon by the society. The incessant jealousy of the Aryans with the Vṛātyas, possibly, gave rise to this malicious feeling in the proto-Aryan society. The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa informs us about the four classes of the Vṛātyas, viz., hina (libidinous whose deterioration was due to their stay in the Vrati Society and who never observed brahmacarya or Arhants or Āudhās), Gārāgirs (swallowers of poison), Samanicamedhri (one who hangs his medhri low by controlling one’s passion), and nindita (one who is hated). D. R. Bhandarkar opines that the notion that Śiva was the swallower of poison, was possibly derived from the words Gārāgirs.

From the above discussions one can conclude that the Vṛātyas imbibed more characteristics of the Aryans than those of the non-Aryans, having Magadha as the centre of their settlement. They had altogether different social institutions from the Aryans. The culture of the Vṛātyas was flourishing side by side with that of the Aryans. Again the Aryan character of the word ‘vṛātya’ (which seems to have been derived from vrata or even if it means ‘fallen’) suggests that it was named so by the
Aryans. As they were speaking the tongue of the consecrated, their origin seems to have been from the Aryans. It appears that since the Vrātyas or the parents of the Vrātyas did not follow the social rules of the Aryans, they declared them as outcasts and hence they had no alternative other than embracing the non-Aryan manners and customs. The argument of A. B. Keith that the Aryans living outside the Brahmanical culture were called Vrātyas seems quite pertinent. He says thus: "There seems to have been one class of the Vrātyas. That they were non-Aryans is not probable, for it is expressly said that, though unconsecrated, they spoke the tongue of the consecrated: They were thus apparently Aryans. The Satras mention their Achāntas ("Saints") and Audhas ("Warriors") corresponding to the Brahmanical Brahmana and Kshatriya. They were also allowed to become members of the Brahmanical community by performance of the ritual prescribed, which would hardly be so natural in the case of non-Aryans." 112

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CHAPTER VII

Aryanisation of Bihar—Northern and Southern

The Aryans were essentially an adventurous and migrating race. They settled in the Brahmagarta and gradually proceeded to the eastern direction. Dr. Altekar held that within two hundred years of their entry in India they established themselves in Videha, Vaishali and Campā in Bihar by 1800 B.C.¹ On the basis of traditional history, Dr. Pusalker arrived at the conclusion that Bihar was Aryanised by the end of the Krta era².

The Vedic literature makes it clear that the early Aryans were sufficiently acquainted with the northern and southern Bihar. The Rgveda³ mentions of an unfriendly chieftain called Pramaganda ruling in Kikaṭa. Zimmer located Kikaṭa in Magadha. Relying on the interpretation of the word Kikaṭa by Yāska⁴, he thought that they were non-Aryans. Weber, however, took them to be Aryans. A hymn of the Atharvaveda⁵ expresses the wish of a poet that the fever may visit the Gāndhāris, the Mūjavants, the Aṅgas and the Māgadhas. Another hymn of the same Veda records that in the eastern region, the Vṛātya’s “faith is his harlot (pumścalī), mitra his māgadh (bard or panegyrist)⁶.” The Vājasoneyi Samhita includes the Māgadha as a victim in the Purushamedha sacrifice. The mention of Vāṅgavagadhāḥ in the Aitareya Āraṇyka has been interpreted by scholars to refer to Vaṅga-Magadhāh, that is, the peoples of Vaṅga and Magadha. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa informs us that before the entry of Māthava Videgha, the land east of the Sadānirā river was uncultivated and marshy.⁷ The Sūtras also knew of Magadha as a country. These references indicate that a section of the Vedic seers mentioned Magadha and Aṅga rather contemptuously.
Disparaging remarks on Aṅga-Magadha do not indicate that it was not Aryanised before the later Vedic period. On the other hand, the mention of the Vṛātya in the Atharvaveda, where he is celebrated as a supreme power in the universe, shows that Bihar had been Aryanised in the age of the Atharvaveda, if not earlier. In view of the positive evidence of that Veda we need not give much importance to the theories of Roth, Whitney, Bloomfield or Chanda, all of whom considered Vṛātyas as non-Aryans. We may also reject a few other interpretations of the Vṛātyas. Dr. B.M. Barua identified the Vṛātyas with the Alpines of Iran speaking an Aryan language, though of Paisæci variety, and Jarasandha of Magadha was a Vṛātya monarch. R. C. Dutt took them to be Turanians and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal as those “who had traditions of the Jinas and Buddhhas amongst them even before the sixth century B. C.” All these statements seem to be mere conjectures. The first hymn of the XVth Book of the Atharvaveda described the roaming Vṛātya as having “gained the lordship of the Gods.” The second hymn narrates that he went to the eastern region and the Brhat, the Rathantara, the Ādityas and all the gods followed him. All the eighteen hymns of the Vṛātya Book give us the impression that the Vṛātya was a roving Aryan priest. The Pañcavimsa Brāhmaṇa clearly tells us that the Vṛātyas were “adherants of the God.”

The missionary zeal of the Vṛātyas brought them to the eastern, western and northern regions of India, where there was no Aryan culture. The Pañcavimsa Brāhmaṇa tells us that the people reached a spot where could be “found neither that stoma nor that metre by means of which they might reach them.” The XVth Book of the Atharvaveda acquaints us with the success of the Vṛātyas. Their mission was so successful that large bands of adherants followed them. So numerous were their adherants that it seemed that an army was following them or a meeting was being held. It was not unnatural
therefore that long association with the Magadhas and consequent enjoyment of pelf and power made the Vṛātyas forget the essentials of an Aryan culture. The Brāhmaṇas describe the condition of these degraded Vṛātyas. A verse of the Pañca- viṁśa Brāhmaṇa tells us that they neither studied the Vedas nor did they practise agriculture and trade.15 Another verse records that they ate “foreign food as Brāhmaṇa’s food, who call good words, who use to strike the guiltless with a stick, who, though being not initiated, speak the speech of the initiated.”16 The adherence of the Vṛātyas to the Aryan language is also mentioned in Baudhāyana’s works. In course of time they probably ceased to speak the standard language of the Aryans. Both the Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa and the Ashtadhyayi of Pāṇini17 refer to the peculiarities of the Prācya or eastern dialect. Noticing such a degraded condition of the Vṛātyas, Sāyana-cārya described them as those who lived in foreign lands and did not follow the prescribed customs.

Followers of the Brahmanical religion did not close their doors against the Vṛātyas. The Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras recommended Vṛātya-stomas for those Vṛātyas who chose to come back within the fold of ancient culture and religion. According to the Āpastamba Dharma and Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtras,19 the designation of the Vṛātyas was also given to those who had not gone through the upanayena saniskāra. The sin of a Vṛātya in the succeeding period was of so little significance that vṛātyata is described as an upapātaka or minor sin in the Gauṭama Dharma Sūtra and Vajñavalkya Smṛti.20

A study of the Vṛātyas thus shows that they were early Aryans, who remained in Magadha. With their readmission into Brahmanical rites, the people of Magadha must have received Brahmanic culture in the period of the Brāhmaṇas. There cannot be any doubt that large number of Brāhmaṇas had settled in Magadha by the time of the composition of the Aranyakas and the Sūtras. The Śāṅkhāyana Aranyakā quotes the
views of a Magadhan Brāhmaṇa with respect.22 Magadha was the habitat of respectable Brāhmaṇas according to the Kau-
shiṭaki Aranyuka.23 It is also interesting to note that in the Brā-
hmaṇas earlier than the Paṇcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the mahāvratas rite required the copulation of an inhabitant of Magadha and a courtesan.24 But there is no reference to such a barbaric rite in the Paṇcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa. The Sāṅkhāyaṇa śrou-
tasūtra, a later work than the Paṇcaviṃśa, refers to that rite as obsolete and not worthy to be followed.25

Much earlier than the period of the above-mentioned Sūtras, the Gopātha Brāhmaṇa26 mentions Aṅga-Magadhas as one of the dual groups of states like Kaśi-Kośala, Sālva-
Matsyas etc. The 59th chapter of the Śāntipavana, Mehābhā-
rate, and the Hariyamāṇa recounts the story of Pṛthu, son of Vena and sixth in descent from Viśnu. When Pṛthu became the first constitutional monarch, pledged to rule according to Dharma, eulogies were recited by Sūta and Māgadha. The king became pleased and bestowed the country of Magadha to Māgadha.27 These references to Magadha do not clearly establish that Magadha was Aryanised in the earliest phase of Aryan expansion. But the information given in the Buddhist literature gives us a clear indication of the date of Aryanisation of Magadha. Dharmapāla and Buddhaghosha state that Rājagaha i.e. Rājagṛha was ruled by Māndhātā.28 The Sāravanasāṭa gives the credit of the foundation of that city to Māndhāta.29 The only difficulty in accepting this statement as true is that Māndhaṭ, Yauvanāśva is not known to have proceeded so far in the east, though the Purāṇas30 and the Mahābhārata tell us that the region covered by the rays of the Sun was the extent of the dominion of Māndhāta. But when we come to the period of Dilipa II there cannot be any doubt that Magadha had been fully Aryanised. Kalidāsa records a tradition in the Raghuvamśa31 that Sudakshina, the daughter of a Magadhan king was the wife of Dilipa II. His narrations further show that the status of
the Magadhan kings was at par with the other Aryan kingdoms. Parantapa was one of the suitors who was present in the svayamvara of the Vidarbhan princess Indumati, who selected Aja, the king of Ayodhya, as her husband. Further, it appears from a perusal of the Harivamśa that the Shahabad district was Aryanised, because Rohita, son of Hariscandra, built the town of Rohitapur, which has been identified by N. L. De with Rohtas.

As in the case of Magadha, a perusal of the Vedic literature and the Purānas may give us the impression that Aṅga remained outside the pale of Aryan culture down to the age of the compilation of the Mahābhārata. The Rgveda nowhere mentions Aṅga. We have already noted that a hymn of the Atharvaveda wished fervor to go to Aṅga. The Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra classifies the Aṅga people among the people of mixed origin and states that a travel in Aṅga necessitated expiation. The Vaiyu Purāṇa connects the Aṅgas with the Nishādas. The Mahābhārata records the tradition that the people of Aṅga used to abandon the afflicted people and also to sell their wives and children under certain circumstances.

But there are certain clear evidences to show that Aṅga had been Aryanised at least in the later Vedic period. The 22nd. chapter of the VIIIth. Book of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions of one Aṅga Vairocanā as an anointed King, who duly performed the Mahābhīsheka ceremony and had conquered the earth. The subsequeant chapter of the above-mentioned Book tells us that Dirghatamas consecrated Bharata as king by performance of the Mahābhīsheka ceremony. The Purānas and the Epics describe Dirghatamas as an Aṅgirasa ṛṣhi, and born of Ucathya and Mamata. He was expelled from the hermitage of Śaradvant and set adrift into the Gaṅgā. He was rescued by king Bali of Aṅga. He married the queen’s śūdra nurse and a son named Kākshīvant was born to them.
At the request of Bali, he raised five sons, namely, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Pundra and Suhma, on queen Sudeshnā. This Āṅgirasa sage Dirghatamas can be identified with the Rgvedic rṣi of the same name. The Rgveda mentions Aucathya Māmatelya as a blind poet. The Brhaddevata, Vedārthadipika and the Mahābhārata describe Dirghatamas as the son of Ucathya. We have earlier noted that Dirghatamas consecrated Bharata as king according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Bhāgavata also tells us that Māmatelya was the priest of king Bharata. Hence there cannot be any doubt that Dirghatamas had arrived at Aṅga in the Rgvedic times.

If the Epics and the Purāṇas are given due historical recognition, we can trace Aryanisation of Aṅga even earlier than the days of Dirghatamas and Bali, who according to Pargiter’s table of royal genealogies stands in the 41st. step from Manu. The 122nd. chapter of the Santiparva, Mahābhārata, relates the views of Vasuhoma, a king of Aṅga and contemporary of Māndhātā, on Danda. He was a sagacious king and led the life of an ascetic on Mount Muṇjapṛṣṭha in the Himalayas. Five generations after Māndhātā and Vasuhoma, Titikshu, the Anava prince, established a kingdom in the east. On the basis of Purānic accounts, Pargiter and Pusalker held that the kingdom was to be located in Aṅga. Thus it is not at all surprising if we find in the Rāmāyaṇa that the hermitage of Rṣhi Vibhāndaka was situated on the bank of river Kau ikī, which was close to Aṅga. His son Rṣhyaśrīga performed a sacrifice to bring an end to long drought in Aṅga in the days of Lomapāda. So accepting Pargiter’s chronological scheme, we can show on the basis of the Epics and the Purāṇas that long before Lomapāda or Romapāda, Aṅga had contact with Aryan personalities and culture in the 21st. (Vasuhoma), 26th (Titikshu) and 41st. (Bali and Dirghatamas) steps.

Hermitages and places of pilgrimage also indicate that Magadha and Aṅga had received Aryan culture as early as
the Rgvedic age. The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas inform us that Kākshivant, son of Dirghatamas, performed austerities at Girivrajā or Rajgir. We have already noted that Dirghatamas can be assigned to the Rgvedic age. His son Kākshivant also composed some hymns of the Rgveda. Both Pargiter and Bhargava have proved that of the two Kākshivants, both of whom were Rgvedic poets, Pajriya Kākshivant flourished later than Kākshivant, the son of Dirghatamas. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Viśvāmitra told Rāma and Lakshmana that his hermitage known as Siddhāśrama was previously occupied by Vāmana, an avatāra of Vishnu, and son of Kaśyapa and Aditidevi. The exact location of this hermitage is not stated in the Rāmāyaṇa. But from chapter 31 (verse 15) of the ĀdiKanda we know that to the north of Siddhāśrama flowed the Jāhnavi river, which had its rise in the Himalayas. Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lashmana, starting in the morning could walk the distance between that āṣrama and the river Sonā by the time of the setting of the Sun. Thus we can presume that Siddhāśrama was located somewhere near Buxar.

The Brhadārāṇyaka Purāṇa states that though Kikata was an unholy region, yet Gayā was a punyadeśa. Other Purāṇas like Vāyu, Padma include Rājagṛha, Cyavanāśrama and Punahpuna. The tīrthātrā section of the Vanaaparva, Mahābhārata, mentions the following tīrthas in Magadhā and Aṅga, viz., Gayā and its sub-tīrthas, Rājagṛha, Manināga, Gautāma’s āṣrama, Dandākha, Cāmpā and Lalitikā. Elsewhere in the Mahābhārata we find Arjuna visiting places of pilgrimage in Aṅga and making gifts to the Brāhmaṇas of that place. Even earlier to the age of Epics and the Purāṇas, Gayā had been a sacred place. Though Yāska considered Kikata as an anārya-nivāsa, yet giving an explanation of a Rgvedic verse, states that Vishnu set his foot on Vishnupada and Gayāśiras. So Vishnupada was a tīrtha long before the time of Yāska. Moreover, the Mahābhārata mentions that Brhadratha of Aṅga performed a sacrifice on Mt. Vishnupada and gave away thousands and thousands
of white horses to the Brāhmāṇas and Indra was given plenty of Śoma juice to drink. The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas mention the name of another Āṅga king named Dharmarātha who also performed sacrifice at the same place and in the same manner.

**Videha:**

Videha is first mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, Māthava, the Videgha and his priest Gotama Rāhūgaṇa followed the path of Agni Vaiśvānara. The Fire God in course of his march to the east burnt the region between the Sarasvati and the Sadānirā rivers. At the direction of Agni, Māthava settled on east of the Sadānirā river. The river, according to the above-mentioned Brāhmaṇa, "forms the boundary of the Kośalas and the Videhas; for these are the Māthavas." This legend shows that, firstly, Videha had been Aryanised, even before the composition of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, by the Brāhmaṇas, who came from the west. Dr. S.K. De thinks that earlier to this Brāhmaṇa (which also belongs to the Vājasaneyi recension of the Yajurveda), the Vājasaneyi recension of the Yajurveda "had its most probable origin in the east (Videha)." Secondly, Videha was Aryanised after Kośala.

The Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa, however, make Nimi (or Nemi) Videha as the founder of the Videha dynasty. Some scholars have identified this Nimi with Nami Sāpya referred to in RV. x. 48.9 and assign the Aryanisation of Videha to the Rgvedic period. Their argument is based on a verse of the Paścaviniṣa Brāhmaṇa (xxv.10.17) which states that Nami Sāpya, the killer of the Dāsa chief Namuci, was the king of Videha. Dr. S. N. Pradhan and Dr. U. Thakur trace the names of Nami Sāpya and his priest Gotama Rāhūgaṇa in the Rgveda. These writers and Dr. P.L. Bhargava rejecting the views of Dr. H. C. Raycaudhuri argue that the names Nami Sāpya, Nemi, Nimi, Māthava Videgha mentioned in the Vedic, Epic, Puranic, Jain and Buddhist literatures, are
identical. A few more arguments can be added to these. The Purāṇas state that Nimi and Vaśiṣṭha were contemporaries.67 They fell out and cursed each other. Vaśiṣṭha has been called Maitrāvaruṇa or Maitrāvariṇi and he was born of Urvāśī. These facts are mentioned in the, Ṛgveda Bhaddevatā as well as in the Purāṇas and the Epics.68 Further, the Purāṇas mention that Nimi employed Gautama instead of Vaśiṣṭha (who had gone to perform Indra’s sacrifice) to act as his priest in the great sacrifice. Gautama married Aḥalyā, the sister of Atithigya Divodāsa of North Paṇcāla. The illicit relation between Aḥalyā and Indra is not only a Puranic story but is also mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas.69 It is well known that Atithigya Divodāsa flourished in the Rgvedic age. Thus it apparently seems that Nimi, the Videhan king, Vaśiṣṭha and Gautama were all Rgvedic personalities.

But problems crop up if we trace the history of Aryanisation of Videha so early as the Rgvedic times. Firstly, Ṛgveda does neither mention Nami Sāpya as a king nor as the founder of the dynasty of Mithilā.70 The mention of Nami Sāpya as a Videhan monarch in the Paṇcasīṁśa Brāhmaṇa does not necessarily imply that this king was identical with the Rgvedic sage Nami Sāpya. Secondly, the name Gotama Rāhūgana is nowhere mentioned in the Purāṇas or the Epics. The Purāṇas associate Gautama of the Āṅgira clan with Nimi. Thirdly, it is difficult to accept Dr. Pradhan’s theory that Gautama, the husband of Aḥalyā and priest of Nimi was also a contemporary of Divodāsa Atithigya of North Paṇcāla and Daśaratha of Ayodhya.71 The Rāmāyana mentions Gautama and his son Śatānanda as contemporaries of Daśarathi Rāma and Śrīradhvaja Janaka.72 According to Pargiter’s chronology Nimi’s position is in the 3rd. step, while Śrīradhvaja Ja aka and his son-in-law Daśarathi Rāma stands in the 64th-65th step. Recent researches also admit that Nimi and Śrīradhvaja Janaka were far removed from one another.73 Fourthly, there was not one Vaśiṣṭha but several Vaśiṣṭhas.74 Illustrating how
different Vasishthas have been "sadly confused in brahmamic stories," Pargiter brought to notice that Arundhati figures as the wife of the mythical Vasishtha as well as those of the fourth, fifth and seventh Vasishthas. More than one Vasishtha acted as priests to Mitrasaha Kalmashpāda Saudāsa, Dilīpa II Khatvāṅga, Daśaratha and Rāma of Ayodhyā, and Pārijavana Sudāsa of North Pācāla.65 Fifthly, by no logic can we exclude Videha from the eastern region, where like the Asuras, the Śatapatha Brahmāna states that the burial place was made round instead of the Aryan custom of making it four-cornered.66

Note—It has to be noted that extensive excavations at Vaśali so far have not revealed any antiquity which could be definitely traced to earlier than 600 B.C. (Ed.)

References

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2. The Vedic Age, p 311.
4. Nirukta VI.32.
5. AV. V. 22.14.
6. Ibid. XV. 2.5.
7. Vājaśyāmi Sam., XXX. 5.
10. IC, III. pp 166-167.
15. Ibid. XVII. 1.2 (tr. Caland)
16. Ibid. XVII. 1.9.
17. HB. I. p. 292
18. Commentary of Śāyaṇa on Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa XVII.1.1.
19. Reference to four kinds of Vṛtya-stomas in Pāṇcaśīṣa Brāhmaṇa XVII.1.4 chs.; to three kinds of stomas in Jaiminīyat Brāhmaṇa II. 222-227. cf. Lāṭiyāyana SS. VIII. 6; Baudh. XVIII. 24-26; Ap. XXII. 5. 4-14,
Kātyāyana SS. XXII. 4.1-28; Ātr. IX. 8.25; Sankh, XIV.69-73; Valishtha Dk. S. XI. 76-79; Vaikāhana Smārta S. II. 3.
20. HDS. II. pp. 96, 386.
22. PHAI: (6th ed.) p. 113.
23. Kaushitaki Ār. VII. 13.
24. Jāminitya Br. II. 204.
25. Śāṅkhāyana SS. XVII. 6. 2.
27. HV. I. 5. 42 (ed. Vaṅgaṅgāst).
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32. Ibid. VI. 20-21.
34. AIHT. p. 266; Geography Dictionary p. 170.
36. Mbh. VIII.30.83.
38. RV. I.140-164.
40. Bhāg. P. IX.20.25.
41. AIHT. pp. 88,109,264; The Vedic Age, pp. 279,284.
42. Vā. P. 9.93; Mat.P. 48. 84-87.
43. AIHT. p.223; India in the Vedic Age, pp.107-08.
44. Rāmāyaṇa I. 29.3-22 (Bengali ed.)
45. Byhadharmā P. madhyā. XXVI. 20, 22.
47. Nirukta XII.19 on RV.I.22.17; HDS.IV.p.645.
48. Mbh. XII.29, 28-34.
50. Śat. Br. I.4.1 17; Eggeling's tr. in SBE. XII.p.106.
51. HB.I.p. 290.
52. AIHT.p. 95.
54. History of Mithilā, p. 27.
55. India in the Vedic Age, p. 76: “Thus while the Purāṇas call the king by his proper name, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa calls him by his patronymic. The surname of the king is the same in both the accounts, that is, Videha in the Purāṇas and its Vedic form Videha in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. There is no inconsistency in the two accounts.”
56. PHAI. p. 55 (sixth ed.): “If Māthava Videha was the founder of the royal line of Mithilā, Nāmī Sāpya cannot claim that distinction.”
57. Mat. P.61. 35-36; Vishnu P. IV. 5.1-5, Bhāg. P. IX. 3.1-6, Vē. P. 89.4, Padma P. V. 22. 34-37, Br. P. III. 64.4; Rāmāyaṇa VII. 35-56, 11, 57, 9-16; AIHT. pp. 214-215.
58. RV. VII. 33.11; Bṛhaddevatā V. 149-156.
59. Śat. Br. III. 3.4.18; Jaiminiya Br. II. 79.
60. cf. Thakur: History of Mithilā, p.34.
61. Chronology of Ancient India pp. 18, 30.
62. Rāmāyaṇa I.50.6, 51.2 (Bengali ed.).
64. AIHT. pp. 203-211, 214-217.
65. Ibid. p. 207.
CHAPTER VIII
SECTION I
VIDEHA

Far the dynastic history of the different parts of Bihar we have to depend not on the Veda, but on the Itihāsa-Purāṇa, i.e., the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The reason is that the references to the kings and teachers of Bihar in the Vedic literature are stray and casual, and no genealogies have been furnished. The Epics and the Purāṇas, on the other hand, supply us with genealogies and details of personalities in some cases. Hence, in the following pages, we shall try to reconstruct the history of Bihar during the pre-Buddhistic-pre-Jainistic ages mainly with the help of the Epic-Puranic material, supplementing it with the Vedic literature where possible.

Keeping in view the dynastic changes, availability of materials and nature of sources at our disposal we may divide the early history of Videha into three parts, viz.,

(i) The Janaka dynasty in the pre-Bhārata War period (53 kings collected from the Rāma Epic and the Purāṇas).

(ii) The Janaka dynasty in the post-Bhārata War period (12 kings collected from the Great Epic and the Jātakas).

(iii) The post-Janaka dynasty (21 kings—this number known by calculation—names mostly unknown). We now take up each part one by one.

The Janaka dynasty in the Pre-Bhārata War period

Generation nos 3-94

The dynasty of Videha was descended from Ikshvāku’s son Nimi, who is called Videha, and so was a branch of the solar race. The dynastic list is given by five Purāṇas¹, and its early part down to Siradhvaja by the Rāmāyana². All are in
substantial agreement except that the Garuḍa has lost the first two names and the Vāyu and Brahmānda have lost the names between Śakuni and Svāgata.

Nimi’s son, Mithi Janaka, is said to have founded the city of Mithilā. His name Janaka became the family name of this dynasty and his descendants were called Janakas. They were also called Vaidechas from their kingdom Videha, and Maithilas from their capital Mithilā.

F. E. Pargiter gives fifty-three names of Videhan kings collected from the Purāṇas and the Rāma Epic which are indicated below with generation numbers within brackets. Some extra names found by us have also been incorporated here without altering Pargiter’s scheme.


Of the kings of Videha flourishing before the Bharata War, the most famous was Siradhvaja (no, 23 above). He was
a contemporary of Daśaratha of Kośala and Lomapāda of An̄ga. He had one son, Bhānumant, one adopted daughter, Sitā (married to Rāma Daśarathi of Kośala), and one daughter Urmiśā. His younger brother Kuśadhvaja who founded a branch line at Sānkāśyā, had one son, Dharmadhvaja, and two daughters, Māṇḍavī and Śrutasākṣi. These three sisters were married to the younger brothers of Rāma.

Pargiter\(^3\) identifies Kṛti of the Purāṇas with Kṛtakshana Vaideha of the Mahābhārata [II 1, 27], who was one of the princes who waited upon Yudhishthira in his palace newly constructed by Maya.

Sita Nath Pradhan\(^4\) has discussed the genealogy of Videhan kings from Siradhvaja to Kṛti only and is of the view that after Kuni (Śakuni of Pargiter's chart) the Janaka dynasty branched off into two lines, viz., a collateral line from Kratujit (Rtujiit of Pargiter's chart) to Upagupta (nos. 31-41 in Pargiter's chart)\(^5\) and the main line from Svāgata to Kṛti (nos. 42-53 in Pargiter's chart). He places Bahulāśva and Kṛti after the Bhrārata War and takes great pains to prove that the latter was a contemporary of Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya of the Vedic literature.

Purushottam Lal Bhargava\(^6\) comes forward with a remarkable theory which deserves serious consideration. His table gives only 51 names of the Videhan kings because Dhṛtumant and Śruta (nos. 9 and 44 respectively in Pargiter's chart) have been omitted. In his opinion Nimi, the founder of the Videha dynasty, who is said to have been an Aikshvāku prince, was not a son but a descendant of Ikshvāku. This is fully in agreement with Vedic evidence.

Bhargava\(^7\) has shown how the Vedic and the Puranic accounts of the foundation of the Videha kingdom fully agree. The conclusion that the Videha dynasty did not exist
in the earliest times and that its first king must be placed soon after Bhagiratha, the founder of the oldest Aikshvākus kingdom of Kośala and its capital Ayodhyā ('Unassailable') and the discoverer of the Gaṅgā river is to be supported by the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 1. 10-19) according to which the first king of Videha came from the banks of the Sarasvatī at a time when the Kośala kingdom must have been newly established, for the boundaries were fixed after the coming of that king. Again, the identification of the first Videhan king of the Purāṇas with the first Videhan king of the Vedic account is proved by a fact which, surprisingly enough, has been ignored by Pargiter and other scholars. This fact is that Gotama is the priest of that king in both the accounts. The only apparent difference between the two accounts is the one concerning the name of the first Videhan king, for whereas the Purāṇas call him Nimi, the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa calls him Māthava. But the name given in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa is clearly a patronymic, meaning son of Mathu. Thus while the Purāṇas call the king by his proper name, the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa calls him by his patronymic. The surname of the king is the same in both the accounts, that is, Videha in the Purāṇas and its Vedic form Videgha in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa. There is thus no inconsistency in the two accounts.

Māthava belonged to that branch of the Aikshvākus that had earlier settled on the banks of the Sarasvatī. He left the Sarasvatī river and accompanied by his priest Gotama Rahūgana crossed the river Sadānirā and colonised Videha. Gotama built an āśrama in this country and Nimi founded a town named Jayanta near that āśrama. Nimi was succeeded by Mithi Janaka who founded the city of Mithilā that became the capital of Videha. Some twelve generations after Bhagiratha of Kośala and Nimi Māthava of Videha, an Aikshvāku prince named Viśāla, who was a scion of either the Kośala or, the Videha dynasty, founded a new kingdom in the vicinity
of Videha. This kingdom was named Vaiśāli after its capital which was founded by and named after Viśāla.

The Janaka Dynasty in the Post-Bhārata War Period

The post-Bhārata war history of North Bihar is highlighted by the predominance of the Videhan monarchy in the beginning. There was a revival of Mithilā and this renaissance lasted for about twelve generations after the Great War, that is, for more than two centuries.10 The Videhan king-list stopped with the Mahābhārata War. For the post-Bhārata War period the Purāṇas furnish genealogies only for three states, viz., Hastināpura-Kauśāmbī, Kośala and Magadha. Thus Videha, too, like several others, is left out. This loss, however, is partly compensated by the occurrences of the names of the kings of Videha in the Jātakas, the Mahābhārata and the later Vedic literature, with this difference that we do not know whether these were the only rulers or there were others, too, who governed Videha. Moreover, generally speaking, there are no chronological indications and this is a serious handicap. A third difficulty is that different sources mention different sets of rulers. If they ruled one after the other, we shall have too many names. Hence we have to suppose that the kings had more names than one or there were different branches of the family. While the Jātakas and the Mahābhārata mention several Videhan kings, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads mention one ruler known as Janaka Vaideha, who appears to be a great figure in his time. As we already possess a king-list for Videha for the pre-Bhārata War period from the Purāṇas, we may presume that the rulers mentioned in the Jātakas, the Mahābhārata, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads flourished after the Great War. But here also we are not certain, because the kings in the Puranic lists might have more names. From the context, however, we assign a post-War date to these kings.
We are in a position to know the total number of kings who reigned between the Bhārata War and the extermination of the ruling dynasty at Mithilā by Mahāpadma Nanda. The Jātakas mention the names of fifteen kings of Videha in all, including those of Makhādeva, who is regarded as the founder of Mithilā monarchy, and Aṅgati whom we consider to have flourished not earlier than the sixth century B.C. Of the remaining kings we find that there are three Surucis one followed by the other; we are inclined to accept only two of them as genuine. Thus there are left twelve kings whom we would like to place in the post-War period before the death of Karāla Janaka, the last king of the Janaka dynasty according to the Jātaka literature:

1. Suruci I
2. Suruci II
3. Mahāpanāda
4. Mahājanaka I
5. Aritthajanaka
6. Polajanaka
7. Mahājanaka II
8. Dighāyu
9. Sādhīna
10. Nārada
11. Nimi
12. Kaḷāra

We have been able to find out eight or nine post-war Janakas in the Mahābhārata and have tentatively put them in a chronological setting as well, presuming, of course, that there were twelve kings between the Bhārata War and the extinction of the line. Here is the list:

1. Ugrasena Aindradhyummi
2. Indrayumna
3. Devarāta
4. Vairāti
5. Janadeva
6. Dharmadhvaja
7. Videharāja
8. Nimi
9. Karāla

The most famous king of post-Bhārata War or probably of early Videha was Janaka Vaideha of the later Vedic texts. He was a great king and a great sacrificer. But his fame
rests not so much on his achievement as a king and a sacrificer, as on his patronage of culture and philosophy. The court of this monarch was thronged with Brāhmaṇas from Kośala, the Kuru-Pañcāla countries and perhaps Madra. The tournaments of argument which were held here form a prominent feature in the third book of the Byḍadāryakā-Ūpanishad. The hero of these was Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyya, who was a pupil of Uddālaka Aruni. In our opinion Janaka Vaideha of the later Vedic texts belongs to post-Bhārata War generation no. 7 and is probably identical with Mahājanaka II of the Jātaka literature and Janaka Daivarāti of the Mahābhārata. His date would fall in the last quarter of the ninth century B.C. (C. 825 B.C.-800 B.C.).

The last ruler of the Janaka dynasty was Karāla Janaka (lit. 'Janaka the Terrible'). He is known as such to both Buddhist and Brahmanical literature. The Nimi-Jātaka (No. 541) ends with a significant statement that "Nimi’s son Kalārajanaka brought his line to an end." Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra (I.6) mentions Karāla Vaideha as having perished along with his kingdom and relations for a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden. This is confirmed by Aśvaghoṣha’s Buddha-Carita (IV.80): "And Karāla Janaka took away a Brāhmaṇa maiden and gained nothing but ruin: still he did not give up passion."

**The Post-Janaka Dynasty**

The Videhan monarchy became insignificant after the end of the Janaka dynasty. It was not included in the list of sixteen mahājanapadas given in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya. Although about twenty-one kings ruled over the territory prior to its absorption by Magadha, no names of rulers have come down to us. Mahāpadma Nanda, founder of the Nanda dynasty, destroyed the monarchy of Mithila along with the other Kshatriya states of the time.
SECTION II

VAISHALI

The early history of the kingdom of Vaishali may be divided into the following parts, viz.,

(i) the Monarchy (generation nos. 2-64):

(a) the monarchy with its capital in an unknown or unmentioned city (23 kings), and

(b) the monarchy with its capital at Vaishali City (10 kings);

(ii) the dark age (equivalent to $30 + 12 = 42$ generations).

The Monarchy

Generation Nos. 2-64

The dynasty which ruled in the Vaishali region is conveniently called Vaishala or Vaishalaka dynasty. This dynasty was descended from Manu's son Nabhânedishtha, and is given by seven Purânas, and also partially by the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata. None of these works carries the genealogy beyond Pramati or Sumati, who was the contemporary of Daśaratha of Ayodhya and Siradhvaja of Videha according to the Râmâyana. Only four Purânas give complete genealogical lists, viz., the Vishnu, the Garuda, the Vāyu and the Bhagavata. Those in the other three Purânas and the two Epics are incomplete and defective. Thus the Brahmânda omits kings from Prajâni to Avikshita, though Marutta was well-known as the son of Avikshita; the Mârkandeya narrates the history of the kings of the Vaishali region at great length but only down to Râjyavardhana; the Linga mentions only the first four kings; the Râmâyana begins the dynasty with Viśāla, wrongly calling him 'son of Ikshvâku'; and the Mahâbhârata list is incomplete at the beginning, goes down only to
Marutta, and wrongly inserts a ruler of the name of Ikshvāku. Subject to these shortcomings the lists are in
substantial agreement.

F. E. Pargiter gives thirty-four names of Vaiśāli kings collected from the Epics and the Purāṇas. Of these
we reject Viśrāvas who was not on the main line but daughter's son of Tṛṇabindu (king no. 23). We are indi-
cating these names below with generation numbers within brackets. Some extra names found by us have also been
incorporated here without altering Pargiter's scheme. The whole list may be divided into two parts—(a) the early
kings (nos. 1-23) and (b) the line of Viśāla (nos. 24-33)" called Prāmśavas and Vaiśālas respectively by Bhargava."

The list is as follows:

1. Nābhānediṣṭha (2), 2. Bhālandana (6), 3. Vatsapri (8), 4. Pramsu (12), 5. Prajani or Prajāpati (or Pra-
Rambha (Bhāg), 10. Khaninendra (35), 10A. Ativibhūti (Vish) or Vibhūti (Gar), 11. Karandhama (38), 12. Avikshita (39),
the Rāmaṇa) (63), 33. Sumati or Pramati (64).

Bhargava holds quite a different view on the traditional history of the Vaiśāli region. Instead of Pargiter's 94
generations he has supposed 100 generations before the Bharata war.

The dynasty of Vaiśālī does not seem to have attained much distinction, for the Purāṇas mention only ten kings of this dynasty and the Vedic literature seems to be silent about it.¹⁶

The Dark Age

(From the end of the rule of King Sumati to the foundation of the Vajjian Republic)

From the end of the rule of King Sumati to the foundation of the Vajjian Republic is a long period of about six centuries which may be called the Dark Age of Vaiśālian History. No king of Vaiśālī after Sumati is known to literature. The existence of Vaiśālī City or a republic here before or at the time of the Bharata War is also not clearly indicated. Its absorption by some strong neighbours (like Kośala or Mallarāśṭra or Videha) is also not known. It may, however, be presumed that Vaiśālī during this dark age formed part either of Kośala or more probably of Videha.

When the “dark age” was nearing its close sometime in the eighth century B.C., the Licchavis, the Mallas and other tribes come to the scene to usher in a new era of republicanism in the history of Gaṇḍaka Valley.¹⁷

SECTION III

ĀNGA

Regarding the name of the region, the Rāmāyaṇa (I.32) furnishes an interesting, though incredible, story. According to this, Madana (Cupid) fled from the hermitage of Śiva to escape his anger and the land, where he cast off his body (āṅga), has since been known by the name of Āṅga. Accord-
ing to the Buddhists\(^7\) the Aṅgas or the Aṅga chieftains were so called because of the beauty of their limbs.

The capital of this region, was known as Mālinī in the beginning. Later it came to be called Campā\(^8\) or Campāvatī because king Campā\(^9\) of Aṅga re-named it after himself. Some other reasons for the name are also given. It was situated on the confluence of the river Campā and the Gangā. Also, there were groves of Campaka trees near a lake\(^\#\) or around this city.\(^1\) In the Jātaka literature (No. 539) the city is also called Kāla-Campā. The celebrity of the capital became so great that later on its name superseded that of the country. Hiuen Tsiang called it Chen-po (i.e., Campā).

The history of Aṅga from the earliest times to its conquest by Bimbisāra (547-495 B.C.) may be divided into two parts. \textit{viz.}, the pre-Bhārata War period and the post-Bhārata War period, which are discussed below.

\textbf{Pre-Bhārata War Period}

\textbf{A. Generation Nos. 1-25}

Aṅga, which is mentioned in the \textit{Atharvaveda} (V.22.14) for the first time, seems to be a land of diseases in the beginning. From the mention of some human groups in connection with Aṅga, it may be inferred that this region was peopled by several non-Aryan tribes like Mlecchas\(^9\), Dānavas\(^9\) and Nishādas\(^1\). Pargiter\(^7\) conjectures that there had been an invasion from the sea that penetrated up the Ganges valley and had taken place before the five traditional kingdoms were formed. Probably it is for these reasons that the \textit{Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra} (I. 1.29) groups the Aṅgas with peoples of mixed origin.

\textbf{B. Generation Nos. 26-94}

So far three scholars have tried to furnish names of Aryan kings who ruled over Aṅga or East Bihar during the
pre-Bhārata War period. They are F.E. Pargiter, S. N. Pradhan, and P. L. Bhargava.

Pargiter gives twenty-five names from Titikshu, the founder of the 'Kingdom in the East', to Karna, king of Anga, who was killed in the Bhārata War. They are as follows (generation numbers have been furnished within brackets for the sake of easy reference):


According to Pargiter's account, the seventh king after Anu, Mahāmanas, had two sons, Uśinara and Titikshu, and under them the Ānavas divided into two great branches; Uśinara and his descendants occupied the Panjāb; and Titikshu, who moved eastward and passing beyond Vaiśāli and Videha descended into East Bihar among the ruder Saundiyumna stock, founded a kingdom, that was called the kingdom in the east. Titikshu's lineage is given by nine Purāṇas. All agree substantially, except that the Brahmāṇḍa has lost all after Dharmaratha in a great lacuna, the Vāyu omits from Satyaratha the Campa, the Vīṣṇu, Garuda and Bhāgavata omit Jayadratha's descendants, and the Brahma and Agni omit Vijaya and his line. The best accounts are in the Matsya and Harivamśa. This 'kingdom in the east' was divided among Bali's five sons into five kingdoms, Anīga (East Bihar), Vaṅga (Central Bengal), Kaliṅga (the Orissa coast including Ganjam),
Puṇḍra (North-West Bengal) and Suhma (Hooghly and Midnapur). It was at Bali’s desire that these five sons were begotten of the queen Sudeshñā by sage Dirghatamas. This is strange yet not improbable, for the Brāhmaṇas did render such services.\textsuperscript{11}

Pradhan does not trace the dynasty from its very beginning. The earlier kings are left out of consideration and only kings from Romapāda, the friend and contemporary of Daśaratha Aikśivāka, to Karna have been taken into account. In his opinion there occurred fourteen generations or steps from Romapāda to Karna (both inclusive), although the number of kings actually reigning either as the main line or a collateral one was about twenty.

Bhargava holds a different view. In his opinion there was no doubt that another branch of the Anavas descended from Uśinara’s brother, Titikshu, but the latter’s descendants included Ruṣadratha, Hema, Sutapās and Bali only. To this branch was tacked on the Aṅga dynasty by introducing an anachronistic tale of sage Dirghatamas begetting of the queen of the Anava king Bali five sons named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kaliṅga, who founded five kingdoms of these names; Aṅga’s son is said to have been Dadhīvāhana.

Bhargava next examines the list of Aṅga kings. Purging the Aṅga genealogy of its introductory myth, he finds that the first king of this dynasty was Dadhīvāhana.\textsuperscript{12} His list\textsuperscript{9} gives 19 names up to Karna and is undoubtedly brief in his opinion.

Among the more important kings of the Aṅga dynasty were Bali, Aṅga, Dharmaratha, Citraratha, Lomapāda and Campa. Bali seems to be the Aryan coloniser of Eastern and South-Eastern India. Aṅga has been identified by some scholars with Aṅga Vairocana who received Aindra Mahābhisheka according to the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (VIII 22).
The imperial glory of the Aṅga region is doubtless reflected in the songs of this book which describe the 'world-conquest' of one of its ancient kings in the course of which girls of aristocratic families were brought as prizes from different climes. Dharmaratha was a great sacrificer as noted already. Citraratha has been mentioned along with Arṇa in the Rgveda (IV. 31.18) as having been overthrown by Indra on the bank of the Sarayu in the favour of a devotee of his own. Lomapāda or Romapāda ('the Hairy-Footed') averted the calamity of a dreadful drought and consequent famine by performing a sacrifice presided over by Rṣhyaśṛṅga (son of Vibhāṅdaka) to whom the Aṅga king married his daughter Sāntā (Rāmāyaṇa, I. 9.8-17; 10. 30-33). The Lomakassap-jātaka (No. 433) agrees substantially with the epic story of Lomapāda. The point of discrepancy is that in the Jātaka version Lomakassapa, the the great ascetic, overcame his passion while the sacrifice was in progress and went away without marrying Candāvati, daughter of Brahmadatta of Vārāṇasi. It was Campa who changed the name of the capital of Aṅga from Mālinī to Campā or Campāvati after himself. The regular dynasty ended with Viśvajit.

The relation of Karṇa with the previous rulers of Aṅga seems to be another instance of the tacking of a succeeding dynasty to a preceding dynasty. He was the illegitimate son of Kuntī and was brought up by Adhiratha, who is well known in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Purāṇas as a sūta. But the Purānic editors have made him a scion of the Aṅga dynasty by interpreting the word sūta in its later meaning found in the Smṛtis, viz., the descendant of a Kshatriya father and a Brāhmaṇa mother. This interpretation of theirs is extremely doubtful. In fact, the Mahābhārata makes it clear that Karṇa did not get the kingdom of Aṅga by inheritance but as a result of the
favour of Duryodhana, the powerful Kuru prince, who bestowed the kingship of Aṅga on Karna when Arjuna Pāṇḍava refused to measure strength with the son of the sūta on the ground that the latter was a mere commoner (Mbh, 1.138.36). Karna was a famous hero of his time and was killed in an unfair fight in the Mahābhārata War by Arjuna Pāṇḍava. Even today there are many traditions in the Aṅga region associated with Karna.

According to a Buddhist tradition about the foundation of seven towns in India, provided in the Mahāgovinda-Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. II, PTS., p. 235; Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. II, p. 270), Campā of the Aṅgas and Vārāṇasī of the Kāśis were founded by king Dhata-raṭṭha. The story is legendary in character and consequently of little value. In our view, if it proves anything, it is this that the early colonisers of Vārāṇasī and Campā were of the same stock.

Post-Bhārata War Period

The history of Aṅga in the post-Bhārata War period down to its conquest by Magadhā passed through several vicissitudes.

Karna was succeeded by Vṛshasena and the latter by Pṛthuṣena.

Probably the descendants of Karna were supplanted by some other virile group which may be either the original dynasty or some unconnected party. This was a period of unnamed kings—kings whose names are not available.

Events seem to move fast in this period. The constant struggle between Aṅga and Magadhā and its varying results are mentioned in the Campeyya-ṭātaka (No. 506, Cowell, IV, 281). There are some references which may indicate that Aṅga succeeded in annexing Magadhā and making further conquests towards the east and the
south. The *Vidhura-Paṇḍita-Jātaka* (No. 545: Cowell, VI, 133) describes Rājagṛhi, the Magadhan capital, as a city of Aṅga. The *Mahābhārata* (II. 44.9) mentions Aṅga and Vaṅga as forming one vishaya or kingdom. The *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, a late work, says that Viśāṅkapura, a city of the Aṅgas, was situated on the shore of the sea. The *Mahājanaka-Jātaka* (No. 539) informs us that Campā was sixty leagues from Mithilā. The same Jātaka refers to its gate, watch-tower, and walls. It was noted for its wealth and commerce, and traders sailed from it to Suvarga-bhūmi in the Trans-Gangetic region for trading purposes. The inclusion of Aṅga in the list of sixteen mahājanapadas of the Buddhist *Anguttara-Nikāya* and that of the same number of the mahājanapadas of the Jain *Bhagavat-Sūtra* shows that it enjoyed an important status in the sixth century B.C. Gifts of the kings of Aṅga are referred to at several places. The Buddhist texts mention a queen named Gagarā who gave her name to a famous lake in Campā. We are now nearing the fateful half-century—roughly the second half of the sixth century B.C.

The last three kings of independent Aṅga known to us were Dādhivāhana, Dṛḍhavarman and Brahmadatta. The account of these kings has been given by H.C. Raychaudhuri.

(i) Dādhivāhana

His daughter Candana or Candraśāla embraced Jainism shortly after Mahāvīra had attained the Kevaliship. Śatānika, king of the Vatsas of Kauśāmbi, near Allahabad, is said to have attacked Campā, the capital of Dādhivāhana, and in the confusion which ensued, Candana fell into the hands of a robber, but all along she maintained the vows of the order.
(ii) Dr̥ḍhavarmān

Friendly relations of Dr̥ḍhavarmān gave his daughter in marriage to Udayana, son and successor of Śatānīka, and secured his help in regaining his throne.

(iii) Brahmādatta

Brahmadatta, the last independent ruler of ancient Āṅga, was killed by Bimbisāra. Thus Āṅga as an independent kingdom ceased to exist.

SECTION V

MAGADHA

The history of Magadha from the earliest times to the coronation of Bimbisāra (547 B.C.) may be divided into two parts, viz., the pre-Bhārata War period and the post-Bhārata War period which we discuss below.

Pre-Bhārata War Period

According to one set of tradition, the three sons of Sudyumna (a son of Manu Vaivasvata) had territories of their own; thus Gaya had the city Gayā and the eastern region, Utkala had the Utkala country (Orissa), and Vinatāśva (or Haritāśva) had a western country which is not particularized and never alluded to afterwards. The chieftains of Gayā and eastern India formed what has been called the Sudyumna stock or race. The Sudyumnas were almost overwhelmed by other branches of the Aryans like the Ānavas and the Pauravas, and were restricted to the Utkalas and other clans which occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissa. Hence they never played any noteworthy part. Bhargava thinks that Sudyumna was childless because the sons assigned to him by late Purānic editors are absolutely mythical, being mere eponyms of Gayā, Utkala, etc., and nothing is said about them ever after.
The *Mahābhārata* (VII. 62.10; XII.29.88) mentions a number of kings conquered by Māndhātā of Ayodhyā (Pargiter’s generation no. 21). This list includes Gaya who might have been a chieftain of the Gayā region.

According to another set of tradition, Amūrtarayás, younger son of Kuśa (generation no. 28), king of Kānya-kubja, or Amūrtarayás’ son Gaya is said to have carved out for himself a kingdom from another portion of the Sauvyumna stock in the country known afterwards as Magadha; and this was quite possible, for the only intervening territory was Kāśi, which had been ravaged by the Haihayas. Gaya reigned in the Gayā district and was a king of note. Nothing more is said of this dynasty, except that it was overthrown afterwards by the Rākshasas (*Rām*, I.24.25-31). The genealogies give Amūrtarayás a younger brother Vasu; and it is said Vasu founded a kingdom at Girivraja, but this is very doubtful, for he seems to be confused with Vasu Caidya who conquered Magadha afterwards.

Long afterwards, the queen of Dillpā II (generation no. 60) of Ayodhyā is said to have been a Māgadha princess.

The king of Magadha occupied a prominent position in the svayaṁvara of Indumati, who married Aja of Kośala (generation no. 63).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I.13.21-28) furnishes a list of kings of India who are to be invited to attend a sacrifice of king Daśaratha of Kośala (generation no.64). This list includes the king of Magadha (I.13.26-27), besides those of Kāśi, Mithilā, Aṅga, Prācīna and others.

For some generations past Aṅga had been a strong kingdom and hence Magadha might have sometimes formed its part, as no regular dynasty seems to have ruled here for
a long time before Vasu and his descendants (the Bārhadrathas) came to the scene.

The fourth descendant of Sudhanvan, one of the sons of the first Kuru king, was Vasu (generation no. 78). He conquered the kingdom of Cedi which belonged to the Yādavas, and obtained the title of Caidyoparicara, ‘the overcomer of the Caidyas’. He also subdued and annexed the adjoining countries as far as Magadha. He had five sons, viz., Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśa or Kuśāmba, Yadu or Lalittha, and Māvella or probably Matsya. He divided his territories and established them in separate kingdoms. They were the Vāsava kings, and occupied countries and towns named after themselves. These five sons got Magadha, Cedi, Kauśāmbī, Karuṣha and Matsya respectively.

The eldest and the most important of the sons of Vasu Caidyoparicara was Bṛhadratha who established his rule in the country of Magadha and founded the famous Bṛhadratha dynasty there. With it Magadha for the first time took a prominent place in traditional history. The line of Bṛhadratha is given in six Purāṇas and the Harivamśa. All are in general agreement, subject to variations in names, except that the Brahma ends with Bṛhadratha’s grandson Ṛshabha, and the Vishnu and the Bhāgavata by abbreviation make Jarāsandha Bṛhadratha’s son.

Pargiter gives the names of ten kings of this dynasty who ruled from the time of Bṛhadratha to the Bhārata War. They are as follows (generation numbers have been furnished within brackets for the sake of easy reference):—

1. Bṛhadratha (79), 2. Kuśāgra (80), 3. Ṛshabha (82)
4. Pushpavanta (83), 5. Satyahita (85), 6. Sudhanvan (86),
7. Ürja (88), 8. Sambhava (90), 9. Jarāsandha (92),
10. Sahadeva (94).
Pradhan also has considered the Magadha dynasty in an independent chapter and provides an identical list of kings.

Bhargava furnishes a list of eleven kings for the period by inserting Pushya between Pushpavanta and Satyahita.

The best known king of the dynasty, besides its founder, was Jarāsandha. He was a devotee of Śiva. He rose to the highest power and extended his supremacy around (over Cedi, Anā, Pundra, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga), and as far as Mathurā, where Kāśiṣa, the Yāḍava king, who had married two of his daughters, acknowledged him as overlord. Yudhishṭhira thought the Magadha king must be defeated before his performance of the Rājasūya. Hence Kṛṣṇa, Bhima and Arjuna were sent to Rājagrha, the capital of Magadha. There was a duel between Jarāsandha and Bhima which lasted for two weeks. Jarāsandha was killed and Sahadeva, his son, was installed on the throne. Sahadeva was killed in the Bhārata War.

The capital of Magadha during the rule of the Bārhadrathas was Vasumati, called after Vasu, or Giri-vraja ('the mountain abode'). This seat of royalty among the five hills had been founded by Bhradhratha of Magadha and was also known as Bhradhratha-pura and Māgadhapura. Like Vasu and Bhradhratha, the latter's son Kuśāgra also contributed to the naming of the city whose another name was Kuśāgra-pura. Indian Buddhist writers give another name, Bimbasāra-purī.

Jain writers mention two early kings of Rājagrha named Samudra-vijaya and his son Gaya. Gaya is said to have reached perfection which had been taught by the Jinas. H.C. Raychaudhuri rightly places little reliance on uncorroborated assertions of this character.

Post-Bhārata War Period

The Bārhadratha dynasty continued to rule over Magadha with its capital at Girivraja or Rājagrha. There
were twenty-two kings in all (after Sahadeva Jărāsandhi) whose names are furnished in the Purāṇas." They are as follows:


K.P. Jayaswal finds 27 names instead of 22 in the Purāṇas for this period. Variants for nos. 15 and 17 have been treated as separate kings. The three other names provided by him are Mahābala or Rupalōjaya (after no. 8 above), Eman (after no. 14 above) and Śrāvastī (after no. 18 above). We are, however, of the view that there were 22 generations only between the Bhārata War and Bimbisāra.

Only three post-Bhārata War dynasties have been dealt with by the Purāṇas; viz., the Pauravas of Hastināpura and later of Kauśāmbī, the Aikshvākus of Śrāvastī, and the Bāhradrathas of Magadha. Of these, the first two dynasties are dealt with briefly, with two kings generally to a line and with no mention of the lengths of the reigns; but the Bāhradratha dynasty of Magadha is set out with one line to each king and the length of his reign is stated. We have, however, omitted here the lengths of reigns because they are not correct or acceptable—they are even more than the double of what they should have been. The total for the entire Bāhradratha dynasty (10 + 22 = 32 kings) is stated to be 'full 1000 years', while that for the last 16 kings (nos. 7-22 above) is given as 723 years. According to our chronological scheme the total for these 16 kings is 850 B.C.-547 B.C. = 303 years.
The last king of the Bāhradratha dynasty of Magadha was Ripyunjaya who is stated to have ruled for 50 years—Ripyunjaya will obtain the earth 50 years". According to the Purānic statement the last Bāhradratha king (i.e., Ripyunjaya), Pulika (Puṇika) and the latter’s son Pradyota were contemporaries. Also, we know from other (e.g. Buddhist) sources that Pradyota of Ujjayint (Avanti) and Bimbisāra of Girivrajā or Rājagṛha (Magadha) were contemporaries. Hence we conclude that the Bāhradrathas of Magadha under Ripyunjaya and the Vitihotras of Avanti under their last ruler (who remains unnamed) were succeeded by Bimbisāra and Pradyota on the thrones of Girivrajā and Ujjayint respectively and also at about the same time. The circumstances at Ujjayint are hinted at though in a confused manner. But the circumstances which brought the dynasty of Bimbisāra to power at Girivrajā in Magadha as successors of the Bāhradrathas are not known.

SECTION VI
KARŪSHA

Very few references to this region are available from which it may be presumed that it did not play an important part in the history of India or Bihar.

According to the Purāṇas, Kārūsha was one of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata. From Kārūsha were descended the numerous Kshatriya clans of the Kārūshas, who were determined fighters. They occupied the Kārūsha country, the region round the modern Rewa and eastwards to the river Sone including the Shahabad district of Bihar.

The Kārūshas, who occupied the territory of Kārūsha, were subdued by Turvasu (generation no. 7 in Pargiter’s list), one of the five sons of Yayāti (generation no. 6) of Pratishṭhāna (Prayāga). The line of Turvasu (generation
nos. 7-41) ruled over this region till its extinction and merger into the Paurava line of Dushyanta, for nothing more is said about Karūsha until Vasu king of Cedi conquered it long afterwards.

During the time of the Rāmāyaṇa, Karūsha was ruled by Tātakā. Her son Mārīcha was a friend of Daśagrīva Rāvaṇa of Lāṅkā. They did not like the expansion of the āśrama system of Viśvāmitra, but were suppressed with the help of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, sons of king Daśaratha (generation no. 64) of Ayodhyā.

Vasu (generation no. 78), king of Cedi, conquered Karūsha and several other regions. He divided his territories among his five sons and established them in separate kingdoms. Yadu or Lalithha, one of the five sons, got Karūsha.

During the time of the Mahābhārata the two kings of Karūsha, who ruled over it, one after the other, were Vṛddhaśarman (generation no. 93) and his son Dantavakra (generation no. 94). The Padma-Purāṇa (VI. 274, 16-17) says Dantavakra (king of Karūsha) was of Caidya lineage. Hence these two rulers appear to be of the dynasty of Vasu Caidyoparicara. The Kārūshas fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas and were killed by Bhishma.

Nothing is known of the Karūsha state afterwards, though the tribe of this name is mentioned later also. A king Dadhra mentioned by Bāna (Harsha-carita, Eng. tr., p. 193) seems to belong to the pre-Buddhistic period. The region later formed part either of the kingdom of Kāśi or of Magadha. The circumstances of its final amalgamation with Magadha are not clearly indicated.

References

3. AIHT, pp. 149, 330.
5. Ājīvaka (no. 30 in Pargiter’s chart) has been treated by Prādhāna as a third son of Kuni without descendants and called Rajana.
6. India in the Vedic Age, pp. 50-61 (the Videha dynasty), 75-76 (agreement of Vedic and Puranic traditions), 94 (era of expansion), 98-99 (table of kings), 143-145 (conquest of the Gangetic territory by the Aśokavākus).
7. Ibid, pp. 75-76.
8. This is Bhargava’s view (p. 75).
9. This is Bhargava’s view (pp. 74-75). As Bhagiratha discovered the river (ānapamata—brought, discovered), it was called Bhagirathī after his name (Vā, 88. 167-169; Bā, III, 63, 167-169).
11. The order is suggested by ourselves.
13. These numbers may be referred to as ‘Pargiter’s revised list’, that is, Pargiter’s list revised by us.
15. Bhargava, op. cit., p. 76.
16. This will be the subject-matter of the next chapter.
17. Dīgha-Nikāya Commentary, I, 279.
18. Probably the actual site of the ancient capital is represented by Camānagara and Camāpur, suburbs of Bhagalpur.
20. Pāṇinīsūndarī (Mañju-Nikāya Commentary), II, 565.
21. Mākh, III, 82.139; V, 6; XIII, 42.
22. The Mahābhārata (VIII, 22, 18-19) brands an Aṅga prince who, by the way, is distinguished from Karṇa, and is described as skilful in handling elephants, as a Mleccha or outlandish barbarian.
23. In the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (48.60) the father of the eponymous hero of the Aṅgas is styled Dānavarshabha (‘chief among demons’). The interpretation is ours.

24. Note the connection of Aṅgas with Nishādas in *Vāyu*, 62.107-123.

25. AIHT., p. 293. Also see JRAS., 1908, p. 851.

26. AIHT., pp. 109, 144-149 (table of royal genealogies), 264.

27. Chronology of Ancient India, ch. 9: The Aṅga Dynasty (pp. 110-117).

28. India in the Vedic Age, pp. 41-43, 64 (table), 98-99 (table of royal genealogies), 144.

29. Jayadratha’s son or brother Vijaya and the latter’s line have been omitted by certain Purāṇas. There were four kings in this line, viz., Vijaya, Dhṛti, Dhṛtavrata and Satyakarman (named by Pradhan on pp. 114-116).

30. Yayati had five sons, viz., Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Pāru.


32. AIHT., pp. 158-159. For the story of Dīrghatama see pp. 158 (with references in n. 4), 162, 220.

33. H. C. Raychaudhuri (Political History of Ancient India, sixth ed., Calcutta, 1953, p.108), on the other hand, feels inclined to regard Aṅga as the founder of the kingdom.

34. Bhargava *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99; and the list is identical with Pargiter’s list from Dadhivahana to Karna.

35. The *Mahābhārata* regards Brhadratha Vīra the Aṅga (*Vīra* may be an adjective) as one of the sixteen celebrated monarchs of ancient India, (AIHT, p. 39 and note 4 for references). This may be Dharmaratha the sacrificer or Brhadratha of the Aṅga dynasty, but certainly not Brhadratha of Magadhā as Pargiter (p. 39. n. 5) is inclined to think.


37. “Once upon a time, when Aṅga was king in the kingdom of Aṅga, and Magadhā king in Magadhā, betwixt the realms of Aṅga and Magadhā was a river Campā......Sometimes king Magadhā took the Aṅga country, sometimes king Aṅga took Magadhā.”


39. *Śaṅgara*, 25.35; 26.115; 83.3-16.

40. PHAI, pp. 109-110.

42. Raychaudhuri adds later (p.110) that about this time "Āṅga succeeded in annexing Magadha. Its frontier thus approached the Vatša Kingdom whose monarch's alarm may have been responsible for an attack on Campā.

43. Priyadarikā, Act. IV.

44. AIHT, pp. 254-255, 288-289, 292. See references given there. According to this set of traditions royal power first developed mainly in the Gangetic plain, in the towns Ayodhyā, Mithila, Pratishṭhāna and Gayā, and at some places in Central and Western India (p. 289).


46. Rāma, I 32.7 says in Dharmāraṇya, which was a wood near Gayā.

47. See AIHT, pp. 264-265 and 39-40 (also references given there).

48. Ibid., p. 265, n. 2.

49. Raghunātac, Canto VI.


52. See AIHT., pp. 118-119.

53. Ch. V.: pp. 61-68.

54. Ibid. p. 68.

55. For references see AIHT., p. 282 (foot-notes).

56. This event took place fifteen years before the Bhārata War. The Rajasāyana of Yudhishṭhīra was performed fourteen years before this War. (JBORS., 4, p. 33).

57. Rāma 1, 32.8.


59. B.C. Law, Buddhaguhsha, p. 87 n.

60. SBE., 45, p. 86.


62. Mat, 271. 17-30. Va, 99. 294-309. Bd III, 74. 107-122. These three Purāṇas give the whole, and agree generally. The Vīś (IV. 23), Bhaṅgavata (IX. 22. 45-49) and Garuda (I. 141.9-11) give merely a list of names. For details see F.E. Pargiter, The Purāṇa
References

Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age (First pub. Oxford University Press, 1913; reprinted Varanasi, 1952), pp. 13-17 (text) 67-68 (translation) and Pradhan, op.cit. pp. 253-255.


64. Pargiter, D KA., p. x (introduction).

65. Ibid., pp. 68 and 13.

66. This date for the beginning of the reign of Senājīt is suggested by Pargiter. (AIHT., p. 182), which we accept.

67. DKA., p. 68.

68. Ibid.

69. For Pradyota and his dynasty see the following useful materials:—
   (vi) D S. Triveda, 'Pradyotas' (being ch. 10 of his serialised book 'Pre-Mauryan History of Bihar'), JBRS., Vol. 37, Parts 3-4, Sept. and Dec 1951, pp. 130-137.

70. It is stated in the Purāṇas (DKA., p. 68) that amatya Pulika (Pupika) killed his master and anointed his own son Pradyota by force in the very sight of the Kshatriyas. According to Bāna (Harshacarita, Eng. tr., p. 193) Prince Kumārasena, younger brother of Pradyota, of the Pupika family, was slain at the great festival of Mahākāla by the vampire Talaśāṅgha while (he was) crazy with discussion about selling human flesh at the butcherhouse. It may be mentioned that the Hailhayas comprised five families, the Viśṭhoras, Avantis, Śāryatās, Bhojas and Tūṇḍikeras, who were all Talaśāṅghas (AIHT., p. 102).

71. We do not accept the mistaken view that the Pradyotas and the Śaiśunāgas intervened between Ripuṇjaya and Bimbisāra in
Magadha. Time has rendered the entire controversy as utterly fruitless by now. Suman Sharma has recently made a highly ingenious suggestion with regard to Pradyota's enthronement in Avanti, in his Hindi book Prācina Bhārattyā Ārya Rājavṃśa (Patna, 1965), pp. 272-287.

72. This traditional history of Karūsha has been constructed generally on the basis of references scattered in Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
CHAPTER IX

The Republican States in Ancient Bihar

In the age of the sixteen mahājanapadas there flourished in the valleys of the Gaṇḍaka and the Sarayū republican states of the Vajjis and the Mallas which are included in the term 'sixteen mahājanapadas'. Their headquarters were at Vaiśāli, Kuśinagara and Pāvā. Although the two capitals of the Mallas lay outside Bihar, the Saran district of Bihar seems to have been included in the territories of the republican Mallas. The probable dates are from the second half of the eighth century B.C. to the first half of the fifth century B.C.

According to scholars, the Pāli literature mentions ten republics in the time of the Buddha. Proceeding from the north to the south and from the west to the east the list may be put in the following way:


Of these, the last three remain more or less unidentified. "Politically, the most important of the group were the Vṛjīs and the Mallas".

When the Buddha died, the remains of his physical body (along with ashes and the pitcher) were divided among ten parties. Among the Kshatriyas there were seven republics (nos. 1-6, 8 above) and one monarchy (Ajātaśatru
of Magadha); the remaining two parties were Brāhmaṇas, viz., the Brāhmaṇas of Veṭhadipa and Droṇa Brāhmaṇa.

The seven republics (nos. 1-7 above), whose locations are known to us, occupied an area which may conveniently be termed the Gorakhpur-Tirhut Region. This extended from the Rāpti (Acirāvati) in the west to the Vāgmati/Kausiki in the east.

The Divyāvadāna refers to nine Kshatriya families that were descended from Ikshvāku, viz., Śākyas, Koliyas, Moriyas, Mallas, Licchavis, Vajjis, Jāṭrs, Videhas and Janakas. Most of these families or tribes were republican. Thus we find that all the properly identified republics of the time of the Buddha belonged to the same racial stock and occupied a contiguous area.

SECTION I

THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

Date of Foundation

The exact date of the foundation of the Vajjian Republic is not known to us. For determining this we may put forth the following data:—

1. The Āṅguttara-Nikāya refers to sixteen mahājanapadas (states) which include (besides Vajji) Kāśi and Aṅga as well. Kāśi was conquered by Kośala, and Aṅga by Magadha at later dates. Thus the Vajjians had established their republic before the Kośalan conquest of Kāśi and the Magadhan conquest of Aṅga.

2. The Vajjian Republic was a well-established institution in the time of the Buddha (567-487 B.C.) who spoke well of it and referred to its seven great characteristics. For its attaining this high position we must allow about one or one and a half centuries.
3. Janaka Vaideha was a famous king of post-Bhārata War Videha. We do not hear of the Vajjian Republic during his reign. Thus the Republic was founded later than the reign of Janaka Vaideha and his contemporary, Yājñavalkya.

4. Nimi, the penultimate sovereign of Videha, is said to have adopted the faith of the Jainas. Parśva was probably the first historical Jina. He flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra whose date, in our opinion, is 561 B.C.—490 B.C. Hence the date of Parśva, who lived for one hundred years, would be 840 B.C.-740 B.C. He became a Jina at the age of thirty years, that is, in 810 B.C. according to the chronology suggested by ourselves. Thus Nimi of Videha could have accepted Jainism after 810 B.C. probably directly from him, in which case his conversion would take place before 740 B.C. and not after that.

5. The story of Karāla Janaka, the last king of the Janaka dynasty of Videha, who perished along with his kingdom and relations due to his misrule, shows that there was a great dynastic revolution in Videha ending in his death. This might probably have something to do with the foundation of the Vajjian Republic in the Vaiśālī region. In the absence of any concrete data, we may accept this as a working hypothesis. Elsewhere we have fixed the date of the end of the Janaka dynasty of Videha at about 725 B.C. which in our opinion is also the date of foundation of the Vajjian Republic in the Vaiśālī region.

Constituent Clans

What was the number of the constituent clans of the Vajjian Republic? Although no clear answer to this question is available in ancient literature, a passage in the Sutrakṛṣṭāṅga is usually believed to provide us with the names that occur there in the following order—Ugras, Bhogas,
Aikshvākas, Jnātṛs, Kauravas and Licchavis. We may add Trijīs or Vajjis also to this list, although at several places the Licchavis and the Vajjis appear to be inter-changeable. Our reasons for inclusion are two-fold:

1. Towards the end of the fourth century B.C. the Sāṅgha of the Vṛjīs was bifurcated into those of the Licchivikas and the Vṛjjikas (Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra, XI.1).

2. The Dīnavadāna, a Buddhist work, refers to nine Kshatriya families that were descended from Ikshvāku, viz., Mallas, Janakas, Videhas, Koliyas, Mauryas (Moriyas), Licchavis, Jnātṛs, Vajjis and Śākyas. Thus the separate mention of the two (Licchavis and Vṛjjis or Vajjis) in the same list shows that they were two distinct clans though more closely related between themselves than with any other clan.

The Licchavis were the most powerful of the clans that inhabited the Vajjian territory. They are mentioned most in Buddhist literature among the Vajjian tribes. Their capital was at Vaiśāli. Another reason of their comparative importance was that it was they who re-emerged later as masters of Vaiśāli and Nepal. This shows that “their power endured, whether independently or under the suzerainty of some greater power, for 800 years or more.” Thus “the race of the Licchavis and their organisation must have been of great vitality.”

The origin of the Licchavis has been a matter of great controversy. Western scholars and an Indian writer regarded them as of foreign extraction, though they were not unanimous with regard to their exact nationality. Thus the Licchavis have been represented as Scythians, Kolarians, Tibetans and Persians by different authorities. On the other hand, ancient Indian literature invariably regards them as Kṣatriyas. For instance, the Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta informs us that they claimed a share of the
remnants of the Buddha’s body on the ground that they were Kshatriyas like the Buddha himself. Also, the Licchavis enjoyed great prestige, which is not usually accorded to foreigners. Thirdly, in the Nepal Vaṃśāvalī they have been assigned to the Śūryavāṃśa or solar race of the Kshatriyas. This is quite in agreement with the evidence from the Buddhist sources and the Jain records that they were Vāsishtāhas by gotra.

The Jñātākṣas, who were Kshatriyas of the Kāṣyapa gotra, are famous because among them was born Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains, as son of Siddhartha and Trīṣalā, the latter being the sister of Cetāka, the Licchāvi leader of Vaiśālī. Their principal seats were Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura (or Kuṇḍagrāma) and Kollāga, both suburbs of Vaiśālī.

In our opinion, the Videhas of Mithilā, usually regarded by scholars as a constituent of the Vajjian republic, did not form its part. Among them monarchy prevailed during the period of the Licchāvi supremacy.15

Territory

“The Vajji (Vṛji) territory lay north of the Gangā and extended as far as the Nepal hills. On the west the river Gāndaka possibly separated it from the Mallās and perhaps also the Kośalas. Eastwards it may have approached the forests that skirted the river Kosi and the Mahānandā.”16

This definition of the extent of the Vajjian territory seems to be correct except that the eastern boundary does not appear to be acceptable because, as we have said above, Videha was distinct from the republican Vajjian state and was a monarchy at that time. This monarchy must have occupied the area roughly east of the Muzaffarpur district and extending up to the Kosi and the Mahā-
nandā. It may, however, be presumed that the Vajjian republic was stronger than the Videhan Kingdom, because while the former is one of the sixteen mahājanapadas according to the Aṅguttara-Nikāya,¹⁶ the latter is not included in that list. If so, the eastern boundary of the Vajjian territory might have extended much farther than the Muzaffarpur district because of the weakness of the Videhan monarchy.

In our opinion,¹⁷ the Republic included the following areas at its height of glory:

(i) the Champaran district,
(ii) the Muzaffarpur district,
(iii) the Samastipur sub-division of the Darbhanga district,
(iv) a narrow rectangular strip bordering the Ganga in the south and going to the eastern direction (we cannot locate the eastern side of this rectangle), and
(v) the Nepalese Terai adjoining the Champaran-Muzaffarpur region.¹⁸

Capital

The identification of Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vajjian Republic, had long been a point of discussion among scholars. General Cunningham, with his immense knowledge of the country and of the Buddhist literature, identified the present village of Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar as marking the spot where stood Vaiśālī in ancient days. This identification has been accepted by scholars. W. Hoey¹⁹ was the only person to challenge this; he sought to establish the identity though on very insufficient evidence, of Vaiśālī with a place called Cherand in the Saran district, situated on the northern bank of the Ganga about seven miles south from Chapra. This identification has been proved to be entirely untenable by V.A.
Smith in his papers on Vaiśāli, and he has succeeded in establishing that the identification by Cunningham of the village of Basarh with Vaiśāli admits of no doubt. This identity has been proved still more decisively by the archaeological excavations on the site carried on in 1903-04 by T. Bloch, in 1913-14 by D.B. Spooner, in 1950 by K. Deva, and in 1957-1962 by A.S. Altekar and K.K. Datta. And now-a-days this identification is universally accepted to such an extent that if a fresh attempt is made, it may be regarded as sheer waste of energy.

Vaiśāli was so called because it was extended many times. The determination of the extent of this town is a knotty problem. We learn from the introductory portions of two Jātakas that a triple wall encompassed the town; each wall was a league (gāvuta) distant from the next. The Mahāvagga (VIII.1.1.1) gives the following account of Vaiśāli:—"At that time Vaiśāli was an opulent, prosperous town, populous, crowded with people, abundant with food; there were 7707 storeyed buildings, and 7707 pinnacled buildings, and 7707 pleasure grounds, and 7707 lotus ponds." The Tibetan Dulva (iii f.80) gives the following description:—"There were three districts in Vaiśāli. In the first district were 7000 houses with golden towers, in the middle district were 14000 houses with silver towers, and in the last district were 21000 houses with copper towers; in these lived the upper, the middle and the lower classes according to their positions." From what we read of the description of the ruins of the town by Hsüan Tsang in the seventh century A.D. and what we see today, there can hardly be any doubt about its wide extent.

**Political Relations**

The Vajjian Republic gradually developed into a strong state. Up to the middle of the sixth century B.C.
this Republic and its southern neighbour, the Magadhan kingdom, were going side by side; after the accession of Bimbisāra (547 B.C.) of Magadha they came face to face. A war between the Licchavis and Bimbisāra is referred to incidentally in some of the Buddhist sources, though causes or details are not indicated. From Jain sources we know that Bimbisāra married Cellanā, daughter of Cetaka, the Licchavi 'rājā' of Vaiśāli. D.R. Bhandarkar connects this event with the Magadha-Vaiśāli War and holds that "this matrimonial alliance was a result of the peace concluded after the war between Bimbisāra and the Licchavis." This marriage gave Magadha its next ruler and Vaiśāli its destroyer—Vaidehiputra Ajātaśatru. The Brāhmaṇa envoys of Magadha along with those of Kośala are indicated as residing at Vaiśāli on some business.

That the Licchavis were on friendly terms with Kośala is proved by other pieces of evidence also. Mahālī, a great Licchavi of Vaiśāli, and Prasenajit, yet a prince of Kośala, read together at Takshaśila and developed great friendship there. Prasenajit, while going to arrest Anguhīmāla, the murderer, tells the Buddha, whom he meets on the way, that both Bimbisāra of Magadha and the Licchavis of Vaiśāli are his friends.

According to a Jain tradition Cetaka had seven daughters, viz., Prabhāватi, Padmāватi, Mrgāватi, Śivā, Jyesṭhā, Sujyesṭhā and Cellanā. Of these, Prabhāватi was married to King Udāyana of Vītabhaya (Sindhu-Sauvīra), Padmāватi to King Dadhivahana of Campā (Anga), Mrgāватi to King Śatānikā of Kauśāmbi (Vatsa), Śivā to King Pradyota of Ujjayinī (Avanti) and Jyesṭhā to Nandivardhana of Kuṇḍagrāma, elder brother of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. Sujyesṭhā remained unmarried and later became a nun. Cellanā was married to King Bimbisāra of Rājagrha (Magadha). Mrgāvatī's marriage
with Šatānika is confirmed by Bhāsa's drama Sačavasavādacca (Act VI) where Udayana, son of Šatānika, is called VaidehiPutra ('son of the princess of the Videha country'). Cellana's marriage with Bimbisāra is known to Buddhist literature also where Cellana's son too is called VaidehiPutra.

Fall

The sovereign Vajjian Republic was destroyed as the result of a war which Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, waged against it.

There were many causes of war between the Vajjian Republic and Ajātaśatru, some being primary and others contributory. The objective of the Magadhan ruler was to gain control of as much of the Ganga river system as possible. It is perhaps significant that according to the Buddhist story, the war with the Vajjis arose over a dispute in a river-port in the Ganga which was half controlled by Ajātaśatru and half by the Vajjis. The Vajjis, it seems, attacked Ajātaśatru many times. They used to oust Pātaligāma people from their homes and occupy them for a month or half a month. It was in order to baffle the attempts of the Vaisālians that two of the Magadhan ministers, viz., Sunidha and Vassakāra, built a fort at Pātaligāma.

Ajātaśatru began the war after adequate preparations. He took all kinds of precaution. Use was made of two new weapons, viz., mahāśila-kaṇṭāga and rahamusala. Consequently Vaiśāli was defeated and its independence came to a close.44 However, it was allowed to have autonomy in administrative matters. It is for this reason that the Saṅgha of the Vṛjikas is mentioned by Paṇini and those of the Licchivikas and the Vṛjikas are referred to by Kauṭilya.
Constitution

The Vajjian State was under a form of government known as the Sangha or Gaṅa. As the Licchavis were the most important element, it was also called the Licchavi-Gaṅa. It was a Gaṅāḍhīna State as distinguished from a Rājāḍhīna State.

In times of emergency the republic used to form a temporary federation with its neighbours. One such federation with the Mallas is known to a Jain source. This confederacy existed in the year when Mahāvīra died and the war between Vaiśali and Magadha was still on. The composition of the Federal Council was of the following description.

1. The nine Mallakis,
2. The nine Licchavis, and
3. The eighteen Gaṅarājās of Kāśī-Kośala (i.e., the United Kingdom of Kāśī and Kośala).

The constitution of the Licchavis is detailed in a later document, the Aṭṭhakathā. It mentions three highest officers, the President (Rājā), the Vice-President (Upa-Rājā) and the Generalissimo (Senāpati). An early authority (Jātaka, I, p. 504) adds a fourth officer: the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Bhāṇḍāgārika). There is no doubt that these were the four highest administrative officers and that they composed the cabinet or central executive authority. They had executive, military and also judicial functions to perform. These posts were elective. The real power of administration, especially in regard to foreign affairs, seems to have been vested in a smaller body of nine Gaṅarājās or archons.

The Central Legislature or the Parliament of the Vajjian (or Licchavi) Republic is said to have consisted of 7707 members. Each member was called a Rājā. It
appears the Rājās were drawn from the Licchāvi tribe and the Jñāṭīka tribe.

The Jātaka No. 149 (Ekapāṇḍa-Jātaka) gives an interesting passage which describes the constitution of the prosperous and well-guarded republic of Vaiśālī:

“In those days Vaiśālī enjoyed marvellous prosperity. A triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers. In that city there were always seven thousand seven hundred and seven kings to govern the kingdom, and a like number of viceroys, generals, and treasurers.”

The total number of the members of the Central Assembly along with their nature is known to another Jātaka (No.301, Chulla-Kalīnga-Jātaka) also:

“Tradition says that Licchavis of the ruling family to the number of seven thousand seven hundred and seven had their abode at Vaiśālī. And all of them were given to argument and disputation.”

These passages indicate that there were 7707 Rājās, 7707 Upa-Rājās, 7707 Senāpatis and 7707 Bhāṇḍāgarikas. Thus each member of the Central Legislative Assembly had one viceroy, one general and one treasurer.

The number 7707 and each member’s having one viceroy, one general and one treasurer have led to great controversies and considerable ingenuity has been exercised in interpreting these.

The rulers of the republic (Gaṇarājyas) underwent the ceremony of consecration by anointing. There was a Coronation Tank at the Vaiśālī City for this particular purpose which was especially guarded. This Abhisheka-Pushkariṇī of Vaiśālī Nagar is mentioned in the story of the Kośalan commander-in-chief Bandhula Malla and his
wife Mallikā. The latter was advised by the Buddha not to be sorrowful and be sent away to Kusinārā to return to her own family on account of her barrenness. Bandhula having learnt it became glad and hopeful. The woman soon after conceived, and when her cravings began, told him of it. "What is it you want?" he asked. "My lord," said she, "I desire to go and bathe and drink the water of the tank in Vaiśālī City where the families of the kings get water for the ceremonial sprinkling". The commander-in-chief promised to try. Seizing his bow, strong as a thousand bows, he put his wife in a chariot, and left Sāratthi, and drove his chariot to Vaiśālī. Now at that time there lived close to the gate a Licchavi named Mahālī, who had been educated by the same teacher as the king of Kośala's general, Bandhula. This man was blind, and used to advise the Licchavis on all matters temporal and spiritual............By the tank there was set a strong guard, within and without, above it was spread an iron net; not even a bird could find room to go through. But the general, dismounting from his car, put the guards to flight with the blows of his sword, and burst through the iron network, and in the tank bathed his wife and gave her to drink the water; then after bathing himself, he set Mallikā in the chariot, and left the town, and went back by the way he came. The guards went and told all to the Licchavis. Then the kings of the Licchavis were angry; and five hundred of them, mounted in five hundred chariots, departed to capture Bandhula and Mallikā. They informed Mahālī of it, and he said, "Go not! for he will slay you all." But they did not pay heed to his words and consequently were slain by Bandhula who safely conveyed Mallikā to Sāvatthi (Srāvasti). The local people of the present-day Vaiśālī believe that the Kharaunā Pokhar, a big tank situated on the border of villages Basarh and Chakramdas, represents the ancient Coronation Tank of the Licchavis.
The Republican States in Ancient Bihar

The place where the Parliament or the Central Legislative Assembly met was called the Santhāgāra (Sāṃstāgāra in Sanskrit). According to the Āṭṭhakathā when the Vaiśālians came to their House of Law (Parliament), the tocsin used to be sounded at their House of Law. There they discussed not only matters political and literary, but also agricultural, commercial and religious.

The Gaṇa (or the Licchavi-Gaṇa) was the sovereign body. It transacted business on behalf of the whole people. It appointed members of the Executive Council and other functionaries.

The uniqueness of the Licchavi constitution of Vaiśāli lies in its judicial system. The details are available in a late source, the Sumahgalavilāsint (Dīgha Commentary) of Buddhaghosha, II, p. 519. If a citizen was accused of a crime, he had to pass through seven stages. Any of the successive courts could pronounce him innocent and acquit him. The President (Rājā) was also the highest judicial authority. There was also a Judicial Minister. Liberty of the citizen was most zealously guarded.

References
1. Vishuddhanand Pathak provides a good map of Kośala (History of Kośala, facing p. 42) which may be consulted with profit.
3. Quoted in Rajbali Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada aur uski Kahatriya Jatiyon ka Itihāsa, p. 75.
5. SBE., 45, p. 87.
6. See our An Early History of Vaiśāli, pp. 194-212.
7. This is our suggestion.
10. Quoted in Rajbali Pandey, Gorakhpur Janapada, p. 75.
11. "The kings of Tibet and Ladak also trace their descent from the Licchavī" (Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 517).
13. Ibid.
14. For reasons see An Early History of Vaiśāli, pp. 117-122.
15. PHAL, p. 118.
17. “A theory has been advanced that this boundary line was the river Vāgmat, which runs through the northern part of Muzaffarpur district. This theory is supported by the fact that the part of the district to the south of this river is called Bīṣārā (which was one of the revenue divisions during the Moghul times), and that to the north is popularly known as Mithilā or Tirhut” (Shyam Narayan Singh, History of Tirhut, Calcutta, 1922, p. 20, foot-note). The theory seems to be plausible and requires further examination in respect of the geography of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga & Monghyr districts through which the Būhrīt Gāndaka and its tributary the Vāgmat flow.
19. The Tharus, who inhabit a very long strip of land in the sub-Himalayan Terai from Kumaon to Jalpaiguri, “up to the present day call the villages inhabited by non-Tharus, Bajī villages and the inhabitants irrespective of their caste, religion or race, Bajis. ...The term appears to be a Tharu corruption of Sanskrit Vṛjī or Pāli Vajjī” (H. Panday, ‘Notes on the Vajji Country and the Mallas of Pava’, JBORS, Vol. 6, 1920, p. 261).
21. JASB., 1900, pp. 78-83.
23. Jātaka (Cowell’s ed.), Vol. I, p. 229 = p. 339 in original (No. 49, Lomahāṁsa-Jātaka) and p. 316 = p. 504 in original (No. 149, Ekākappana-Jātaka). The first refers to Sunakkhatta’s going about within the three walls of Vesāli defaming the Master”. Relevant portion in full from the second has been reproduced later while discussing the constitution of the Vajjian Republic.
24. A quarter of a yojana, a little less than two miles.
25. Jātaka No. 149.
26. SBE., 17, 171.
28. We have discussed "Topography of the Ancient Vaisālī City" in detail in A Guide to Vaisālī and the Vaisālī Museum, pp. 19-32. It may be pointed out that Vaisālī was not one of the six great cities of India in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. which were (east to west and south to north) Campā, Rāja-gṛha, Vāraṇaṣi, Kaousāmbi, Sāketa and Śrāvasti (Mahāpari-nibbāna-Sutta).


32. Rahula Sankrityayana, Buddhacarya, p. 440, n.


34. According to Buddhaghosha, the Buddhist commentator of the fifth century, the fall of the Vajjian Republ came three years after the death of the Buddha. Hence we fix 484 B.C. as the date of this event.


37. Kalpa-Sūtra, 128 (SBE, 22, p. 266).

38. The order of the constituent elements as given in the Jaina text has been retained here.

39. "At the time of the death of the Mahāvīra, the empire of Kosala was called the Kaśt-Kosala" (K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, p. 48). Cf Kaśt-Kosala in Patañjali (Kielhorn, Vol II, 2nd ed., p. 280). We know that Kaśt had been an integral part of the Kosalan Empire since the days of Mahākosala at least.

40. Turnour, JASB., 7 (1838), pp. 993 ff.


43. Kalpa-Sūtra, 128.

44. Jātaka Nos. 149 and 301. Mahāvagga (VIII. 1. 1. 1) of the Vinaya-Piṭaka. See also Dhammapada Commentary, III, 436.

46. Jñātaka No. 301 provides the basis for such a conclusion.


50. See ibid., pp. 93-94. (pp. 148-150 in original) for the complete story. We have quoted here only that part which describes the Coronation Tank in some way or other.

51. With the next sentence begins our quotation from the English translation.

52. Called Maha-Licchavi in Dhammapada (p. 219).


55. Ibid. Also see Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, Part II (beginning) for a graphic description.
CHAPTER X

Brahmanical Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Education upto 300 B.C.

The expansion of Brahmanical culture in regions comprising modern Bihar seems to have taken place in successive phases. Early Vedic literature shows no knowledge of the country east of the river Sarayū. The story of the extension of Vedic civilisation to North Bihar is mentioned for the first time in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I.4.1.10ff.) which relates that Māthava the Videgha (the earlier form of the term Videha) followed Agni Vaiśvānara, the sacrificial fire, from the banks of the river Sarasvatī to the east of the river Sadāntrā (mod. Gandak) where he was settled by the Fire-god. Māthava was accompanied by his priest Gotama Rahugaṇa. The work speaks of the event as something which happened long before the passage was written; it states that in earlier times no Brāhmaṇa crossed the perennial stream (Sadāntrā) as it was not sanctified by Agni Vaiśvānara, but now-a-days there were many Brāhmaṇas to the east of the river performing Vedic sacrifices. This shows that Brahmanical culture spread to Videha (Tirhut) from the land of the Kuru-Pāṇcālas some time in the later Vedic age. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, one of the latest works of this class, speaks of much cultural activity in this region.

The Māgadhās or the people of South Bihar, on the other hand, were looked with contempt for a long time by the custodians of Vedic culture; and several later Vedic texts make derogatory references to them. This can only be explained by assuming that the midland Brāhmaṇic culture took a much longer time to strike its roots in the
country of Magadha. The *Atharvaveda* (V.22.14.) mentions the Māgadhās and the Āṅgas in a very hostile manner as tribes living in the east to whom the Malarial fever should be driven away. It is suggested that the dislike of the Māgadhās, may be traced even to the age of the *Rgveda* and this was due to their being largely non-Aryan or at least non-Brahmanical.¹ The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*² speaks of the people of Vāṅga and Magadha as birds, perhaps, because of their speaking non-Aryan languages not understood by the Vedic Aryans. The fact that traditionally Mithilā was considered holier than Magadha and Āṅga may also point to the predominance of aboriginal blood in the latter regions. According to the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*, people living in Avanti, Āṅga and Magadha were of mixed origin and some Dharmaśāstras even recommend a penance for visiting the countries of Āṅga, Vāṅga and Magadha.

The famous Vṛātya hymn of the *Atharvaveda* speaks of the Māgadhā as a friend, counsellor, joy and thunder of the Vṛātya. In the *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa* the Vṛātya is said to have gone to the eastern quarter; and Lātyāyana calls the chariot used by the Vṛātya ‘eastern chariot’ (*prācyaratha*). The Sūtras recommend that the property of the Vṛātyas should be distributed among the so-called Brāhmaṇas of the Magadhadeśa (*Magadhadeśiya brahma-baudhau*). This shows that many of the Vṛātyas must have resided in Magadha and the neighbouring regions. Much has been written about the meaning of the term ‘Vṛātya’. The conventional explanation that the Vṛātyas were those who had fallen out of the Aryan fold through long neglect of Brahmanical rituals (*patita-sāsvitrika*) does not explain anything except that the Vṛātyas were outside the pale of the Vedic society. The Vṛātyastoma given at some length in the *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* (XVII,1-4) is a ritual for securing the entry of the Vṛātyas into brāhmaṇic fold.
Roth, Whitney and many others are of the opinion that the Vrātyas were non-Aryans who were driven away by the early Aryan invaders. But there is another band of scholars who believe that the Vrātyas were the earliest Aryan immigrants pushed to the east by a later wave of Aryan immigrants, the representatives of the early Vedic culture. The second hypothesis has much to commend itself and it seems to have won general consensus. The Tandyamahā-brāhmāṇa tells us that Vrātyas, although uninitiated, spoke the language of the initiated, i.e., Vedic Aryans, and they found 'hard to speak' what was 'easy of utterance'. Evidently they belonged to the Aryan stock and spoke some form of early Prākrit. This is further confirmed by the Manu-smṛti which says that a Vrātya was one who had not gone through the Brahmanical initiation (upanayana) ceremony to which he was apparently entitled, meaning thereby that he was an Aryan by birth. The close connection of the Vrātyas with the people of Magadha leads Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī to surmise that the Vrātyas, the Aryans of the first migration, had become very influential and friendly with the non-Aryan peoples of Magadha, and the Vedic Aryans tried hard to bring them into their own fold. There is no doubt that the Vrātyas were gradually assimilated in the Vedic society, although, in the process they brought in their own rites and cult-practices. The association of the Vrātya with Māgadha, a term which came to mean a wandering musician or bard, and puṁścalī (a harlot) in the early texts suggests that the Vrātyas had some orgiastic rites rooted in primitive magic. Hauer associates them with the mahāvarata ceremony, in which a puṁścalī takes a prominent part. The rite had become obsolete in the age of the sūtras when many of the Vrātyas had become converts to Brāhmanism through Vrātyastoma, but many of the heretical practices must have survived which
contributed to the orthodox dislike of the Magadha, the
cradle of the Vṛātya culture.

Brahmanical works of the period 800-600 B. C. mainly
refer to the kingdoms of Kuru-Paṅcāla and Videha with-
out any mention of the kingdoms of Magadha. This
shows that during this period the Sarasvati valley was the
seat of Vedic culture, and Magadha was still beyond its
sphere of influence, although Videha had provided it a
strong foothold. The court of Janaka Videha was famous
as a centre of learning and Brāhmaṇas from the west flock-
ed to it. In the Bhadāranyaka Upanishad it is related that
once king Janaka of Mithilā performed a great sacrifice and
offered a thousand cows as a gift to one who would remain
unvanquished in philosophic disputations. Yājñavalkya,
the most distinguished priest of his court took away the
prize defeating Uddālaka Aruṇi and several other Brāhmaṇa
scholars who had come from the Kuru-Paṅcāla country,
including a woman Gārgī Vācakanavī. Both Janaka and
Yājñavalkya appear to have been historical figures; and
the authority of the latter is most frequently quoted in the
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, but the two had already become
legendary figures in the age of the Upanishads. It is
possible that there were more than one Janaka, for Janaka
seems to have been a family name. The Purāṇas speak of
a dynasty of the Janaka kings of Videha all of whom were
great philosophers and patrons of the Brāhmaṇas. Another
great name associated with Mithilā is that of the sage
Gautama. This is again a gotra name and must refer to
several persons bearing that name. The Skanda Purāṇa tells
us that sage Gautama lived in Mithilā; and a place near
Kamtaul railway station in Darbhanga district is called
Gautama-sthāna. The Brāhmaṇas of the Gautama gotra
must have been influential in the Mithilā region from the
earliest times for, as we have seen, the purohita of the first
Videha king, who established the kingdom, was a Gautama.
In the Rāmāyaṇa the family priest of king Janaka is Śatānanda, the son of Gautama.

The Epic and Purānic traditions have preserved us the names of some early kings of Vaiśālī who were great patrons of the Vedic religion. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa tells us that king Marutta of Vaiśālī subdued the evil-minded Nāgas who tried to defile the fire-offerings made by the sages living in hermitages. According to the Mahābhārata, this king performed several Vedic sacrifices with the help of his priests Bṛhaspati and Saṃvartaka, both of whom belonged to the Āṅgira gotra. Their father, Uṣiṇa Āṅgirasa, was the chaplain of the kings Avikalpita and Karandhama, the father and the grandfather of king Marutta. Thus the Āṅgirasas were the hereditary priests of the Vaiśālī kings.

If the Purānic tradition is to be believed, the Āṅgirasas were mainly responsible for the introduction of Vedic religion in Aṅga and Magadha. It is said that Dirghatamas, who was a grandson of Uṣiṇa Āṅgirasa, went to the Aṅga country and married a śūdra woman. He had several sons by this śūdra wife whom he later migrated to Gīrīvraja. His descendants had to go through severe austerities in order to acquire brāhmaṇahood. It is rightly inferred from such stories that the Vedic priests from Videha penetrated South Bihar and Bhagalpur area in course of time and settled there mixing with the local aboriginal population. It is interesting to note that, in the Mahābhārata, the Āṅgirasa priests, who are given the credit of brāhmaṇising the Magadha country, are also connected, together with the Bṛgus and with the Atharvaveda, in which many of the Vrātya rites have found their way. Bṛgus and Āṅgirasa often form a compact group in the Epic-Purāṇa complex; and it seems very likely that the brāhmaṇisation of the non-Aryan Vrātya country of the east was accomplish-
ed largely through their efforts. A place five miles to the east of the river Son is known as the hermitage of ṛshi Cyavana, a descendant of the sage Bhṛgu. The assimilative capacity of the Bhṛgu brāhmaṇas is further shown by the term Kevala-Bhṛgu under which, according to Haraprasad Sastri, many of the non-Vedic priests such as the Vatsyāyanas who lived in Magadha from a remote antiquity, were adopted into brahmanical society.

However, since brahmanical evidence for the period prior to B.C. 600 is very scanty and consists mostly of myths and legends, our reconstruction so far has been largely hypothetical. With the Buddhist and Jain sources for the subsequent period we are on firmer grounds. It seems that in the religious milieu of the age of the Buddha, Brahmanical ideas and rituals represented a significant factor, although the region was not yet wholly brahmanised. Two suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya contain a list of all the important deities of the time, who are shown paying their homage to the Buddha. These include the names of several Vedic deities such as Soma, Varuṇa, Venu (Vishṇu), Yama, Pājāpati (Prajāpati) and Inda (Indra). But the most prominent place is given to the Dikpālas or Guardians of the four quarters who are said to have come with their retinue of Gandhabbas (Gandharvas), Kumbhāṇḍas, (Kuśmāṇḍas) Nāgas and Yakkhas (Yakshas). Apparently the latter class of deities, who were of popular origin, had a greater hold on the imagination of the masses, although the Vedic deities were also well known. Indra is the most frequently mentioned deity in the Buddhist texts, and he is known by his various names such as, Sakka (Śakra), Vāsava, Maghavā and so on. Goddesses Śrī and Kālī are also mentioned, and the former is regarded as the daughter of Śakra. In the Mahā Ummagga Jātaka a merchant from Mithilā bears the name Sirivaṭṭhaka, which fact suggests the prevalence
of Śrī worship in this region. Her invocation is prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras and in the Brahmapañcāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. However, the worship of Śrī is non-Vedic and her cult seems to have been only partially brahmanised at this stage. There were many settlements of the Brāhmaṇas, and they were famous for their learnings and proficiency in the Vedic lore. Among the Brāhmaṇas living around Rājagṛha, some are said to have been Agnihotris and some “upholders of the cult of purity by birth, morals and penance”. This insistence on the purity of descent contrasts strikingly with the mixed marriages of early pioneers. Evidently many of the orthodox Brāhmaṇas looked with contempt the mixed origins of some local Brāhmaṇa families. However, Buddhist sources show that by now the Brāhmaṇas of practically all gotras were to be found in the regions of Bihar. It is said that many of them traced their descent from Vissamitta (Viśvāmitra), Yamataggī (Jamadagnī), Bhāradvāja, Vasettha (Vaśishṭha), Kassapa (Kaśyapa), Bhagu (Bhṛgu), and Aṅgirasa, who were the “seers” of the Vedic mantras. The Brāhmaṇas living near Rājagṛha in the time of the Buddha belonged mostly to the Bhāradvāja gotra.

Brāhmaṇism at this stage was mainly a religion of sacrifice. These are described in great detail in the vast and arid literature of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kalpasūtras. They consisted of two kinds mainly, one centering round the domestic fire and known as the pūkayajñas or domestic ritual described in the Gṛhyasūtras, and the other comprising the Śrauta offerings, which were extensive elaborations of the sacrifices mentioned in the Śrutis or the Vedas. The Gṛhya ritual was meant for the ordinary householder who was entitled to establish a sacred fire in his home. The Brāhmaṇa households, where sacrificial fire was kept burning constantly, are often mentioned in the Buddhist
sources and in this respect Brāhmaṇism served a very useful purpose. It made the establishment of domestic fire incumbent upon every householder and thus encouraged the settled life of villages, which were the mainstay of the growing territorial kingdoms. But the complex Śrauta sacrifices were meant only for the aristocratic classes, for these could not be performed without the help of the professional priests. The number of priests engaged in a Śrauta sacrifice was usually sixteen or seventeen leaving aside the persons engaged for performing minor ritual acts, such as the killing of the animal victims and other menial functions. The Pāli canon mentions a number of Śrauta sacrifices which brought huge profits to the officiating priests. They often received the gifts of entire villages from the kings on such occasions. Thus according to the Dīgha Nikāya, king Pasenadi bestowed the village of Ukkattha on the Brāhmaṇa Paushkarasādi, and Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, granted the village of Khānumata to the Brāhmaṇa Kūṭadanta. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa speaks of the fantastic gift of ‘tens of thousands of female slaves, ten thousands of elephants’, etc. to Udamaya Ātreya by a king of Aṅga. The account is no doubt grossly exaggerated, still there is no doubt that only kings, nobles and rich brāhmaṇa householders living on the royal bounty could afford the Śrauta sacrifices, which required the killing of a large number of animals owned by them or collected from the people for the purpose. Such a costly ritual-ridden religion could appeal only to the higher classes.

The enormous importance placed upon the sacrifice by the Vedic religion made it the cult of a class; it had little to say to the people in general. To reach the masses Brāhmaṇism had to come to terms with many non-Vedic forms of worship prevailing among them. The Gṛhvasūtra texts mention a number of ceremonies which must have
found their way into Vedic religion through popular sources. It is held that the ritual of bali-offering described in the Gṛhyaśūtras "implies a cult midway between that of the Vedic sacrifice and the sectarian sacrifice not countenanced by the orthodox". It consists of a bit of food thrown on the ground for a deity of some place which was especially connected with him. The bali-offerings are generally made to lesser Vedic and non-Vedic divinities such as Earth, Wind, All-gods (Viśvedevāh), Rudra, the Rākshasas, Siddhas, Śādhyas, Yakshas, Nāgas and the Fathers (manes). This suggests a co-mingling of the folk cults of the Vedic and non-Vedic peoples during the period represented by the sūtras. It seems that life in the rural homestead was trying to evolve a worship which, although largely Vedic in its form and spirit, was nevertheless, being influenced by local beliefs and practices. It also had the economic disabilities of a common man in view. This is shown by the description of the Caitra offerings in the Śaṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra which allows the substitution of the images of cooked food in place of animals. Even in the ashtakā rites, of which the meat offering forms the most important part, the substitute of cooked food or sthalipaka is recommended if a cow or goat is not available for the purpose. The Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa* tells us that the sacrificial essence deserted one after another all the five sacrificial animals, man, horse, ox, sheep and goat, making them unfit for sacrifice, till it finally passed into the earth, wherefrom it entered into the rice and barley which came to be used for sacrificial dishes. This does not mean that the Śrauta sacrifices were abandoned. In fact, the Gṛhya-sūtra literature takes for granted the performance of the Śrauta ritual by the pious householder; and if the Buddhist sources are to be believed, these large and expensive sacrifices were still very common in the age of the Buddha. But with the break-up of the cattle-owning tribal units and the stabili-
sation of an economy based on agriculture and trade, Vedic sacrifice had lost its meaning for the masses; and as these were now composed of many non-Vedic and non-Aryan elements also, there was need of a simpler and more adaptable ritual. So, while the protestant religions of the sixth century B. C. tried to hit at the very basis of the sacrificial cult by denying the authority of the Vedas and advocating *ahimsa*, Brāhmaṇism itself went through a gradual transformation by accommodating the principle of non-violence and assimilating non-Vedic religious belief and practices. The syncretistic process went on side by side the earlier Vedic ritual; and the regions of Bihar which gave rise to Buddhism and Jainism, the great heterodox religions of India, also provided the ground for the evolution of later Brāhmaṇism, which was a curious mixture of Vedic and non-Vedic forms of worship.

One of the non-Vedic cults which found an early entry into the Brahmanical religion was the cult of the Nāgas, and it was wide-spread in Bihar. The *Mahābhārata* describes Rājagrha, the capital of Magadha as the abode of the serpents named Arbuda, Śakravāpi, Svastika and Maṇi-nāga, and the Purāṇas tell us that king Marutta of Vaiśāli subdued the Nāgas who disturbed the sacrifices performed by the sages. According to the *Campeyya Jātaka* a Nāga king Campeyya ruled over the river Campā which flowed between Aṅga and Magadha\(^{11}\). The excavations\(^{11}\) conducted at Maniyār Maṭha in Rajgir have shown that there existed a shrine of the snake-god Maṇi-Nāga in the early centuries of the Christian era. But Nāga worship at the site seems to go back to a much earlier age. The place has yielded a number of “multiple spouted vessels” and terracotta serpents having several hoods which is apparently an indication of their divinity. These objects are assigned to a period anterior to the beginning of the Christian era. The pots
have long necks with round or flat base. It is suggested that these were used for offering milk to the divine serpent. Excavations at Vaisali and Kumrahar also have brought to light a large number of terracotta Nagas which were perhaps used for worship, and some of these are datable in the third or second century B.C. Even the name of Chotanagpur (South Bihar) is reminiscent of the deep-rooted snake-worship in this area. However, the cult of the Nagas was not confined to Bihar only; it had its strongholds in the various parts of the country from the Kashmir valley down to the Kerala state, which was known in ancient times as the Ceranadu, meaning the land of the Nagas. In the opinion of some scholars, ‘Naga’ was the generic name of the dark aboriginal semi-civilised tribes living on the Aryan periphery. As the Aryans progressed, they receded to the outer regions and many of them were absorbed into the expanding Aryan society. This is supported by the fact that many chiefs and rulers of the past are said to have Naga blood in them; and in many Brahmanical and Buddhist traditional stories Nagas appear as human beings. It seems plausible that the Aryans adopted the worship of the snakes through contact with the non-Aryan tribes, who were worshippers of snake and regarded it as highly sacred. There is no trace of snake-worship in the Rgveda although Vrtra, the drought-demon, is conceived as a snake. But we get some indication of the prevalence of the snake cult in the Harappa culture from a faience sealing which shows a seated figure with hooded cobra overhead and a worshipper on either side. The earliest literary evidence is found in the Taittiriya Samhita which prescribes bali-offerings to the terrestrial, aerial and celestial Nagas. The Ghyya-sutras describe in detail the ritual of sarpa-bali which began on the full-moon day of Sravana and continued for the four months of the rainy season till the full-moon day of Margasrsha. It is suggested.
that the dread of snakes was largely at the root of the homage paid to them, for the danger of snake bite was most keenly felt during the rainy season. But this is certainly not the whole explanation. Snakes are associated with fertility by the primitive peoples all over the world and the *Mahābhārata* passage quoted earlier confirms this view. It speaks of Mañināga as the protector and rain-giver of Rājagṛha which, shows that in Magadha Nāgas were regarded as benevolent deities. The Buddhist legends also often refer to their benevolent character; and the story of the Nāga king Mucalinda sheltering the Buddha for seven days from strong winds and hailstorms at Uruvela in Gayā is mentioned in the *Vinaya piṭaka*. But their harmful nature was also well-known and the Buddha had to provide the monks with a “saving chant” the *Mahānāsīya suttanta*, for protection against snakes.¹⁷

Another important feature of the popular religion of Bihar was the worship of the Yakshas, a class of demi-gods, mentioned¹⁸ in the Gṛhya-sūtras for the first time. The Yakshas also, like the Nāgas, were both malevolent and benevolent. Generally the female Yakṣī was conceived as cruel and evil-minded. The man-eating demoness Tāṭakā, who used to haunt the Malada and Karusha, Janapadas situated, perhaps, in the Shahabad district and killed by Rāma, is described as Yakṣī in the *Rāmāyana*.¹⁹ The Buddhist goddess Hāriti also was a Yakṣinī who used to eat up children, but the Buddha converted her into a lover of children. However, many Yakshas were friendly beings, who granted the prayers of their worshippers. They were supposed to give sons to barren women, stop epidemics and guard wealth. They often appear as tree-spirits associated with fertility and receiving offerings of flesh and blood. The Gṛhya-sūtras recommend the worship of Vaiṣravaṇa (Kubera) the pot-bellied king of the Yakshas, along with Īśāna, which fact suggests the phallic nature of
the two gods. Early Jain and Buddhist texts refer to many Yakshas such as Suciśoma, Indrakūṭa, Ajakalāpaka and Sārandada, worshipped by the people of Bihar. The first three were worshipped at Gayā, Rājagṛha and Paṭaliputra respectively and the last two at Vaiśālī. The worshippers of the Yakshas Maṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra are mentioned in a passage of the Mahānīddesa and a shrine of Pūrṇabhadra existed at Campā in the time of Sudharman, a disciple of Mahāvīra. Several sites in Bihar, such as Lohanipur, Patna and Didarganj have yielded some of the earlier extant Yaksha images, but some of these probably belong to the post-Maurya period. It seems that in earlier times a Yaksha shrine (Yaksha-sthāna) consisted of simply an altar or a mound below a tree which was supposed to be the abode of a Yaksha. It was usually situated outside the town or village in a forest or on the bank of a river or tank. The Yakshasthāna near Campā existed in a forest on the outskirts of the town. Sometimes dead ancestors were supposed to have become Yakshas. The door-keeper of Vaiśālī and the custom officers of Rājagṛha and Campā are said to have become Yakshas after their death, and they asked their respective sons in a dream to build Yakshasthānas for them. This shows that the Yaksha worship was closely related with ancestor-worship. In Jain and Buddhist works Yaksha is a ‘title of honour’, and it is applied to the Buddha, Indra and some other deities also. A Jain source tells us that the Mātaṅgas, a lowly graded aboriginal tribe, built the shrine of the Jakkhas (Yakshas) over the bones of the human beings who had died recently.

The worship of the funeral mounds was an important ingredient of the pre-historic popular religion of Bihar, and the practice was so deeply entrenched in the eastern soil that it influenced more or less all the major religions.
of the time. Buddhists made full use of the cult of the stūpas or tumuli. A Buddhist tradition tells us that eight stūpas or tumuli were raised over the divided relics of the Buddha by their recipients, and these were worshipped by the followers of the Buddha. Aśoka opened them to divide the relics still further for building stūpas all over India. The remains of the holy monks also were often enshrined in the stūpas and venerated by the people. The Jains too erected stūpas as memorials for their dead in early times; but they did not give the custom as much importance as the Buddhists. Early brāhmaṇical religion tried to assimilate this practice by projecting into it its own ideas of social jurisprudence and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa lays down that the funeral mounds of a Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra should be built of the height of a man’s head, shoulders, thighs and knees respectively.

The shrines containing the votive stūpas were known as the caityas. These might also include a sacred tree or a grove of trees supposed to be haunted by a spirit or Yaksha. There were a large number of the caityas in the Vaiśāli region. The purāṇas tell us that king Marutta of Vaiśāli, who was a great patron of the Vedic religion had many caityas constructed throughout his kingdom. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta the Buddha predicted that as long as the Vajjians would continue to worship their caityas in the town or country they could not be expected to decline. The important caityas at Vaiśāli were Udēna (Udayana), Sattrāmbaka (Saptāmraka), Bahuputta (Bahuputraka), Gotamoka, Sārandada, Cāpāla and Markaṭahhrada. The first four were situated on the east, west, north and south sides of the city and the rest near the famous ‘Monkey Tank’ (Markaṭa-hrada). The Buddhist sources also indicate the existence of a caitya at Mithilā named Lakṣimathara. Buddhaghosha informs us that the caityas
of Vaiśāli were the places of Yaksha worship\(^7\). Apparently the cults of the Yakshas and the stūpas represented identical cultural complex which came in close contact with Brāhmaṇism in the age of the Gṛhya-sūtras. The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra mentions the ritual of bali offering to a caitya\(^8\). It recommends that the offering should be sent by the householder through a messenger. It further states that if the path from the village to the caitya is beset with danger, the householder should give the messenger some weapon for his protection, or if a navigable river lies between the village and the caitya, then the householder should provide him with something like a raft. This shows that a caitya was generally outside the village along the lonely roads and sometimes one had to cross a river or stream to reach it. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanata, the Buddha enjoins Ānanda to erect over the remains of his body a stūpa at the crossing of the four highways. Obviously, this would be on the outskirts of the village or town. We may note that the Gṛhya-sūtras especially prescribe bali-offerings for the place where the four roads meet. The incorporation of such religious practices in the Gṛhya ritual was an important step towards the popularisation of Brāhmaṇism.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya throws a good deal of light on the state of Brāhmaṇism around 300 B.C. It mentions a number of Vedic and non-Vedic divinities whose worship it recommends with equal fervour; but their Purānic traits are not yet clearly discernible, and there is no trace of the sectarian adoration of the great gods of Hinduism. In its chapter on *durganiveśa*, the *Arthaśāstra*\(^9\) lays down that in the centre of the capital city should be situated the temples of Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravana, the Aśvins and the abodes of the two goddesses Šrī and Madirā. The identity of the
first three deities is uncertain, as in the later mythology these epithets are applied to several gods such as, Vishnu, Siva and Skanda, rather indiscriminately. However, Indra (Vaijyanta), Siva, Vaishravana and the Asvins, the divine physicians of the Vedic pantheon, were evidently important divinities at the time and so were the goddesses Sri and Madira. The latter must have been a goddess with a terrible aspect. Her worship merged into that of Durga in course of time. The passage further speaks of the tute- lary deities of the sites (Vastudevatah) and the quarters (digdevatah), who are to be established in their appropriate places. It names the four principal gates of the city after the gods Brahma, Indra, Yama and Senapati, three of whom are the well-known Vedic deities. The last-mentioned god does not appear in the Vedic literature but he appears to have been a prototype of the Puranic god Karthikeya. The passage also refers to a caitya and states that the caitya, punyasthana place of worship, grove and causeway should be built at a distance of hundred bows from the trench round the fort. A little later reference is made to the image of a snake-god (naga-pratima). This shows that Nagas were worshipped in their iconographic forms. The number of divinities mentioned in the Arthaśāstra is fairly large, and these are both Vedic and non-Vedic. There is an invocation addressed to deities Aditi, Anumati, Sarasvati, Sun, Agni, Soma, Earth and Atmosphere (bhuvah) in the chapter detailing the means of causing injury to the enemy. The magic formulae prescribed for such purposes contain the names of a host of female deities and demons as Suvarnapushpi, Brahmāṇi, Paulomi, Amile Viśāle, Dantakaṭake and so on. Among the demons invoked we find the names of Bali, the son of Virocana Sambara—described as one who is well-versed in a hundred kinds of magic—Bhanḍtrapāka, Naraka, Nikumbha, Kumbha, Tantukaccha, Maṇḍelūka, Kṛṣṇa
and Kaṃsa. The mention of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṃsa in this list is curious; it show that both of them were folk divinities receiving homage from the people. We may venture to state that the evidence of the Arthaśāstra casts doubts upon the historicity of the Kṛṣṇa legend as narrated in the Purāṇas and accepted by many scholars with unflinching credulity. Beside the worship of many Vedic gods and godlings, the Arthaśāstra shows that the cult of Vedic sacrifice was still a powerful institution receiving full state patronage. The ideal king in the Arthaśāstra has a Purohita (chief priest), a Rtvijā (one who officiates at a sacrifice) and an Ācārya (holy-preceptor), in his permanent employment and they are among the highest-paid officials of the state. The king is to grant brahmadeya lands free from all kinds of taxes to these priests and the Śrotriyas, that is, the Brāhmaṇas who are well-versed in the Vedic learnings. It further lays down that the ījyāsthāna or the sacrificial hall should be situated near the palace, and the king should pay to it a daily visit. Apparently, the Brāhmaṇas continued to observe the Vedic ritual with the support of the kings and nobles.

However, the interaction of Vedic and non-Vedic elements on the eastern soil resulted not only in making the Brahmanical religion more varied and expansive, it also gave a fillip to the intellectual activities; and there was remarkable progress in the field of philosophy which found its culmination in the Upanishads. The early Upanishads which may be assigned to the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., are deeply concerned with the problems of the origin of the Universe, the cause of life and death, and the fate of the dead. Out of such speculations emerge the concepts of Brahman or the ‘Universal Soul’ and Ātman, the ‘self’, and the doctrine of transmigration with its corollary theory of Karma. Although it may be pretentious to say that the
regions of Bihar provided the ground for the development of these ideas, we may not be wrong in holding that the contribution of Bihar in this field was by no means small. Reference has been made to Yājñavalkya and king Janaka of Videha both of whom were renowned philosophers. In the *Byhadaranyaka Upanishad* the former is connected with the doctrine of Karma, which he explained to Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga in answer to his query about life after death. Yājñavalkya told Jāratkārava that the question could not be discussed in public; and so the two went out and argued, "and what they said was Karma and what they praised was Karma". The passage shows that the idea that the deeds of one life determine the next was not yet popular among the priests; and only a few were prepared to discuss it privately. Yājñavalkya was a native of Mithilā, and if the evidence of the *Byhadaranyaka Upanishad* is to be believed the theory of Karma developed among the philosophers of Mithilā.

Another teaching with which the name of Yājñavalkya is persistently associated is the philosophy of neti neti. The problem of the nature of Brahman, the ultimate reality which is equated with Ātman in the Upanishads, agitated deeply the minds of the intellectuals of the time, and Yājñavalkya tried to explain it by the negative method. "He, the Ātman, is not this, He is inconceivable,...... unchangeable...... unattached...... unlettered...... does not suffer...... does not fail...." so spoke Yājñavalkya in the *Byhadaranyaka Upanishad*. The fact that the Buddha considered it necessary to indulge in a vigorous polemic against the theory of the Ātman shows that it was well-known and keenly discussed in the intellectual circle of Bihar. The purāṇas state that the Maithilas were generally skilled in the knowledge of the Ātman.

Janaka of Videha, the patron of Yājñavalkya, was another great thinker of Mithilā. It is said that he received
the knowledge of Brahman or the Brahmāvidyā from Yaţñavalkya and taught it to many other sages. His court was adorned by many great names of the time such as Aśvala, Uddālaka Āruṇi, Jaratkārava Ārtabhāga, Bhujju Lāhya-yanī, Uśasta Cakṛāyaṇa, Gārgī Vācakanavī, Vidagdha Śakālya and Kanoda Kauṣītakeya. His stoical nature is fully borne out by his famous saying “in this blazing city of Mithilā nothing of mine is burning”.

A similar feeling of detachment is seen in Maitreyī, the wife of Yaţñavalkya. When Yaţñavalkya decided to leave his home and become an ascetic, he told Maitreyī that he wished to make a settlement on her and his second wife Kātyāyanī. Maitreyī, however, spurned the worldly riches which could not lead her to immortality; and she requested her philosopher husband to give her the knowledge of the self in place of material things. Yaţñavalkya taught her “Where there seems to be a duality of self and not-self one sees, smells, tastes, perceives, hears, touches and knows something other. But when all is the self there is no consciousness of anything other than self...this is immortality”. Here we have the beginnings of the famous principle of advaita or ‘non-duality’ which was to provide later the basis of the Vedānta philosophy of Śaṅkara.

The emphasis on detachment and mystical meditation, which characterises the Upanishadic thought, signifies, in the opinion of the scholars, an intellectual revolt against the excessive formalism of the cult of Vedic sacrifices; and many great minds of the time chose the life of a recluse practising asceticism. It is pointed out that even in the age of the Rgveda there was a class of holy men known as the munis and yatis, the former among the Vedic and the latter among the non-Vedic peoples, who led the life of poverty, contemplation and self-mortification. According to one view even the munis were non-Aryans, and the
beginning of yogic practices are traced to the Indus Valley Civilisation. Another view seeks to establish a close relationship between the Yogi ascetics and the Vrātyas. The question is too complicated to be dealt herewith, perhaps, the Indian ascetic practices were derived from all these sources, and by the time of the Upanishads ascetic life became very wide-spread. A. L. Basham writes that at the root of the growth of asceticism lay not only a dissatisfaction with the sacrificial cult but 'a deep psychological uneasiness' which was caused by the feeling of insecurity due to the break-up of tribal units which had so far given the people a sense of group solidarity; and many seekers of the truth turned towards asceticism to look for the eternal happiness away from the materialistic world. It was among these forest recluses and hermits that the new philosophic doctrines developed; and Pāli texts speak of a number of Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical ascetic groups flourishing in Magadha in the age of the Buddha, such as the Ājivikas, Niganthas, Munda-sāvakas, Jaṭilas and Parībājikas. The first three were non-Brahmanical but the Jaṭilas seem to have been orthodox ascetics with long braided hair. Many of them lived in Magadha and the Vajji country. According to the Mahāsāṃghika the Buddha converted to Buddhism one thousand Jaṭilas headed by Uruvela Kassapa at Gayā. They used to perform the annual Vedic sacrifice with great ceremony. The Parivrājakasas were wandering mendicants noted for their learning. They preached an astounding variety of doctrines which were not always in conformity with the Vedic traditions. The Buddhist sources depict them as teachers who roamed from place to place giving instructions in ethics, philosophy and nature-lore. There are frequent references to special houses erected for their stay and known as the parībājaka-āramas. This shows that the Parivrājakas were held in high esteem. There were at least three Parībājaka-āramas. This
shows that the Parivrājakas were held in high esteem. There were at least three parībhājaka-ārāmas in the Vaiśālī region\textsuperscript{47} and a few at Srāvasti, Rājaγṛha and Campā. Popular veneration of the ascetics and the mystics affected the Vedic social system, which was deeply attached to the hearth; and it recognised the virtues of ascetic life by evolving the theories of the four stages of life of which the last two were dedicated to asceticism. The Dharmasūtras mention for the first time a full-fledged Brahmanical ascetic order named the Vaikhānasa or Vānaprastha; and it is mainly the ideas and speculations of this class of hermits, that are found embodied in the early Upanishads. The early Upanishads contain a large body of doctrines reflecting the views of different teachers whose regional associations are only rarely mentioned, and their teachings are often contradictory making no effort at systematisation. The six systems of philosophy are much later in date, although the Śvetāsvatara Upanishad mentions the Sāṅkhya and Yoga by name. Unfortunately, the date of this work is uncertain. However, as the fundamental principles of Buddhism and the Sāṅkhya system have much in common, it is reasonable to hold that the modes of thought which were later formally enunciated in the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy were current in Magadha in the sixth century B.C. The Arthaśāstra says that the science of Ānvīkṣikī (Dialectics) consists of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata. This shows that till the end of the fourth century B.C the Nyāya, Vaśeshika and the Uttarā and Pūrva Mīmāṁsās had not developed as schools of philosophy. The term Ānvīkṣikī is now applied only to the Nyāyaśāstra or Logic, but it does not seem to have been regarded as an independent science in the age of Kauṭilya.

**Literature and Education**

The earliest trace of some kind of literary effort in Videha may be gleaned from the legend mentioned in the
Vishnupurāṇa crediting Yajñavalkya with the authorship of the white recension of the Yajurveda; although, in the age of Janaka and Yajñavalkya the land of the Kurupancalas and not Videha was the centre of the Vedic culture, and Āṅga and Magadha were yet to be Brahmanised. It has been suggested that at least some portions of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bhadāranyaka Upanishad, where Yajñavalkya appears as the principal authority, were written in North Bihar; but the first definite indication of literary activities in the east is found in Pāṇini's Āṣṭādhyāyī which refers to the views of eastern grammarians regarding the morphology, phonetics and syntax of the eastern dialect. Apparently in the age of Pāṇini there existed a body of literature produced in the east on which such speculations were based, but, unfortunately, it is completely lost. Pāṇini refers to a class of authors who wrote in the śloka metre. The numerous floating verses embodied in the Epics, Purāṇas and Smṛtis are perhaps, to be attributed to these versatile authors. It is suggested that many of these belonged to the Sūta and the Māgadhī class which was the custodian of the Epic and Purānic legends. We have seen that the Māgadhas were an eastern people associated with the Vṛātyas; in the Purushamedha sacrifice mentioned in the Vājasaneyī Sanhita, the man of Magadha is dedicated to the god Atikrūṣṭa (Loud Noise), and Māgadha means a minstrel in later literature. From these pieces of evidence it has been inferred rightly that Magadha was the seat of minstrelsy in ancient times, and the Māgadhas used to sing "loud songs" in praise of ancient heroes and kings. It follows that they must have produced some kind of popular poetry which is now embodied in the vast mass of the epic and purānic writings; but as this class of literature later passed into the hands of the Brāhmaṇas, who infused into it much of the didactic material, the share of the Māgadhas in the extant version is merely a matter of conjecture.
In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. kingdom of Magadha had already embarked upon its expansionist career; and its rising importance must have given a great impetus to cultural activities in this region. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya which is an invaluable work on Brahmanical statecraft was apparently written at the Maurya court, and it is very likely that some of the political authorities cited by Kautilya also belonged to Bihar, for the political condition of Magadha and the adjoining regions was most suitable for such speculations, and it was in Magadha that imperialism found its first foothold.

The Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the Jain *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Harisena and the Buddhist work *Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* refer to Subandhu, a brāhmaṇa minister of Nanda, Candragupta and Bindusāra. Raghavan identifies him with one mentioned in Abhinavagupta’s *Abhinava-bhāratī*. This Subandhu is credited with having written a unique kind of dramatic composition in which it was set within another in such a manner that the characters of each preceding act became the spectators of the next; the work was known as the *Vasavadatta Naṭyadhāra*. If the story of his connection with the Magadhan monarchs is correct, it would show that by the end of the fourth century B.C. there had been great progress in the field of literature.

A tradition mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vatsyāyana relates that a Brāhmaṇa named Dattaka wrote an exhaustive treatise on the courtesan’s art at the request of the public women of Pātaliputra. He was perhaps a contemporary of Kautilya. The work is now lost to us, but Kautilya refers to the teachers of *vaiśikakalā* giving lessons to prostitutes.

Much more valuable is the tradition found in Rājaśekhara’s *Kavyamināṃśa* which states that a test of the authors of the Śāstras (*śāstrakāra-parīkhā*) was held at Pātaliputra,
in which such great scholars as Upavarsha, Varsha, Pāṇini, Pingala, Vyādi, Vararuci and Patañjali were examined. The list is supposed to be chronological, but if Upavarsha is taken to be the commentator of the Mīmāṃsāsūtra of Jaimini written around B. C. 200, he could not have been earlier than Pāṇini. We must bear in mind that Kauṭilya does not mention Mīmāṃsā among the systems of philosophy, nor does he include in the curriculum prescribed for the prince. However, if we accept the view that Sāṅkhya in Kauṭilya does not mean the system of philosophy known as such but metaphysical knowledge in general, then it is possible to accept him as a predecessor of Pāṇini.

The second name in the list is that of Varsha, the reputed teacher of Pāṇini. Pāṇini himself was a westerner hailing from Sālāṭura, a suburb of Taxila. It seems that Pāṭaliputra gained importance with the rise of Magadha as a powerful kingdom, and scholars from the west were drawn towards it. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri thinks that the fall of Taxila into the hands of Darius, resulted in the decadence of this ancient seat of Vedic learning and 'the intellectual capital of India' was transferred from Taxila to Pāṭaliputra. Distinguished scholars from the west, such as Varsha, Upavarsha and Pāṇini, were compelled to turn eastwards and seek patronage at Pāṭaliputra. The Bṛhatkathā speaks of Pāṇini as a friend of a Nanda king.

The Śāstrakāra Pingala of the list is evidently the celebrated writer of the Chandas-sūtra dealing with the rules of prosody. Haraprasad Sastri identifies him with the teacher of Aśoka Maurya mentioned in the Divyāvadānamalā. If so, his work must have been written around third century B.C. at the court of Pāṭaliputra.
The remaining three authors mentioned in the list are all grammarians of repute. Vyādi Dākshayāna was a descendant of Pāṇini, perhaps his great-great grandson, as is suggested by his matronymic, for Dākshā was the gotra name of Pāṇini's mother. He wrote a work called Samgraha containing 100,000 verses. It is quoted twice by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya and Bhartrhari says that the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali is based on the Samgraha. Vyādi also compiled a lexicon named Utpalint, but none of his works has survived. According to a legend mentioned in the Byhatkathā, he was a contemporary of Vararuci Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana wrote the Vārttikas on Pāṇini perhaps about the third century B.C.; but the Ārya-Mahājñāpana describes him as a minister of king Nanda. We need not dilate on the famous grammarian Patañjali who lived in the second century B.C. It seems that the works of these men of letters were scrutinised and acclaimed highly by the sabhā of the Magadhan kings. Megasthenes tells us that at the beginning of the New Year all the philosophers gathered at the Great Assembly where 'anyone of them who might have committed anything useful to writing', declared it publicly. This reminds us of the parishad of the Pāncālas to which Śvetaketu went after the completion of his studies. His knowledge was tested by the Pāncāla king Prāvahaṇa Jaivali, a contemporary of Janaka, who put to him several difficult questions. Similar gatherings were held at the court of Janaka where public disputations took place, and the winner was given reward. In the Grhya-sūtras a rite for victory in debates is prescribed; this shows that literary debates were very common. The Buddhist sources refer to special assembly-halls known as kāṭāgāras built for such purposes.

The keen interest taken by the kings of Mithila, Anga and Magadha in the progress of Brahmanical learning must have contributed a great deal to its advancement and
dissemination and early Buddhist texts show Brahanical
teachers flourishing all over Bihar under royal patronage. They
are described as Brāhmaṇa mahāśālas living on the royal fiefs
and supporting as many as three hundred to five hundred
students who came from different parts of the country to receive
instructions in the Vedic knowledge. Many such institutions existed in Kośala and Aṅga-Magadha in the times of
Pasenadi and Bimbisāra. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta tells
us that Mahāgovinda founded seven mahāśalās or colleges in
the seven main kingdoms of his time, one of which was
Aṅga with Campā as its capital. Only Brāhmaṇa youths
could get an admission to these colleges each of which had
not less than three hundred students. Along with these
were āśramas or hermitages founded by distinguished sages.
The Tītīri Jātaka refers to one such āśrama where the Vedas
were chanted and taught. According to the Mahābhārata
the hermitage of Ṛṣi Kāṇva on the Mālinī, a tributary
of the Sarayū, had a large number of students who were
taught a large variety of subjects. The Majjhima Nikāya speaks
of two teachers, Ārāda Kālāma and Udra Rāmaputra
living between Rājagṛha and Uruvela giving instructions
to pupils in Yoga. Apart from these, there were Brāhmaṇa
parivrājakas, who constituted a 'travelling school'. However,
it seems that in the age of the Buddha, Taxila was still the
principal seat of learning and the princes and Brāhmaṇas
from Kośala, Videha and Magadha went to it for higher
education.

Although there are a few cases of the Brāhmaṇa
priests receiving instructions from the Kshatriya kings
mentioned in the Upanishads, the teaching profession was
exclusively the privilege of the Brāhmaṇas, and they not
only trained Brāhmaṇa students for their future vocation of
priesthood but also taught the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas.
There were restrictions on the Śudras, and a Jātaka story
tells us how two Cāndāla youths who had disguised them-
selves as Brāhmaṇas were expelled by the Brāhmaṇa teacher. However, women could still receive education, although Megasthenes states that the Brāhmaṇa as a rule did not teach philosophy to their women-folk. But in the Upanishadic age there were many educated women and the instances of Gārgī and Maitreyī are well-known. Kātyāyana refers to women teachers who were known as Upādhyāyā or Upādhyāyī, and distinguishes them from Upādhyāyants; that is wives of teachers. Women could also take to ascetic life, although the practice was discouraged by Kauṭilya. Nevertheless it seems that at least in the early period there were women ascetics not only among the Jains and the Buddhists but also among the Brāhmaṇas. The introductory portion of the Culla-Kālīṅga Jātaka mentions four Licchavi sisters who had become parivṛjīkās and were defeated by Sāriputta at Śrāvasti. In the Bhadāranyaka Upanishad Maitreyī is described as a Brahmavādīnī.

The Jātakas speak of the Brāhmaṇa teachers teaching the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās. In the Sutta Piṭaka, the Brāhmaṇa students are described as studying the three Vedas, Nighanta (etymology) Keśubha (ritual) Itihāsa, Veyyakarana (grammar) and Lokāyata (causistry). The Chāndogya and the Bhadāranyaka Upanishads provide us with an exhaustive list of the subjects studied. These include the four Vedas, Itihāsa-Purāṇa, Upanishads, Vakvaṅkya (Logic) Ethics, Bhūtavidyā (science of demons); Kṣattra-vidyā (the science of weapons), Nakshatra-vidyā (astronomy), etc. However, Kauṭilya mentions the four sciences to be studied by the royal student as Trayī or the three Vedas, Ānvikshiki (dialectics), Vārtā (economics) and Daṇḍaniti (political science). The sūtra literature shows that by the end of the fourth century B.C. Brāhmaṇic education had become highly organised and there were elaborate rules for its regulation. The duration of the period of student-
ship consisted of twelve years usually but sometimes it was extended to thirty-two years. According to Megasthenes, the Indian student spent thirty-seven years in study. Strict obedience was expected of him, and he was subjected to rigid discipline. The high veneration and social prestige enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇa must have been a good deal due to his long and vigorous training and abstemious life.

References

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3. Śāṅkhyāyaṇa Śrauta-sūtra, XVII. 6. 2.
4. Dīgha Nikāya XX and XXII.
6. Astārya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 22.
8. Śāṅkhyāyaṇa Gṛhya-Sūtra, IV. 19.
9. Śat. Brāhmaṇa, I. 2. 3. 6.
11. Fausböll, Jātakas, No. 506.
14. Recent excavations at Buxar & Campā have also brought terracotta Serpents in the IVBP level 5th to 2nd Cent. B.C. Terracotta snake figure have been found in the neolithic state in Chirand (Varand districts) showing the antiquity of the nāga cult to the prehistoric period in Bihar—Ed.
23. Bihar Through the Ages, p. 118.
27. Dialogues of the Buddha, II, p. 80, notes 2 and 3.
30. Al., V. 2.
31. Ibid., XIV. 1.
32. Ibid., XIV. 3.
37. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, IX. 13. 27; Vishnu Purāṇa, VI. 6. 7-9, VII. 27f.
38. Mbh., XII. 17. 18-19; 219. 50.
39. Basham, The Wonder that was India, p. 256.
41. Yaduvanshi, Śaiva Mata, p. 7.
42. R. P. Chanda, MASI, No. 31, p. 33.
43. Bihar Through the Ages, p. 121; cf, Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 153.
44. Basham, of. cit., p. 246.
46. Mahābhārata, Geiger's translation, p. 4.
47. Y. Misra, op. cit.
49. Pāṇini, III. 190; III. 4. 18, IV. 1. 17, 43; 160; V. 3. 80; V. 4. 101; VIII. 2. 86. See S. K. De, History of Bengal, I, pp. 291-3.
50. Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 329f.
51. M. M. Haraprasad Sastrī, Magadhan Literature, p. 23f.
52. S. N. Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, I, p. 370.
53. V. Raghavan, The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 353.
CHAPTER XI

Society and Economic Conditions up to 600 B.C.

The Mingling of Aryan and Pre-Aryan Societies

The social history of Bihar during this period is not known in detail due to the lack of reliable sources throwing light on this aspect. The bulk of the Vedic literature which belongs to this period was composed outside Bihar. Though Mithilā had become a great seat of learning during this period, only two Upanishads are known to have been composed there. The picture of the social life as gleaned from the later Vedic sources is one-sided, as they mostly refer to the higher sections of the society, and the life of the commonfolk is not known much. Often they give conflicting accounts which add to our difficulties. However, they reveal that the later Vedic period was the era of the consolidation of the Aryan culture in Bihar. The Ātavāptha Brāhmaṇa recognises through the well-known legend of Videgaha Māthava's crossing the Sadānīrā river that the Vedic culture entered Videha later than Kośala. On purely archaeological data, the Aryan migration into India took place round about 1500 B.C. It is also beyond doubt that a neolithic culture in this region continued till long after the Christian era. Hence, while we have an account of the Aryanised society in the contemporary literature, we are in much darkness as regards the life of the pre-Aryan societies that flourished in the different parts of Bihar at the different stages of their cultural evolution. It is only at about 600 B.C. that the literary sources, the Pāli texts, refer to the life of the commoners of this region. The extent to which the later Vedic sources reveal the life of the higher sections in this region is also not known precisely. But as the Aryan
society was more or less the same at this stage throughout Northern India, we have relied on the later Vedic literature for the social and economic history of Bihar during this period.

The Aryan immigrants seem to have entered Bihar in two phases. Prior to the influx of the main body, Aryans seem to have made their way through the dense forests in small detachments. In the opinion of Oldenberg, Magadha was the abode of the early Aryan immigrants who were pioneers in advance of the general body of the Aryans. These early Aryans, who had become detached from the main body, seem to have been practising laxity, mingling freely with the local people, the pre-Aryans. It was quite natural for them who were like an island in the vast population of the pre-Aryans to be influenced by the local social and religious practices. In due course they developed certain ways of the pre-Aryans in their social and religious life, which went contrary to those which were being developed in the west by their brethren. And, later, when they came into contact with the main body of the Aryans, the latter refused to recognise them as the true representatives of the Vedic culture and called them Vrātyas. The division of the Vrātya society into Brāhmaṇa, Kahatriya and Vaiṣya suggests that the Aryans who in association of the pre-Aryans had abandoned some of their Vedic practices and had adopted the way of life of the pre-Aryans were known as Vrātyas. The Vrātyas were regarded as semi-Brahmanised. Their liberal outlook was not appreciated by those who had developed a puritan view of the society. In course of time all those who did not live according to the norms of the orthodox Brāhmaṇas were called Vrātyas. This is why the Mallas, Kāruśas and Licchavis were regarded as Vrātyas.

It is obvious that it was a period of the intermixture of the Aryan and pre-Aryan elements in Bihar. It was the
region of North-Eastern India where the growing intermix-
ture and synthesis of the Aryan and pre-Aryan streams of
culture manifested themselves distinctly in the later Vedic
period and gave rise later on to momentous movements
in religion and philosophy. In the opinion of some
philologists, the Aryans of this region, the eastern outland
appear to have belonged to that branch which shows more
contacts with those amenable to non-Aryan influences.
Probably the Aryan society of this region liberally welcomed
the pre-Aryans during this period and assimilated them in
the different castes. Caste rigidity seems to have deve-
loped slowly. Had rigidity been practised in the beginning
of this period, Aryan expansion and the subsequent assim-
ilation of pre-Aryan tribes in the Aryan fold would have
been adversely affected. Bihar was witnessing the conso-
olidation of Aryan culture which would not have been rapid
unless a certain degree of laxity in social intercourse, as in
the Ṛgvedic period was practised. The Brhadāraṇyaka
Upanishad which was composed in Mithilā during this
period gives a long list of Brāhmaṇa teachers, some of
whom have peculiar names. This may suggest that those
teachers came from the pre-Aryan stock. It appears that
those who were functioning as priests among the pre-
Aryans were assimilated in the priestly class of the Aryans.
Similarly the tribal chiefs seem to have been given place
among the Kshatriyas. The pre-Aryans who were called
Śūdras were given proper respect according to their social
status by the Aryans. Thus, the Mahābhārata says that
respectable Śūdras were invited to the great sacrifice of King
Yudhishthira. The chief of the Nishādas, like the Rathakāra,
was given the right of Vedic sacrifice. It is further
revealed that during the early portion of this period the
Aryans and pre-Aryans were inter-marrying freely to a great
extent. When Varna distinction became well-marked,
marital relations between the females of the higher sections
of the society and males of the lower sections were prohi-
bitted. There are instances to show that priests and
nobles were marrying females of the lower castes. The
Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa describes Vatsa as Śūdrāputra, son of
a Śūdra female. According to the Vāyu Purāṇa, Kakshīvat,
the son of Dirghatamas was born of a Śūdra maid-servant
of king Bali, and he is described in the Mahābhārata as one
of Śūdra birth (Śūdrayoni). That Vedavyāsa was born of
Satyavatī, daughter of a fisherman is well-known. Parāśara,
Kāpiśjalāda, Vaśiṣṭha and Mandapāla are described in the
Mahābhārata as born of Śūdra mothers. Among the wives
of the king, one known as the Pāḷāgali, was Śūdra.

Social Organisation

The picture of the society during the later portion of
this period is not the same as during that of active Aryan
expansion in the beginning. With the march of time, the
social laws of the Aryans were gradually tending to become
rigid. The notion of the four Varṇas was becoming deep-
rooted in society, and even gods were being regarded as
divided into different Varṇas. The division of society into
the four Varṇas began to be treated as co-existent with
creation. But this does not seem to have been the case in
the beginning. The Brhadāraṇyaka Upanishad reveals that
it was regard for the welfare of the society, the proper func-
tioning of the social organism, which was responsible for
the emergence of the four Varṇas. This division not very
clear during the Ṛgvedic period, became well defined during
the later Vedic Age. The distinctions of the three higher
Varṇas, the Brāhmaṇa, the Kshatriya and the Vaiṣya be-
came more and more marked. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
reveals that the members of the different Varṇas were to
be addressed in different terms. The sizes of piṇḍas to
be offered to the manes were not to be the same for all
the three Varṇas, nor the wood for sprinkling water at the
time of sacrifices was to be the same for all. Gayatri mantra was to be recited by the members of the three Varṇas, each starting with a different word. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa reveals that the Brāhmaṇa, the Kshatriya and the Vaiśya recited the Gayatri, the Trishṭubha and the Jagati respectively at the time of the initiation rite. The Taïtiriya Brāhmaṇa prescribes that the Brāhmaṇa, the Kshatriya and the Vaiśya are to perform sacrifices in the spring, the summer and the autumn respectively. All these show that the different castes were becoming well-defined with their duties, privileges and liabilities. The Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas, the two higher Varṇas appear as dominant forces in the society with their mutual antagonism and political alliances. They were being distinguished from the Vaiśya and Śūdras, and a special position was given to them in the society. Thus, the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa says that the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya enclose the Vaiśya and the Śūdra; those who are neither Brāhmaṇas nor Kshatriyas are incomplete. There are prayers for the protection of these privileged Varṇas. The Vaiśya and the Śūdra were excluded from the game of dice, a rite in the Rājasūya, though formerly they had been participating in this rite.

During this period there came into existence a new factor, the introduction of divisions among the ordinary freemen, the Vaiśyas and the development of a large and complicated system of caste which converted the simple distinction of the Vaiśya and the Śūdra into an ever-increasing number of endogamous hereditary groups practising one occupation or at least restricted to a small number of occupations. Two factors seem to have been mainly responsible for the multiplication of castes; the force of occupation which later became clearly revealed in the Pāli texts and the intermixture of different castes, as the texts permit only anuloma marriages.
Evidence of change of one's caste is extremely rare though it was a simple affair in the Rgvedic society. Viśvāmitra who in the Ṛgveda figures as the Purohita of king Sudāsa is described in the Pañcatiṣṭha Brāhmaṇa as one of royal descent.\(^{24}\) Though one could follow the profession of a Varṇa other than his own, he could not change his own Varṇa. The Mahābhārata shows that Karna could not be accepted as a king because of his supposed birth, and in spite of his unparalleled valour, remained a Śūtaputra, son of a charioteer\(^{25}\). It was on this ground that he was not acceptable to Draupadi as her husband\(^{26}\). Droṇācārya and Kṛpācārya were Brāhmaṇas, but wielded arms. The Āitareya Brāhmaṇa describes king Viśvantara as sacrificing without his priest of the svāparṇa group. But the king might have engaged priests of other groups for the purpose, who were present on the occasion\(^{27}\). The Brāhmaṇa could follow Kshatriya crafts, but the Kshatriya lost his earlier privilege of functioning as the Vedic teacher and officiating as a priest. However, the age of the Upanishads produced such Kshatriyas at whose feet even Brāhmaṇas took pride to sit and study. Though the conception of 'Karmanā Varṇa' is referred to here and there, the society in general seems to have clung to the idea of hereditary caste and profession. No low-born could perform the duties of the privileged sections. Rāma had to behead Śambuka, the Śūdra, as the latter was performing penance.

Social life in this period was also marked by caste conflict which manifested itself in the form of rivalry for supremacy between the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya. Sometimes the Brāhmaṇa is described as occupying a position higher than that of the Kshatriya and at places the latter is shown superior to the former. Thus, the Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas highly eulogise the Brāhmaṇa.\(^{28}\) These eulogies reveal that firstly, the Brāhmaṇas claimed divinity for themselves and secondly, they asserted superiority
over the Kshatriyas who occupied the second place in the hierarchy of the Varṇas. The Taittirīya Samhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describe the Brāhmaṇas as gods in human forms. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says that it is through the support of the Brāhmaṇa that the king attains success, and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa asserts, “A Brāhmaṇa may remain without a king, but a king not without a Brāhmaṇa.” The gods refuse to accept food offered to them by a king who has no Purohita, says the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Mahābhārata goes to the extent of declaring that it is on the absence of a suitable Brāhmaṇa that the earth accepts a Kshatriya king.

On the other hand, there are passages which treat the Kshatriyas as superior to the Brāhmaṇas. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says that a Brāhmaṇa cannot become a king, that he is an object of respect after the king, and that there is nothing higher than the Kshatriya. Therefore, the Brāhmaṇa occupies a seat lower than that of the Kshatriya in the Rājasūya sacrifice. The Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad says that Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rūdra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrtyu and Iśāna are Kshatriyas among gods, and hence there is none higher than the Kshatriya.

The above claims of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas are revelations of Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya rivalry. The stories of Viśvāmitra carrying away cows of Yamadagni and Vaśishṭha and of the dispute between Devayānī and Śarmishṭhā are records of the prolonged conflict between the two Varṇas. The conflict between Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra germinated due to the latter’s desire of becoming a Brāhmaṇa. This would suggest that it was caste rigidity on the part of the Brāhmaṇa refusing to the member of the Kshatriya caste a place among the Brāhmaṇas which ultimately led to the prolonged Varṇa feud. In the Rgvedic society the Kshatriya could officiate as a priest and
teach the Vedas, but now these privileges were denied to him; though the Brāhmaṇa could wield arms. The Brāhmaṇa could not tolerate superiority of the Kshatriya in respect to scholar ship. A section of the Kshatriyas could not reconcile to the claims of the Brāhmaṇas and asserted their supremacy in the society. The Kshatriya enjoyed the privilege of ruling which the Brāhmaṇa lacked in practice. He made empty claims that he also could become a king. He further claimed that his king was no human being, but Soma. Probably the Brāhmaṇas, as they had no wealth and worldly prosperity, feared that the Kshatriyas possessed of power and wealth would not give them proper respect, and hence declared that they were gods upon earth. The stories of Viśvāmitra and Parasurāma were introduced to create a psychological atmosphere in favour of the Brāhmaṇas. By allowing Viśvāmitra to become a Brāhmaṇa on the ground that he would renounce the ways of a Kshatriya, the Brāhmaṇa seems to have sufficiently subdued the Kshatriya. But the Kshatriya, the ruling Varṇa could not be mortified. The social superiority of the Kshatriya was later asserted by the followers of the Buddha and the Mahāvīra.

Brāhmaṇas

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa describes the Brāhmaṇa as a receiver of gifts, drinker of soma, a seeker of food and liable to be removed at will, which is applicable to the priestly class. The Brhadāranyaka Upanishad reveals that the Brāhmaṇas pursued the study of the Vedas, performed sacrifices and took to austere practices. They enjoyed great respect in the society as Vedic scholars, teachers, priests and hermits. The section of the Brāhmaṇas devoted to the study of the Vedas was known as the Śrotiṇya. This was an age of great sacrifices, some lasting for a year, and sacrificial priests received in gifts various articles in large
numbers⁴. The class of the Brāhmaṇas which as priests of kings took part in the vast sacrifices seems to have been prosperous. Āruṇi is referred to as possessing gold, cattle, horses, female slaves, retinue and dress⁴³. On the other hand, priests living in the villages had a humble life. The Brāhmaṇa further enjoyed the highest honour as the royal priest.

Kshatriya

The Kshatriya Varna consisted of warriors whose duty was to protect the rest of the Varṇas⁴⁴. His duty was to establish order in the society and to punish the law-breakers⁴⁵. Bhadāranyaka Upanishad first assigns the Kshatriya a higher status than that of the Brāhmaṇas. Then it says that the latter is the source of the former’s power.⁴⁶ Thus it reflects the state of affairs when the Kshatriyas had secured for themselves the highest position in some fields of the contemporary society. The Bhadāranyaka Upanishad refers to the age of Janaka, the great philosopher king of Mithilā. The age of the Upanishads gave birth to philosopher Kshatriyas many of whom were teachers of the Brāhmaṇas too. Thus, the father of Śvetaketu found that his son had not been able to reply a single question out of the five asked by Pravāhana Jaivali, king of Pāñchāla, approached the latter as a student and was taught the supreme knowledge.⁴⁷ Again, Gārgya Bālāki was silenced by king Ajāṭaśatru of Kāśi in a discourse and turned to be the king’s pupil.⁴⁸ Kings of the Janaka line of Mithilā are well-known for their pursuit of knowledge. The Kshatriya kings of the period figure as the pursuers of learning, great patrons of scholars, performers of sacrifices and givers of gifts to the Brāhmaṇas. The sage Yājñavalkya flourished at the court of King Janaka of Mithilā. The kings of this age wanted to attract learned Brāhmaṇas by offering them cows in the large number. King Ajāṭaśatru
of Kāśi said to Gārgya Bālāki, 'I give you a thousand (cows); people indeed rush saying, Janaka, Janaka'”.

As scholars, the Kshatriya kings further took delight in organising learned discourses at their courts. Normally, administration and military duties were imposed on the Kshatriyas.

Vaiśyas

The Vaiśya is described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as a tributary to another, to be lived on by another, and to be oppressed at will. The pursuits of the Vaiśyas were agriculture, cattle-breeding, trade and commerce. They constituted the agricultural-pastoral-commercial community and naturally had to bear the burden of taxation which is evident from the above description of this Varna. He was the nourisher of the society. Originally, agriculture was carried on by Aryan tillers of the fields, but during this period the position was gradually changing. The place of peasant working on his own fields was being occupied by landowner cultivating his land holdings by means of labourers and slaves, who were mostly the Śūdras. Due to economic forces the Vaiśya was being divided into different professional castes which became clear in the time of the Buddha. But though crafts grew in number, the Vaiśyas did not practice all of them. The artisan class of the Vaiśya Varna was gradually reduced to the position of the Śūdra. The Taïtiriya Brāhmaṇa says that the highest ambition of a Vaiśya was to become a grāmaṇi.

Śūdras

According to Keith the position of the Śūdras in the Sanskrit and Brāhmaṇas is ambiguous, which may be due to the chronological position of the sources. Sometimes they are mentioned as owning cattle and living as independent peasants. Sometimes they figure as domestic servants and agricultural labourers. Sometimes one hears of Śūdra
Ratnins. The Śūdra is also seen participating in certain religious rites. It appears from the later Vedic sources that the position of the Śūdra was not the same during the beginning of this period as we find towards the end. His position seems to have gradually deteriorated.

The early texts describe him as a cattle-owner (bahu-paśuḥ)\(^5\) and living as workers (Karmacārī).\(^7\) He also appears as the tiller of the land.\(^3\) The Bhadāranyaka Upanishad calls him Pūshan,\(^6\) i.e. the nourisher, suggesting that, like the Vaiśyas, he also took to cultivation and paid a part of his produce as taxes.\(^6\) Later, his position seems to have changed. The Vaiśya figures as a tax-payer, but the Śūdra is omitted.\(^6\) He was gradually being excluded from the communal life. He could no longer participate in the sprinkling ceremony on the occasion of the Rājasūya, unlike the members of the three higher Varnas.\(^8\) The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa describes him as anyasya preshya, kamottāpya and yathākāma vadhya.\(^6\) These epithets are interpreted by Keith as the servant of another, to be removed at will and to be slain at will.\(^6\) The first epithet has been correctly translated by him, but the commentary of Sāyaṇa does not give the above meaning of the other two. According to Sāyaṇa the second epithet would mean that the Śūdra could be made to work at any time of the day or night whenever the master desired. The third is interpreted by him as meaning that the Śūdra could be beaten by his master, if he went against his will.\(^6\) Haug translates the third epithet as 'to be beaten at pleasure' which agrees with the interpretation of Sāyaṇa.\(^6\) The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa says that the 'Śūdra is not worthy of being addressed by a person consecrated for the sacrifice'.\(^6\) The later Vedic texts expressly prohibit the Śūdra from milking the cow for the milk to be used in the agnihotra.\(^6\) The main duties of the Śūdras were to serve the higher castes.\(^6\) But
though the Śūdra was deprived of the privilege of studying the Vedas and performing sacrifices, he was not excluded from acquiring other forms of knowledge.\textsuperscript{76}

The broad term Śūdra seems to have also included several professional groups such as chariot-maker (Ratha-kāra), carpenter, potter (kulāla), smith (karmāra), jeweller, herdsmen, shepherd, farmer, fisherman and hunter and also tribes such as Nishāda, Kirāta, Parnāka, Paulkasa, and Bainḍa.\textsuperscript{71} The \textit{Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad} mentions the Ugra,\textsuperscript{72} Sūta,\textsuperscript{73} goldsmith (Peśaskari),\textsuperscript{74} Cāṇḍāla\textsuperscript{75} and Pulkasa,\textsuperscript{76} who seem to have formed hereditary castes. The Ugra was definitely an official of the state, as he is mentioned in connection with the king’s visit and is described as welcoming him. The name would suggest that his duty was similar to that of a modern constable. The Cāṇḍāla and Pulkasa may have been regarded as low castes but do not seem to have been despised as they appear later in the Pali Texts. The Cāṇḍāla is equated with a dog and swine. It is said that those who are of good conduct will attain rebirth as a Brāhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya, but those who are of bad conduct will enter the stinking womb of a dog, swine or Cāṇḍāla.\textsuperscript{77} But there is nothing to show that the Cāṇḍāla was an untouchable though the Pulkasa is associated with loathsomeness.\textsuperscript{78}

Slaves

It is sufficiently clear that slavery was in existence. Both male and female slaves are often mentioned in the later Vedic sources. The \textit{Taittiriya Samhita} says that dāsts (female slaves) placing on their heads jars full of water and singing \textit{madhu} and beating their feet against the ground danced around.\textsuperscript{79} It also refers to the gift of slaves.\textsuperscript{80} The \textit{Aitareya Brāhmaṇa} says that ten thousands of female slaves were given away by Aṅga king to his Brāhmaṇa priest Ātreyā.\textsuperscript{81} The \textit{Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad} states that the king
Janaka having received instruction in Brahmavidyā from the sage Yājñavalkya said to him, “I make a gift to your honour of the Videhas together with myself for being your slave.” It describes Āruni, father of Śvetaketu, as possessing dāsīs along with other objects. The Mahābhārata tells us that Yudhishṭhira gave away in gift female slaves to the Brāhmaṇa snātakas on the occasion of his sacrifice. Karna figures as offering one hundred Māgadhī slave girls adorned with ornaments and trained in music and similar accomplishments. All these show that female slaves were owned by the ruling chiefs and priests on a considerable scale and that the kings used to give them away as gifts.

The Śrautasūtras refer to slaves working on land. The Lātvāyana Śrautasūtra says that two slaves are to be given away along with grains, plough and cattle.” It appears that in some cases Śûdras, who were employed as slaves working on lands owned by individuals, were given away as gifts along with the land itself. There were Śûdra slaves, but it is not correct to assume that all the slaves were Śûdras.

Marriage and Position of Women

We have examples both of polygamous and monogamous marriages. The sage Yājñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyī and Kātyāyani. The king was permitted to have four wives, known as Mahishi, Vāvātā, Pariyṛkti and Pālāgali. Kings’ harems have been always full of glamorous girls. Most of the Mahābhārata heroes had several wives. But there are also the examples of epic heroes Rāma and his brothers who were wedded to only one wife each. From the philosophical conception of the wife and husband given in the Upanishads, the ideal seems to have been of only one wife and one husband. The Bhādarānyaka Upanishad says, ‘He (Virāya) was not happy. He desired a mate. Hence, he parted his very body into two. From that
came husband and wife. Wife and husband, thus constitute one single organism. This ideal was there, but in principle as well as in practice there seems to have been no restriction on procuring more than one wife.

There are passages in the Brāhmaṇas to suggest that clan exogamy existed during this period. It appears that the term gotra, which appears in the sense of cowpen in the Rgveda, gradually became identified with the family and changed its original meaning. Later, it began to control marital relations by prohibiting sāgotra marriages.

The woman had the right to select her male, and among the Kshatriyas the custom of Svayambara prevailed. The Svayamvaras of Sītā and Draupadī are well-known. Marriage by force as well as love and elopement also were in practice, mainly among the warriors. Procuring wife by paying bride-price might have been widely prevalent among the pre-Aryans, for this form of marriage has been described as Āsura in the Dharmaśāstra and the custom has survived in the lower strata of the Hindu society till today.

Inferences regarding remarriage at this stage can only be drawn from the study of terms such as didhishuh, agre-didhishuh, parivitta and parividāṇa. The term didhishuh appears to have been used in the sense of the husband of a twice-married woman, or a lover or suitor. According to Whitney it means the husband of a widow. Oldenberg, Macdonell and Keith interpret it as the brother-in-law who marries the widow of his elder brother. But Sāyaṇa does not agree with this interpretation of didhishuh. He translates it as patim = husband (dead husband or the brother-in-law?). Grassman, Boehtlingk and Roth agree with Sāyaṇa and think that didhishuh does not stand for the second husband. Agreedidhishuh and didhishupati are also interpreted as emphasising the impropriety in the
woman having a suitor prior to her marriage, and the
man contracting marriage with such a woman, in parivitta
and parividana as stressing the improper right of priority
in marriage associated with the elder brother. The
practice of levirate prevailed in the Vedic society and the
term dvaidhishavya seems to stand for the widow's son in the
Taittiriya Samhita. The marriage of the widow with her
devara does not seem to be out of practice, as the Mahabharata
accepts the existence of the custom. The
Atharvaveda gives clear indication of the widow's remarriage.

It was quite natural in the patriarchical family of the
Aryans to show preference for sons, and it becomes more
and more pronounced during this period. The son was
regarded as a light in the higher heaven, while a daughter
as a source of misery. But in spite of such outlook
girls used to be well looked after and educated in the
higher section. Some of the women used to be highly
educated and even a subject like philosophy was studied
by them. The age of the Upanishads produced several lady
philosophers. Those who used to devote their life for the
pursuit of learning were known as Brahmanadins. Maitreyi,
the wife of Yajnavalkya figures as a Brahmanadin. The
Brhadaranyaka Upanishad describes Gargi as one possessed
of profound learning who entered into a philosophic
discourse with the sage Yajnavalkya in the court of king
Janaka of Mithila. Sitā of Ramayana also figures as a well-
educated lady. In some cases the wife appears as inheriting
family property from the husband. When Yajnavalkya
decided to renounce the world, he expressed his desire of
distributing the family property between his two wives.

Meat Eating, Drinking and Amusements

Primitive peoples largely depended on hunting
and fishing for their supply of food. The Vedic Aryans-
also were meat-eaters. The non-vegetarian population had to be supplied with meat and fish. For this, hunting and fishing seem to have been practised by a section of the lower strata of society which subsisted on the sale of meat and fish procured by killing animals and catching fish. Later, due to the sub-division of labour, the society gave rise to hunters and fishermen which appear as distinct social groups, ethnically non-Aryans. Animals were usually captured with the aid of nets and pitfalls. Dogs were also employed for the purpose.

During this period non-vegetarian diet was in practice among all sections of the society. Meat of various animals, including that of cows, was relished by the people. However, a hymn of the Atharvaaveda equates the eating of meat with drinking liquor (sūrā) as a sinful act. But this refers to the opinion of a minor section of the society. The majority enjoyed both meat-eating and drinking wine. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes meat as the best kind of food. The sage Yājñavalkya is represented as eating the meat of milch cows and oxen. In the Rāmāyaṇa, only the Rākshasas figure as eating cow-meat. But the Sūtra literature reveals that cattle meat was eaten on certain occasions even by priests. A later source refers to the killing of a calf for entertaining the sage Vaśishṭha. The Rāmāyaṇa describes Bhāradvāja as getting prepared meat of animals and birds (goats, pig, peacock, cock, etc.) for entertaining Bharata.

Drinking sūrā was common. The Atharvaaveda by stating that the reward for the performance of sacrifice is heaven where there are lakes full of ghee and honey, and wherein liquor flows like water shows that drinking wine was liked. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa states that in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice a Brāhmaṇa was hired for drinking. But it appears from the Kaṭhaka Samhitā that the tendency
to impose restriction on drinking for the religious section of
the society was gaining ground. Castes, other than the
Brāhmaṇas, were free to indulge in drinking sura. The
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to liquor distilling which must
have required to employ a good number of men.

Social life does not seem to have been dull. People
amused themselves with music and dance which had become
a part of man’s life from very early times. The Bṛhad-
daranyaka Upanishad mentions musical instruments such as
Dundubhi, Viṇā and Śaṅkha. Dancing is an integral
part of the social life of today’s tribal Bihar and it must
have been the same even in the early period. On special
occasions people also seem to have been merry-making
through the organisation of festivities. The Rāmāyaṇa speaks
of occasional festivities and popular gathering as means
for increasing the popularity of the state. Such occasions
must have been marked by singing, dancing, feasting, etc.
Dicing was practised in the Vedic period, the Mahābhārata
shows that it was popular in the contemporary society and
similar would have been the situation during this age.
Wrestling also seems to have been one of the widely practised
games. Jārāsandha of Rājagṛha was the greatest wrestler of
his time and he must have popularised this game. Thus,
there may have been many more items of amusements.

Education

The Brāhmaṇa immigrants had established several
dāras or gurukulas as early as the days of Rāmāyaṇa through
which spread the Vedic knowledge and culture. The sage
Viśvāmitra had his dārāma near Buxar where the epic
heroes Rāma and Lakṣmana were educated. In the
Upanishadic period the philosopher king Janaka turned his
capital Mithilā into a great centre of intellectual activities.
Scholars from all parts of Āryavarta used to assemble in the
learned assemblies at Mithilā for taking part in the philoso-
phical discourses. It is also evident that both males and females received education. Considerable literature had developed by this time and even specialisation had started. The section of the Brāhmaṇa devoted to the study of the Vedas was designated Śrōtriya.\textsuperscript{116} As regards the different branches of learning which were taught, the Bāhadāranyaka Upanishad mentions Rgveda, Yajurveda, Atharvaṅgirasa, Itihāsa, Purāṇa (mythology) Vidyā (arts), Upanishads, Ślokāḥ (verses) Sātvāni (aphorisms), and Vyākhyānāni (explanation).\textsuperscript{117} The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Chāndogya Upanishad mention Itihāsa, Atharvaṇveda, snakecharming (Sarpavidya) and demonology (Devaṇaṇavidya)\textsuperscript{118} among the subjects which could be taught to the Śūdra who were excluded from receiving orthodox Vedic knowledge.

**Agriculture and Cattle-Breeding**

The economy of the age was primarily rural. Towns and cities with an industrial complex were few. The village under the Grāmaṇi was the main centre of the economic and social life of the people. Agriculture and cattle-breeding formed the nucleus of the economic pursuits of the peasantry. Forests were being cleared and turned into arable fields. Each village was surrounded by a belt of pasture land for the cattle, beyond the arable fields adjoining the settlement. Beyond the pasture land lay the arāṇya or the uncultivated land which provided wood for the village. The importance of agriculture can be assessed from the story of king Janaka's ploughing the land\textsuperscript{119}. Knowledge of cultivation seems to have made considerable progress. We are told of heavy ploughs, with sharp point and a smoothed handle, harnessed by 24 oxen\textsuperscript{120}. The Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas speak of the different seasons for the cultivation of different grains and also of the two seasons of harvest\textsuperscript{121}. About the process of agriculture mention is made of ploughing, sowing, reaping and thre-
shing. Later Vedic sources further speak of manure irrigation and also of the enemies of the farmer. They tell us that moles destroyed the seed, birds and other creatures injured the young shoots, draughts and excessive rain were to be feared. The Atharvaveda prescribes several spells to avoid calamities and secure a good harvest. The Brhadāraṇyaka Upanishad mentions ten kinds of grains, viz. rice (urthi), barley (jaya), sesame (tila), beans (māsa), panicum milicum and italium (anupriyaṅgavah), wheat (godhūma) lentiles (masūra), pulses (khalvat) and Vetches or delichos-uniflorus (Khalakula = Kulattha), all of which seem to have been cultivated here. Bihar being a rich producing region must have been growing its several varieties as later referred to in the Buddhist sources.

Next to cultivation, cattle-farming seems to have been the main occupation of the rural population, both pastoral and agricultural. It provided manure in the farm of cowdung. Oxen and bulls were indispensable for tilling the land. Cattle served not only as an aid to agriculture but it also provided food in the farm of meat, milk, curd, butter, and ghṛta (clarified butter). Clarified butter was necessary for offering havanas. Cattle constituted wealth of the people. The priests were paid dakṣiṇā in the form of cows. King Janaka is several times described as offering thousand cows to the sage Yājñavalkya. Reference to the dakṣiṇā of cows in large numbers by Janaka show that the land was rich in her cattle wealth. In addition to cattle, horses, asses, goats and rams seem to have been the main domestic animals.

Occupation and Industries:

Urban life in the Gangetic Valley had developed by the time of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. Mithilā, Vaiśāḷī, Campā and Rājagṛha were gaining prominence as capital cities, and centres of industries and trade in Bihar. Rise of
cities involves progress in the art of building. The art of constructing citadels had already developed, and the remains of the defences at Kausambi, Rajagaha and other cities assigned to this age make it fairly clear that the capital cities of Bihar were protected by massive defences of similar nature. Mithíla is described in the *Jātakas* as a prosperous city with defences, watch-towers and gates. The development of urban life further leads to the subdivision of occupations, rise of new industries and growth of trade. A large variety of professionals are mentioned in the Yajurveda. They are hunters, fishermen, attendants on cattle, fire-rangers, ploughers, charioteers, several classes of attendants, jewellers, basket-makers, washermen, rope-makers, dyers, chariot-makers, barbers, weavers, butchers, gold-smiths, cooks, sellers of dried fish, makers of bow, gatherers of wood, seasoners of food, potters, smiths and so on. The growth of occupations had its impact on the contemporary society, as it was largely responsible for the formation of many castes.

Metals

Knowledge of metals gradually widens and there is mention of gold (*hiranya, suvarṇa, pēśa*), silver (*rajata*), copper (*loha*), iron (*ayasa*), lead (*śīsa*) and tin (*trapu*). The *Vājasaneyi Sāihita* speaks of *hiranya, ayasa, śūma, loha śīsa* and *trapu*. This knowledge of metals suggests that metallic industries and those associated with metals were in the process of gradual evolution. States such as Videha, Magadha and Aṅga were rising in power which must have exhilarated the manufacture of weapons and other materials of war. As regards the household implements, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* speaks of *mahimaṇ* (a sacrificial vessel of gold or silver), ṣārī (looking glass), and Kshura (razor) out of the many manufactured. There may be difference of opinions in the interpretation of the term
ayasa, loha and syāmam as iron, but these metals were in extensive use during this period. The natural sources of iron are rich in Bihar and they might have been exploited from very early times, though the methods would have been crude. The *White Yajurveda* distinctly refers to iron-smelting\(^{111}\) and the blacksmith.\(^{112}\) Objects of iron such as axes\(^{113}\), razors\(^{114}\), blades\(^{115}\), sickles\(^{116}\), knives\(^{117}\), hooks\(^{118}\), nets\(^{119}\), etc. are mentioned in the Vedic literature.

**Precious Metals**

Precious metals such as gold and silver were worked out by the goldsmith. He is described in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* as taking a piece of gold and turning it into different beautiful shapes.\(^{120}\) We are further informed that gold was softened by means of *lavaṇa* (Borax).\(^{121}\) According to the authors of the *Vedic Index* it was obtained from river-beds.\(^{122}\) Ornaments were made out of gold and silver and the term *alakāra* occurs in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*\(^{123}\) and the *Chāndogya Upanishad*\(^{124}\). There is mention of several types of ornaments such as ring, armlets, necklace, *kirti* (ornament for the head)\(^{125}\), *kurira*\(^{126}\), etc. In addition to ornaments, gold and silver were used for making vessels like *mahima*.

The jeweller (*maṇṭkāra*) also figures in the *White Yajurveda*.\(^{127}\) The *Rāmāyaṇa* shows that a large number of jewellery was in use in the royal families. We are told that golden diadems (*Kīrti*as) were set with jewels and pearls, and golden earrings with diamonds and Vaidūryamaṇi, necklaces were made of pearls and precious stones, such as Vaidūryamaṇi and Indrāntilamaṇi and images, seats, altars and beds were set with gems and so on.\(^{128}\) During this period Bihar had a number of royal families where jewellery must have been largely used.
Carpentry

Evidence as regards carpentry shows that it had become specialised. The ordinary carpenter was known as Takshaṇa,\(^{159}\) while one specialised in chariot-making was called Rathakāra.\(^{160}\) We are also told of prācyaratha (Chariot of the east), described as vipatha (= having no definite path), which seems to denote the cart. This vehicle was made out of bamboo sticks, and was usually covered with loose planks.\(^{161}\) Obviously, the ratha was the conveyance of the rich, whereas the cart was associated with the life of the commoners. In addition to these vehicles, the carpenter appears to have been engaged for making agricultural implements, vessels of domestic use, sacrificial vessels, boats, wooden buildings, ramparts and so on. The Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad speaks of boats,\(^{162}\) laddle (sravaḥ), bowl (camasaḥ) and upamanthanau (two mixing rods)\(^{163}\) which were among the articles made by the carpenter.

Textiles

Weaving was well in practice,\(^{164}\) and there are references to woollen (urṇa)\(^{165}\) and linen or silk (tārpya)\(^{166}\) garments and later to cotton (Kārpāsa). The Rāmāyaṇa shows that weaving was highly advanced in the contemporary society. King Janaka’s dowry to his daughters included blankets, silk or linen garments and ordinary cloth.\(^{167}\) It also describes the members of the royal family as putting on garments of various materials such as Kṣhauma and Kauśeya.\(^{168}\) The Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad suggests that clothes used to be dyed with various colours such as yellow, scarlet, red, etc.\(^{169}\) Vastrā,\(^{170}\) vāsas\(^{171}\) and vasaṇā\(^{172}\) are the common terms used for clothes. The vāsas had usually only one nōi and it was always tied or girt which implies tucks and knots\(^{173}\). It covered only the lower portion of the body, the upper part of which was covered by another garment called adhiṁśa\(^{174}\). For denoting special types of garments,
we got terms such as drāpi (gold embroidered vest), pēśas (gold embroidered cloth usually with artistic designs), prattidhi (a part of bride’s attire), etc. The headdress ushṭaśa described as bright and white as day occurs in connection with Vṛātyas\(^{178}\) and kings\(^{179}\). It was usually tied with a tilt and cross windings, but the kings on occasions of sacrificial ceremonies tied it in a special manner: the ends were gathered together and tucked away in front, so as to cover them up\(^{177}\).

**Currency and Trade**

The later Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads do not supply ample data on the coinage of the age. Nishka gets frequent reference in the Vedic literature, but there is no conclusive evidence to show that it had become a regular coinage. It was no doubt a piece of well-defined weight\(^{174}\). But in the opinion of Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, coins like Kṛṣṇala, Suvarṇa Śatamāna and Nishka were struck when the Vedic Aryans composed the Vedic hymns in the third millenium B.C\(^{179}\). The literature of the period of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads refers to Nishka, Suvarṇa, Śatamāna and Pāda\(^{180}\). The Śatamāna is mentioned as a gold coin in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa\(^{181}\) and the Kātyāyanā Śruta Sūtra\(^{182}\) (800 B.C.). The Brhadāraṇyaka Upanishad describing the bahudakshiṇa of king Janaka refers to pādaś (= quarter Śatamāna) which must have been, as suggested by them, quarters of weight either of Nishka, Suvarṇa or Śatamāna\(^{183}\). According to A.S. Altekar, they were quarters of golden Suvarṇa or Śatamāna\(^{184}\). Satamāna seems to have been of the weight standard of 100 rattis = 175 grains, Suvarṇa of 80 rattis and Nishka of 320 rattis\(^{185}\).

At Kauśāmbī, coinage appears in the strata belonging to the early centuries of the first millenium B.C\(^{186}\). The archaeological evidence further reveals that cast copper
coins came into circulation earlier than the silver punch-marked ones\(^{187}\). Magadha had an indigenous coinage known as Viṃśatika of the weight standard of 40 *rattis* in silver \(= 20 \text{māshakas}\)\(^{188}\) and another called Trimśatka weighing 58 *rattis*\(^{189}\) which was later standardised by the Nandas who introduced a uniform currency throughout their domain. It is quite reasonable to assume that coins were known in this region from very early times and that they had become associated with the day-to-day life of the people as the medium of exchange.

According to the *Atharvaveda*, the traders moved from place to place with their merchandise\(^{190}\). The term *Vāṇija*, meaning trader, appears in the *Sāṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.\(^{191}\) There is also mention of śreṣṭhis in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.\(^{192}\) Chariot (*ratha*), Cart (*vipatha*) and Boat (*nāva*) appear as the means of communication, and it appears that trade was carried on through land routes and water-ways. Later the *Jātakas* speak of caravans consisting of bullock carts moving from east to west and from west to east. If we believe that the *Rāmāyana* refers to the period before 600 B.C., trade was transacted with distant places, such as Kamboja and Vāhlika which provided horses of thoroughbred for the eastern Indian kings\(^{193}\). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* also is acquainted with horses from Sindh, which might have been present in the court of the Videha king\(^{194}\). Caravans, in the time of the Buddha, moved between Śrāvasti and Rājagṛha\(^{195}\) and also probably towards Gāndhāra\(^{196}\). It is just possible that even before the days of the Buddha Bihar's trade through land route, the well-known Uttarāpatha of Pāṇini extended up to the extreme north-west of India. It is confirmed by instances in the *Jātakas* of princes and Brāhmaṇas going to Takshaśila, the famous seat of learning for acquiring knowledge at the feet of the renowned teachers there\(^{197}\).
References:

1. Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 1
2. The Vrātya problem has been a baffling one for Indologists who from time to time have expressed their opinions. The problem has been discussed ethnically, philosophically, and etymologically. Vrātya has been interpreted as a tribe, sect, degraded castes, converts and so on. Weber, Aufrecht and Zimmer interpreted the Vrātyas as the western non-brahmanised Aryan tribes; R. P. Chanda connected them with Yatis; Lanman and Bloomfield took them to be outcasts and savage community, and Bhagvat thought that they were non-Aryans. Some connected them with Harappans and some with worshippers of Rudra Śiva. J. W. Hauer in his masterly analysis of the problem in the famous work Der Vrātya has summarised the widely divergent views of scholars preceding him in the study of the subject. For the different opinions of scholars on this problem reference may be made to Weber, History of Indian Literature, Böhtlingk and Roth, Sanskrit Woerterbuch, Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, R. R. Bhagvat, JEBRAS, XIX, pp. 363F. Keith and Macdonell, Vedic Index, Lanman, Introduction to Whitney’s Trans. of A. V., Bloomfield, Vedic Concordance, Hauer, Der Vrātya, Keith, JRAS., 1919, p. 155. D R Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of A. I. Culture, J. Carpentier, WZKM, 23 & 26, R. P. Chanda, Survival of Pre-historic Civilization of the Indus Valley (Memoirs of A. S. I., 41), A. P. Karmarkar, The Vrātya Systems of Religion, N. N. Ghosh, Dacca University Bulletin, No VI, The Aryan trail in Iran and India, A. C. Banerjee, Studies in the Brāhmaṇas, R. K. Chowdhury, Vrātyas in Ancient India, etc.
3. Pande, G. C., Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, Chap. VIII.
6. Ṛg. Śr. Sa, IX, 14.12. Satyāshaśa Śr. Sa. XV, 4.20; Varaha, Śr. Sa, I. 1.1.5; Kāraṇyana, Śr. Sa, I.12
9. Sharma, R. S., Śudras in Ancient India, p. 63.
10. *Sañ Śr. Su*, XVI, 4.4
13. *Śat. Br.*, I, 1, 4.12, The term *āgni* (came hither) *āhūti* (approach), *udrava* (hasten hither) and *ūdhāra* (run hither) were to be used for the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanyabandhu, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra respectively.
14. Ibid., XIII, 8.3.1.
15. Ibid.
29. *Tai. Sañ*, I, 7.3.1, ete vai davāḥ prayākṣaṇam yad Brāhmaṇāḥ *SBE*, XII, 309.
31. *SBE*, XXVI, 270.
32. *Ait Br.*, VI, 14.
34. *Śat Br.*, V, 1.1.12.
35. *SBE* 41, 96.
38. *Br. Up.*, VI, 2, 3, Śvetaketu described the king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali as a Rājanyabandhu, because the latter had asked him five questions which he could not reply *pañcanā brahmanāḥ rājanyabandhur aprākṣit*
42. Br. Up., III, 1, 1-2. King Janaka of Mithilā performed a great sacrifice. Brāhmaṇas from distant places such as Kuru and Pañcalā assembled there; gifts were freely distributed. Yājñāvalkya received 1000 cows with a Pāda attached to the horns of each cow.
45. Mbh., V, 139, 19-22.
47. Br. Up., VI, 2, 8-16.
49. The learned assembly of Pravāhana Jaivali is well-known. King Janaka of Mithilā also used to organise learned discourses. It was in a learned assembly at Mithilā that Gṛgī discoursed with Yājñāvalkya, the sage (Br. Up., III, 8).
51. Ait. Br., VII, 29 anayasya baliṣṭṣyā anayasya dya yathākamājeyah. He is called baliṣṭṣit (=paying taxes). In the Kauṭītaki Upanishad (II, 8-9) he is represented as paying taxes.
52. Jaiminīya Br., II, 266; Sharma, R. S. The Śudras in Ancient India, p. 44, to the Rājanya.
53. Sharma, R. S., the Śudras in Ancient India, p. 48.
56. Pañca. Br., VI, I, II.
60. Sharma, R.S., Śudras in Ancient India, p. 44.
64. Keith, HOS, XXV, 315.
65. Sharma, R. S., Śudras in Ancient India, p. 60.
68. Sharma, R. S., Śudras in Ancient India, p. 77.
70. Sharma, R. S., Śūdras in Ancient India, p. 68.


73. Ibid.

74. Ibid., IV, 4, 4.

75. Ibid., VI, 3, 22.

76. Ibid.

77. Čhan Up., VI, 10, 7.


80. Ibid., II, 2, 6, 3 (9)


82. Br. Up., IV, 4, 23, so'ham bhagavate videhān dādāmi mani śāpī raha dātāyaṣṇa.


84. Mbh., Saṁha, 52, 45-6.

85. Mbh., VIII, 38, 7, 18.

86. Normally, the priests received gifts of dāstis on the occasions of sacrifices. The dāsar do not seem to have been owned by kings and priests in the same scale as the dāstis. Dāsas are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VI, 18-19) and Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (II, 4, 2, 6, 1).


90. Banerjea, Studies in the Brāhmaṇas, Chap. II.


92. Whitney, trans. of Atharva-veda, XVIII, 3, 2.

93. Oldenberg in his Die Religion des Veda, translates the above passage of A.V. as ‘Arise up O Wife to the world of the living, his life breath is gone, by whom thy liest. To this groom here who holds your hand who wooes thee, thou hast reached’.

94. Vedic Index, I, 359.

95. ḪDMG., 40, 708.


98. Mbh., XIII, 12, 19.


104. CHI, Vol. I, 137.
105. Śat. Br., XI, 7, 1, 3.
107. Uttarārāmacaritam, IV.
111. Ibid.
112. Śat. Br., XII, 7, 3, 5; SBE, XLIV. p. 223.
115. Archaeological excavations in Buxar have revealed nothing earlier than 500 B.C. (Ed.)
117. Br. Up., IV, 1, 2; IV, 5, 11.
120. Rāmāyaṇa, II, 181, 28.
122. Tai. Sām., IV, 2; VII, 2, 10; Kau. Br., XIX, 3.
123. Śat. Br., I, 6, 1, 3.
126. The Bhādarānāyaka Upaniṣad speaks of milk, ghee, and dādhi (I. 5, 2; VI. 3, 13).
127. Br. Up., III, 1, 1-2; IV, 1, 2-7; IV, 3, 15-16; IV, 3, 33.
132. Śat. Br., XII, 8, 3, 11. Tai. Sām., II, 2, 9, 7; III, 9, 6, 5.
135. AV, XII, 2, 1.
136. *AV., XI. 3. 17.*
137. *Vāj. Saṁ., XVII. 2. 1.*
139. *Br. Up., II. 1. 9; III. 9. 15.*
141. *White Yajurveda, XXX. 14.*
142. *Ibid., XVI. 27.*
143. *AV., VII. 115. 1; VI. 141. 2; II. 12. 3. White Yaj., V. 42; VI. 15.*
144. *AV., VI. 68. 1. 3; White Yajurveda, III. 63; XV. 4; Br. Up., III. 3. 2 Kau. Up., IV. 20.*
145. *AV., XX. 127. 4.*
146. *White Yajurveda, XII. 68.*
147. *White Yajurveda, IV. 1; VI. 11.*
148. *AV., VII. 115. 1.*
149. *AV., XIX. 66. 1.*
151. *Chān. Up., IV. 17. 7.*
152. *Vedic Index, IV. 504.*
153. *Śat. Br., III. 5. 1. 96; III. 8. 4. 7.*
159. *AV., X. 6. 3; Vāj. Saṁ., XVI. 27.*
160. *AV., III. 5. 6; Vāj. Saṁ., XVI. 27.*
161. *KSS, XXII. 4. 15-16.*
164. *AV., X. 7. 42. "Singly the two young maids of different colours approach the six-pegged warp in turns & weave it".*
166. *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁh. IV. 3. 4; Tat. Br. I. 3. 7. 1; I. 7. 6. 4; Śat. Br. V. 3.5.20.*
167. *Balakanda, 74th Sarga.*
170. *AV., V. 1. 3; IX. 5. 25. XII. 3. 21.*

32
174. Ibid., p. 117.
176. Sat. Br., V. 3. 5. 23; III, 3. 2. 3. Maitrayaṇi Samh. IV. 4. 3.
181. Sat. Br., V. 5. 5. 16.
182. Kiṭ. Sr. Sra. XVI.
185. Ibid.
187. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
188. Paṇini, V. 1. 27. Bhandarkar, AIN., p. 111; Agrawala, V.S., India as known to Paṇini, pp. 269-70.
190. AV, III. 15.
193. Rāmāyana, Bālakāṇḍa, VI.
196. Jataka, I. 377 l.
197. Jataka, I. 259; II. 85. 277. 282, 411; III. 122; V. 457, etc.

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CHAPTER XII

(i) The Haryāṅkas

Magadha (Old Patna and Gaya districts) was one of the sixteen 'Great States' (Mahājanapadas) in the early 6th century B.C. Together with Kosalā, Avanti and Vatsa, Magadha emerges as a highly aggressive monarchy impelled by territorial ambitions. Its geographical position in the centre of the Gangetic Valley with lowlying level plains in the east, north-west and the north, its vast mineral, agricultural and cattle wealth, stimulant racial admixture, elasticity of social behaviour and absence of rigidity exhibited in marriages between members of high and low Vārnas and in acceptance of a king born of nagara-śobhini or a barber father, and possession of large elephant force all contributed in helping a line of strong imperialist rulers to embark on a policy of territorial aggrandisement and military victories. After a long rope to centrifugal forces, the turn had come of centripetal forces to assert themselves and help in political unification of the dismembered country, and History willed Magadha to assume the leadership of these forces. It is no accident that when iron came to be known as technologically the most useful metal, Magadha with its iron mines, naturally emerged as the chief focus of political, military and economic life. Subba Rao rightly observes, "Hence, the Iron Age Focus, the third in the evolution of Indian culture enabled Magadha to dominate over the rest of India, laying the foundation for the political and cultural homogeneity of the sub-continent."16

The long-lived Bārhadratha dynasty was overthrown, and Ripuṇjaya had to make way for a new dynasty. According to the Purāṇas, "Pulika" murdered his master
and set up his own son Pradyota on the throne. The Pauṇika family mentioned in the Harshacarita has been identified with the Pradyota dynasty, and has been placed in Avanti. The Purāṇas, after mentioning that the reign of five kings of this dynasty lasted for 52 or 138 years, say that Śiśunāga destroyed their prestige and became king. The story of the Purāṇas is regarded as untrustworthy. The Pradyotas were rulers of Avanti and not of Magadha, and from the Buddhist sources we learn that Pasenadi of Kosala, Caṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti, Udena of Kosambi, and Buddha were contemporaries of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, the fifth and sixth in the Purāṇic list of the Śiśunāgas. It is therefore patent that the Purāṇas have mixed up the dynastic list of Magadha by wrongly intruding the Pradyotas between the Bāhradrathas and Śiśunāgas. The Purāṇas also are wrong in making Śiśunāga the founder of the family to which Bimbisāra belonged. Bimbisāra was a contemporary of Caṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti, who was a very powerful king. How could Śiśunāga be the destroyer of the Pradyotas, evidently after Caṇḍa Pradyota, when the fifth in descent to him, Bimbisāra was the contemporary of the latter. Therefore Bimbisāra cannot be regarded as belonging to a period later than Śiśunāga. Geiger pointed out long ago that “the greater probability seems to be in favour of placing Kākavāna and with him naturally his father Śiśunāga in the second half of the series of kings, not in the first.

However, though we have undoubted positive evidence about the historicity of Bimbisāra and some events of his reign, his father cannot be identified. He was probably a high official, minister or commander-in-chief of Ripuṇjaya, the last of the Bāhradrathas, who staged a coup d’etat and installed his son Bimbisāra on the throne. Being an upstart, Bimbisāra for a long
time was content with the humble title of Śrenīya as his father was Bhaṭṭīya. According to Aśvaghosha, the line to which Bimbisāra belonged was named Haryaṅka-kula; probably 'Haryaṅka' was a family emblem.

The accession of Bimbisāra on the throne of Magadha heralded a new era of territorial conquests and administrative consolidation. Aṅga, which lay to the east of Magadha in south-east Bihar along the southern bank of the Gaṅgā, was a rich country with luxurious overseas trade. Just before Bimbisāra, the king of Aṅga, Brahmadatta had defeated the ruler of Magadha, probably Bimbisāra's father. Provoked by a spirit of legitimate vengeance and inspired by the ambition to become universal overlord (samrāṭ) for which, the Aiṭareya Brāhmaṇa says, the kings of the east were desirous, Bimbisāra invaded Aṅga and annexed it to his kingdom, which became a viceroyalty with Campā as the capital. According to Jain sources Ajātaśatru became a viceroy at Campā. Thus Bimbisāra ushered in an epoch of military conquests and territorial expansion for Magadha which ended only with the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka. Magadha with Bimbisāra comes out, may be inadvertently the most successful aspirant for bringing about political integration of Northern India. Bimbisāra realised the importance of stabilising his position and strengthening his kingdom by establishing friendly relations with powers nearby and far off. He married a Kośalan princess, to whom were assigned the revenues of Kāśi villages as her toilet money by the Kośalan king. This, as we shall see, paved the way for the eventual absorption of Kāśi into Magadhan empire. He also married a daughter of the Licchavi chief. This matrimonial alliance, besides ensuring for the time being, the friendship of the powerful republic across the Gaṅgā in the north, proved of great significance in the later years of the history of Magadha. Ajātaśatru was born of the Vaiśālian princess. Bimbisāra
also showed skilful diplomacy in his relations with Pradyota, king of Avanti, and the king of Gāndhāra. Pradyota and Pukkusite were enemies Bimbisāra while welcomed the embassy and a letter from the king of Gāndhāra took care to be friendly to Pradyota to whom he sent Jivaka to treat him for jaundice. He also had married a Madra princess named Khema (Kshemā). He is rightly regarded by Charpentier as ‘the mightiest ruler of Eastern India.’ Magadha and Avanti, one extending its sphere towards the west and the other to the east towards Vatsa, were bound to come into clash, and it appears that Cāṇḍa Pradyota even in the lifetime of Bimbisāra had threatened Magadha.

According to the Mahāvaṃśa Bimbisāra ruled the kingdom for 52 years. Bimbisāra was an elder contemporary of the Buddha who died in the 8th year of Ajātaśatru’s reign. According to us the Buddha died in 486 B.C., so Bimbisāra came to the throne in 486+7+52 = 545 B.C. He ruled till 493 B.C. According to Buddhaghosha the united kingdom of Magadha and Anāga was 300 leagues in extent.

Bimbisāra was succeeded by his son Ajātaśatru. It is generally believed that Bimbisāra was imprisoned by Ajātaśatru who put him to death. The Jain sources exonerate him of intentional parricide.” In the opinion of Rhys Davids, “the main fact that Bimbisāra was put to death by his son Ajātaśatru may be accepted as historical.

Ajātaśatru continued the aggressive policy of his father. The king of Kośala gave him the necessary provocation. On the death of Kośaladevi, the Kośalan wife of Bimbisāra, Prasenajit, the king of Kośala, withdrew the revenues of Kāśi villages which were granted to his sister. Ajātaśatru waged a war against Kośala. It is difficult to
trace the vicissitudes of the long war, but it ultimately ended in the merger of Kāśi villages in Magadha and the marriage of Ajātaśatru with the daughter of Prasenajit. According to Buddhaghosha the area of Ajātaśatru’s kingdom at the beginning of the conquest was 500 leagues. Thus the kingdom of Bimbisāra was almost doubled before Ajātaśatru embarked on his conquering campaign.

Ajātaśatru’s invasion of the Licchavi republic with its capital at Vaiśāli marked another important step in the march of the Magadhan imperialism. The Licchavis were a powerful republican community across the Gaṅgā, which divided the kingdom of Magadha and the Vṛjji republic. A head-on clash between aggressive militant Magadhan monarchy and powerful independence-loving Vṛjji republic lay in the logic of history. Immediate causes are said to be (i) the escape of step-brothers of Ajātaśatru and Licchavi’s grandsons to Vaiśāli with a costly necklace and famous elephants, and (ii) the dispute between the two states over the distribution of mineral wealth probably, precious gems, near a port on the Gaṅgā.

Ajātaśatru had built a fort on the southern bank of the Gaṅgā opposite Vaiśāli in order to repel the Vaijjis. This fort later developed into the imperial city of Paṭaliputra. Buddha had spoken to Vassakara (Varshakāra), a minister of Ajātaśatru in charge of the construction of the fort, that the Licchavis, as long as they were united and loyal to their leaders, were invincible. Varshakāra who had gone to the Buddha for advice at Ajātaśatru’s orders, reported the conversation to him. Ajātaśatru, took the hint, and made it known to the Licchavis that Varshakāra was dismissed and humiliated. Varshakāra went to Vaiśāli and there he cleverly took advantage of freedom of discussion in the republic and secretly began to poison the relations between leaders, and to undermine the confi-
dence of the people in the judicial system. After sometime the leaders began to quarrel among themselves and question each other’s authority and patriotism. After creating the atmosphere of unrest, lack of confidence and mutual bickerings, Varshakāra stepped across the Gaṅgā and advised Ajātaśatru about this being the opportune time to strike. The Magadhan army was equipped with new war-machines like Rathamūsala and Mahāśilākaṇṭa. The Vṛjjas were helped by a confederacy of nine-Mallas and Kāśi-Kośala. The war is said to have lasted for more than sixteen years, but ultimately Magadha triumphed, and the Vṛjji state became a part of the Magadhan empire. The poem Pārāyana included in the Sutta Nipāta mentions Vaiśāli as a Magadhan city, meaning now a city under Magadha and thereby proves the conquest of Vaiśāli by Magadha after the death of the Buddha, as in the Parinibhāṇa Sutta Vaiśāli is an independent republic. It appears from Kauṭilya’s Arthasastra that the Vṛjjis maintained some autonomy and continued to live under a republican constitution. According to the Ārya-Manju-Srī-Mūla-Kalpa, besides Magadha, Anā, Vārāṇasī and Vaiśāli formed part of Ajātaśatru’s dominion.

Ajātaśatru had thus extended the territorial boundary of his empire both westward and northward. Canḍa Pradyota appears to have brought Vatsa under his sphere of influence, and was jealous of the growth of the Magadhan empire. It appears that Pradyota’s attack on Rājagrha shortly after the death of the Buddha was imminent and Ajātaśatru strengthened its fortifications. It is not known if the attack really came. The policy of friendship initiated by Bimbisāra was thrown overboard due to the two states having come face to face.

Ajātaśatru ruled for 32 years; in the 8th year of his reign, the Buddha died. The Purāṇas assign to him a
reign of 25 years. According to the Buddhist sources Ajātašatru’s reign might have come to an end in 486—25 = 461 B.C. But Smith thinks that the figure 32 includes the seven years of viceroyalty at Campā and his reign came to an end in 493—25 = 468 B.C.

Ajātašatru was succeeded by his son Udāyibhadda (bhadra) according to both the Buddhist and Jain traditions, but the Purāṇas insert Darśaka as Ajātašatru’s successor. Geiger considers the Purānic version as ‘certainly an error’. Darśaka as a ruler of Magadha and a contemporary of Udayana of Vatsa is mentioned in the *Vāsaradattam* attributed to Bhāsa. Udayana, king of Vatsa, was under the influence of Avanti because of his queen Vāsavadattā. So Udayana’s ministers to counteract this, arranged a marriage between Udayana and Padmāvati, sister of Darśaka. Pradyota, the king of Avanti was also seeking her (Padmāvati’s) hand for his own son. Thus enmity with Avanti went on and continued in the time of Udāyī also. According to Bhandarkar, Darśaka of the Purāṇas is to be identified with Nāga-dāsaka, last member of Bimbisāra’s dynasty. But R.M. Smith thinks that Purāṇas are right and Darśaka was the king, who followed his father Ajātašatru, because the former was born when the latter had become king, 25 years given to Darśaka is his life figure. He remained king for a short time and was followed by Udāyī (Udāyibhadda) who was not his son but his brother.

Raychaudhury takes Darśaka to be a *māndalika rāja* and not king of Magadha. Udāyī may have advanced better claims for the throne not only because he was elder to Darśaka but also because like his father Ajātašatru, he was also a viceroy at Campā. According to Mahāvamsa Udāyī became king after killing his parents. The Jain tradition knows of violent death of Kuṇika Ajātašatru.
Udāyibhadra or Udāyīn in the fourth year of his reign is credited with the transfer of the capital from Rājagṛha to Pātaliputra (Kusumapura), on the confluence of the Ganga and the Son. This gave the city great commercial advantages and it also lay in a more central position than Rājagṛha in view of the then territorial limits of the Magadhan empire. Moreover, Rājagṛha was under constant threat of the Pradyotas. That Udāyī made Pātaliputra his new capital is confirmed both by the Jain and Puranic traditions. According to the Buddhist sources, Udāyibhadda ruled for 16 years. The Purāṇas give him 33 years of reign. Jains gave him 60 years. Jayaswal identified one of the Yaksha statues of Patna with Udāyī. But this view is not acceptable to many scholars. According to the Purāṇas he was succeeded by Nandivardhana followed by Mahānandin. Jains attribute no direct heir to Udāyī. Ceylonese chronicles mention Aniruddha, his son Muṇḍa and the latter’s son Nāgadāsaka in that order as successors of Udāyī. All are parricides. The Anguttara-Nikāya knows of king Muṇḍa of Pātaliputra, who may be one of the successors of Udāyī. Of the three, Muṇḍa appears to be of some importance, as the Divyāsavadāna also mentions him, and omits Aniruddha and Nāga-dāsaka. The rule of Aniruddha and Muṇḍa taken together lasted for 8 years, and Nāga-dāsaka ruled for 24 years. R. M. Smith has tried to reconcile the Puranic and the Buddhist versions. In his opinion Nandivardhana, successor of Udāyī according to the Purāṇas, had two other nick names, Aniruddha and Muṇḍa. He identifies Mahānandin of the Purāṇas with Nāgadāsaka of the Ceylonese chronicles.

(ii) The Śaśunāgas

All these kings might or might not have been parricides. But their rule was not popular and the people in disgust selected Śiśunāga, the wise minister, to be the king
of Magadha. He was at that time acting as a viceroy at Vărāṇasi. According to the Mahāvaṁśa-ṭīkā, when the populace became infuriated against the rājā Nāgadaśaka, they deposed him, and Śiśunāga was augmented monarch with the title of Śiśunāga rājā.

Origins of Śiśunāga are shrouded in mystery. According to the Mahāvaṁśa-ṭīkā, he was the son of a Licchavi rājā and the nagara-śobhini (city-queen of beauty, chief courtesan of Vaiśāli) and was abounded and protected by a serpent (nāga), later brought up by an official. Śiśunāga’s dominion included Vărāṇasi and Vaiśāli. According to the Malankaravatthu, a late Pāli work, Śiśunāga had a royal residence in Vaiśāli, which he made his capital, probably because of its being his mother’s birth-place. But according to the Purāṇas, Rājarṣi was the capital of Śiśunāga. It appears that because of Pradyota’s open hostility, Śiśunāga might have strengthened fortification of Rājarṣi and stayed there for sometime; or he transferred the capital to Vaiśāli for sometime, as we find Pātaliputra again as the residence of his son Kālaśoka. Rājarṣi since then “lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered.” It is probably because Śiśunāga’s capital for sometime atleast was at Rājarṣi that the Purāṇas made the confusion of placing him and his dynasty earlier than Bimbisāra and his family whose grandson Udāyi had transferred the capital from Rājarṣi to Pātaliputra for the first time.

Śiśunāga’s main achievement is the destruction of the power of the Pradyotas. The Purāṇas make specific mention of this. The Pradyota king who suffered this disaster was Avantivardhana. In the progress towards realisation of political integration of northern India, this success of the Magadhan imperialism against the Pradyotas of Avanti registered a great leap forward. Now there was
left hardly any great power to resist Magadhan imperialism successfully. Śiśunāga facilitated the success of Mahāpadma nanda as the Ekarat and Cakravartin. According to the Dīpavaṃśa, Śiśunāga reigned for 18 years. According to the Purāṇas, he ruled for 40 years.

According to the Purāṇas, Śiśunāga was succeeded by his son Kākavarna. He was first appointed by his father at Varanasi as viceroy. The Buddhist sources name him as Kālāśoka. The Dīpavaṃśa refers to him as Aśoka, son of Śiśunāga and to the former's rule in the town of Paṭaliputra. He brought back the capital to Paṭaliputra permanently and in the 10th year of his reign the second Buddhist council after 100 years of the death of the Buddha was held at Vaiśāli. According to a Jain source quoted by Smith, Kālāśoka had besieged Ujjayinī and captured it after killing its king who was Ajaka. Kālāśoka-Kākavarnī died soon after. Kākavarna had a tragic end. According to Bana, he had a dagger thrust into his chest in the vicinity of his city. He appears to have been murdered by Mahāpadma Nanda. According to Buddhist sources, Kālāśoka ruled for 28 years. According to the Purāṇas, 36 years or 26 years (Matsya).

According to the Mahāvaṃśa, his ten sons ruled after him simultaneously, the ninth and the tenth being Nandivardhana and Pañcamaka. Bhandarkar sought to identify him with Nandivardhana who is mentioned in the Purāṇas. R. D. Banerji and Jayaswal tried to identify him with Nandarāja of Khāravela's Hāthigumpha inscription. This identification, as shown later, is unacceptable. The attempt by Jayaswal and Banerji to identify one of the Patna statues with Nandivardhana and their readings of the inscription have been seriously challenged by eminent scholars. Nandivardhana of the Purāṇas was a scion of the Śaiśunāga dynasty, and not one of the Nava (nine)
Nandas\textsuperscript{57}. The last of the Śaśunāgas was done away with by Mahāpadma Nanda\textsuperscript{57a}. This event may be placed in c. 345 B.C.

(iii) The Nandas

Mahāpadma Nanda is described in the Purāṇas as a son of Mahānandi (last of the Kṣatrabandhus) by a śūdra woman\textsuperscript{58}. According to the Jain tradition, Mahāpadma was the son of a courtesan by a barber\textsuperscript{58a}. Curtius refers to Agrāmmes identical with Dhanananda, the last Nanda king, as son of a barber, who gained affection of the queen and murdered his sovereign, put the young princes to death and became king.\textsuperscript{59} Here the classical account tries to give some respectability to the Nanda by associating him with the queen, contrary to the Jain source which makes him a son of a barber and a courtesan. According to the Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā based on Āṭṭhakathā, the first of the nine Nandas was of an extraction (maternally) of the royal family, he dwelt in one of the provinces, and had become a leader of bandits, pillaging the country. Soon after, he began to entertain ambitions to become a supreme sovereign and after duly reducing to submission provincial towns, attacked Pāṭaliputra and usurped the sovereignty. He was followed by his brothers. They altogether reigned for 22 years.\textsuperscript{60a} However, the base origin of the Nandas is clear, and the Purāṇas also declare that after the Śaśunāgas, the Śūdras will become kings.\textsuperscript{60} However, the Purānic version of Nanda being son of the last Śaśunāga is not corroborated. Mahāpadma might have murdered Kāḷasoka and then ruled as regent for the latter's sons for about 22 years killing them one by one, and ultimately becoming the king in c. 345 B.C. Mahāpadma is also known as Ugrasena.\textsuperscript{60a} Ugra is a caste born of Kṣatariya mother and Śūdra father. This may add strength to the Purānic version. Agrāmmas of the
Greeks is probably a distorted form of Sanskrit Augrasentya, son of Ugrasena.  

Mahāpadma founded the Nanda dynasty which had nine kings, so they are Nava-Nandas. There is no basis for the Jain tradition (Parīśivāparvan, VI. 236-242. Ed. Jaedi, p. 46) that Nanda (Mahāpadma Nanda) was selected by the state emblems as king after the throne had become vacant since the death of Udāyi and then the principal men anointed him king. However, there may be some truth in the Jain account that affixed because of his base origin. Nanda was not shown proper respect by nobles and vassal kings. But soon he established his authority throughout his kingdom. Kshemendra has referred to Pūrvananda whom Jayaswal thought to mean Early Nandas and identical with Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, and Rapson is disposed to agree here. But we know, the last two were scions of the Śāisūnāga dynasty, and Pūrvananda in singular was used in juxtaposition to Yogananda (Pseudo-Nanda). The Purāṇas and the Ceylonese Chronicles know of only one Nanda line. Rapson suggests that the Nandas were a hill tribe living between the Gaṅgā and the Kośā near the river Rāmganga, Purāṇās refer to nava-nandān, (DKA. p. 26), meaning a family or dynasty of Nandas. Kauṭilya refers to the Nandas as a ruling dynasty (K. A. XV. 1.73). Justin also referred to Nandrum (Majumdar op. cit. p. 193 note. 2) which has been corrected by many as Alexandrum. Milindapaṇho (Rhys Davids Trans. Pt. II. p. 147) refers to the royal family of Nanda. Nandarāja (definitely a family name) is mentioned twice in the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela.

Mahāpadma Nanda claims to have been kshatriyāntaka (exterminator of the Kshatriyas), a second Parasurāma, (Bhārgava) by killing all the Kshatriyas. He becomes the ekarat (sole monarch), ekacaktra. If the Purānic account
is believed, then Mahāpadma Nanda must have brought to an end all the Kshatriya dynasties such as Ikshvākus of Kośala (Oudh), Pañcālas, (between the Upper Gaṅgā and Gomati—together with a part of the central Doab), Kāśis, Haihayas (Narmadā Valley), Kaliṅgas (extending from the river Vaitarani to the Vārāhanandi in Vizagapatam district) Asmakas (Godavari Valley), Kurus, Maithilas (Videha including Nepal Tarai), Śūrasenas (Mathurā), Vitihotras (Narmada Valley) etc. which are declared by the Purāṇas to be contemporary with the Bārhadrathas and the Śaiśunāgas. Pradyotas of Avanti had supplanted the Vitihotras and the Haihayas and were themselves destroyed by Śiśunāga. These territories were now under the Nandas who are mentioned as successors of Palaka in Jain works. Kāśi and Mithilā regions were already under the Magadhan empire, annexed much earlier. The Nandas from Vaishali may have occupied the Nepal Tarai. If the Purānic account is to be reconciled with known facts, then it may be said that though some of these contemporary kingdoms had become parts of the Magadhan empire, their dynasties might have continued with their scions as subordinate rulers or viceroys, or they might have later revolted. Smith may be right when he says, “Mahāpadma centralised government and abolished vassal king.” It was the first successful attempt in Indian History towards political integration under a sole monarch (ekarāt). Mahāpadma Nanda appears to have completely uprooted the dynasties. The Jain sources also vouchsafe a large dominion of the Nandas. Reference to the empire extending to the seas might suggest that Western India—Gujarat and Saurashtra—was conquered by the Nandas, and Candragupta only inherited it by overthrowing the Nanda rule. The rule of the Nandas in the Madhyapradesh including Asmaka territory under the Haihayas, may be inferred from the existence of a city named Nau Nanda Dehra. The
Kāliṅga conquest by Nanda is clearly referred to in the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela. This Nanda is credited with opening of a canal 300 years ago and he had also carried away a Jain image from Kaliṅga. There is an unending controversy about the identification of this king, Nanda. He cannot be a local king. He was most likely Mahāpadma Nanda himself, who had, in course of digvijaya, invaded and conquered Kaliṅga. Kośala, which had already weakened itself much due to the policy of Viduḍabha, had yielded palm to Magadha, and Sumittra, the last of the Ikshvākus, was overthrown by Mahāpadma who brought it under his direct authority. Kathāsaritsāgara refers to a camp of Nanda at Ayodhya. The Pancālas, the Kurus, the Śūrasenas in the upper Gangetic valley were certainly within the Nanda empire. Mahāpadma Nanda's success was largely due to his large army including a huge elephant force, knowledge of which put terror into the hearts of the Greeks under Alexander. Thus the Nanda empire was the first historical empire in India transcending the Gangetic basin. According to Hemacandra, Kalpaka, a very learned and wise Brāhmaṇa, was Nanda's prime minister under whose advice the power and fame of the Nandas attained its meridian.

Mahāpadma Nanda, according to the Matsya Purāṇa, ruled for 88 years, and his eight sons ruled for 12 years after him. Thus a total of 100 years is allotted to the Nanda rule by the Purāṇas. It has been suggested that it is a mistake for 28 (ashtaśati for ashtavimśati), mentioned in a ms. of the Vāyu Purāṇa. The Ceylonese account gives a total period of 22 years for the nine Nandas. This probably excludes the period when he was acting as regent for Kālavāka's sons. Mahāpadma's first son was Sukalpa, Sumālyā or Sahalya. His last successor was Dhana-nanda, who was put to death by Cāṇakya who stalled
Candragupta. Dhanananda has been rightly identified with the Agrammes or Xandremes of the classical writers. He was ruling over the most powerful people across the Gaṅgā known as Gangaridae and Prasii (Prācyas) and whose capital was Pāṭaliputra. He is said to have amassed huge wealth and hid it under the bed of the Gaṅgā. Xenophon probably refers to him or his father as the Indian king, a very wealthy man. The Mudrārākshasa refers to the Nandas as navanavatsadravyakotiśvarāḥ and again as artharuci. In the Kathāsaritsāgara there is a reference to a king Nanda possessing 990 millions of gold pieces. According to a Ceylonese tradition, Dhanananda was so called because he was addicted to hoarding of wealth and had collected 80 kotis in a rock in the bed of the river Gaṅgā and buried it there. Hiuen Tsang also refers to the five treasures of the Nanda’s seven precious substances. Sastri refers to a Tamil poem mentioning “a very famous Nanda, victorious in war, who having accumulated treasure first in beautiful Pāṭaliputra hid it in the water of the Ganges.” It is clear that he was unpopular both on account of his being a Śūdra or of a base origin, and because of imposition of heavy taxation and extortions. He is said to have levied taxes, repeatedly, even on skins, gums, trees and stones. The minister of the ninth Nanda was Śakatāla. Vararuci also gained favours of the Nanda king. Candragupta spoke of his unpopularity to Alexander. Porus also informed him of the low caste of Nanda and his vast military power. Agrammes, the king of Prasii and Gangarida, had an army of 20000 cavalry, 200000 infantry, 2000 chariots and 3000 (4000) elephants.

But the Nanda dynasty was not destined to continue longer. The Purāṇas inform us that a Brahmin named Kauṭilya supplanted the dynasty and the Mauryas came to power. The Nanda rule appears to have come to an end in c. 324-3 B.C.
The significance of Nanda rule cannot be over-emphasised. By the time of Mahāpadma, almost the whole of North India and also parts of the Deccan were brought under one political system. On the basis of later Mysore inscriptions, extension of Nanda empire to Kuntala may be suggested. This was not impossible as the Deccan and South India were then not organised politically, and in course of digvijaya the Magadhan army which overran the Kaliṅgas, Asmakas, might have reached Kuntala. However, only additional and at the same time earlier evidence to corroborate the testimony of inscriptions of the 12th century would settle the point. The Nandas had carried on the torch of imperial unity and political stability from the Haryāṇākas and the Śaśiunāgas, and had largely succeeded in approaching the boundaries of the Achemenian Indian provinces. V.A. Smith rightly observes that the Nandas, “compelled the naturally repellant molecules of the body politic to check their gyrations and submit to the grasp of a superior controlling force.” While one cannot definitely say what would have happened to Āryāvarta, if the Nandas had not ended the weak political dynasties of the Upper Gangetic Valley. The Śaśiunāga-Nanda empire supported by a large and efficient army did not only deter the Achemenian advance but also contributed to the retreat of the Greeks under Alexander the Great. It bequeathed to the Mauryas a large empire and an efficient fighting machine full of still greater promise. Pāṭaliputra, the capital, also became both the centre of wealth, pomp and grandeur, and also of education. Lakshmi and Sarasvatī, two mutually jealous sisters, were made to live together. Varsha, Upavarsa, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Vararuci and Vyādi flourished in this period. Rājaśeikhara's reference to Pāṭaliputra’s Academy whose certificates were coveted by scholars from different parts of the country, most probably is applicable to the age of the
Nandas. The Nandas liberally paid to learned Brāhmaṇas for their original compositions. The Nanda rule also signified the rise of the lower classes. They patronised Jainism. So they are called adhārmikas by the Purāṇas.

(iv) Political Institutions and Administration under the Monarchy up to 325 B.C.

Monarchy was the main type of state in South Bihar in the beginning of the 6th century B.C. A strong monarchy was established in Magadha under the Bāhradratha dynasty, Jarāsandha, its most important epic hero, had his weight felt as far as Mathurā in the west. Bimbisāra, the first historical king, so to say, not only initiated a policy of territorial expansion by military conquest and matrimonial alliances, but also realised that political stability and military successes depend on sound administrative base and popular goodwill.

We do not get many details of administration but we know that the king was assisted by ministers or mahāmātrās and Varshakāra was one such minister of Ajātaśatru. High officers (Rajabhāta) of the state were classified as (1) the executive (Sabbathhaka), (ii) the judicial (Vohārika), and the military (Senānāyaka). The king exercised full control over all the branches of administration, dismissing officers, who advised him badly and rewarding those whose advice was approved. We have some glimpse of judicial administration which was characterised by rough and ready justice. The punishments meted out to criminals found guilty included mutilation of limbs, imprisonment and capital punishment.

The empire which was three hundred leagues in extent in the time of Bimbisāra and five hundred leagues in the early days of Ajātaśatru, was for administrative reasons divided into many provinces or subordinate units. Newly conquered Anā was one such province at whose capital
Campā, Ajātaśatru was stationed as a Viceroy. Since Ajātaśatru's time, Vārāṇasi became another provincial headquarter; we know that Śiśunāga was stationed there as Viceroy. Vaiśāli was another such provincial capital. Different mandalas of the kingdom were under mandalikarājās, who were enjoying large autonomy in their respective domains and were actually sub-rājās or feudal barons under the king-emperor.

The villages numbering 80,000³ were enjoying a large degree of self-government, under village panchayats since long ago. Bimbisāra as a wise and strong king wanted to make his impact felt on the village-people constituting the vast majority of his subjects, through grāma-bhūjakas, probably royal officers or semi-officials; and maintained some control over village administration and brought some uniformity in it. Moreover, the grāma-bhūjakas were better fitted to collect royal share or tithe from the villages. It may be realised that the royal treasury needed sufficient sum from the villages for the maintenance of the large military force and to carry out the aggressive imperial policy.

Not much information is available about the sources of revenue of the king. It has been presumed on the indirect evidences of the Jātakas and other Buddhist sources that tithe as an annual tax on produce was collected from the subjects. The Dharmasūtras of the period speak of the share (bhāga) due to the king. Forest preserves were under the disposal of the king. The king also was entitled to presents from his subjects, on the occasion of the birth of a heir to him, and estates whose proprietors died without leaving any heir lapsed to the state. It appears that the king could impose forced labour, corvee, on the people on certain occasions like building of road or city. Coinage appears to be prevalent and at the time of Bimbisāra and
Ajātaśatru at Rajagrha, five māshakas were equal to one pāda, and nikka (nishka) was valued at 4 or 5 suvarṇas.

Bimbisāra bestowed attention on improvement of communications, cities and forts. Hiuen Tsang refers to roads and causeways built by Bimbisāra. Bimbisāra’s capital city lay in Kuśāgrapura, the hill-girt area of Rājagrha. But later he constructed a new capital, Rajagrha, north of the old city. Bimbisāra had strengthened the fortification of Rajagrha in view of danger from Avanti. Ajātaśatru also strengthened the defences because of the same reason and constructed a fort on the bank of the Gangā in Pātaligrāma, which became Pātaliputra. Udāyi-bhadra shifted the capital from Rājagrha to Pātaliputra. It appears that in view of the threat from Avanti, Śiśunāga stayed in Rajagrha which might have regained its position as the capital. Vaiśāli was another city which also claimed Śiśunaga’s favour. Kalāsoka certainly ruled the empire from Pātaliputra where he was found stabbed to death. Till Ajātaśatru the notable cities in Bihar were Campā, Rājagrha, Vaiśāli and Mithilā. Pātaliputra soon after superseded these in prominence.

There is still less information about administration under the Nandas. But there is no doubt that high officers during weak rule could become danger to the ruler. The first Nanda king Mahāpadma Ugrasena might have been the Chief Minister and Commander-in-chief of the army, and exercised great power. He could easily get rid of the king and his sons in a few years and assume royalty. The Nandas, if Pariśīṣṭaparōjan and the Mudrārākṣhasa are to be believed, continued to have ministers or advisers like Kalpaka, Sakaṭāla and Rākshasa. The Nanda empire, as we have seen, was very extensive in area, from the Beas to the Bay of Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Godavari valley. Outlying provinces of the empire continued
to enjoy large degree of autonomy under sub-rājas, who as we shall see, bowed before Candragupta and then again raised their heads during Candragupta's war against the Nandas. But the home provinces were directly administered, and appear to have been under oppressive taxation. The last Nanda king Dhanananda was extremely miserly and avaricious. He is said to have levied taxes even on skins, gums and stone. His wealth amounted to 990 millions of gold pieces and he buried 80 crores of gold into a bedrock of the Gaṅgā at Pātaliputra. Trade and commerce was brisk and special kinds of weights and measures were introduced by the Nandas—nandopakramāṇī mānāni. Candragupta had thus a precedent in introducing royal weights and measures. The Nandas rule was unpopular. But because of a large army consisting of 20,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, 2000 chariots and 3000 or 4000 elephants, the people did not come out into open rebellion but they must have welcomed Candragupta who liberated them from the Nanda tyranny.

References

2. DKA. p. 18. Pulika, Sunaka, Sanaka, Munika, Punika, are the variants of the name. In the *Vishnupurāṇa* it is said that an amātya of the name of Sunika will kill his own master and appoint his son Pradyota.
2a. CHL I. p. 310.
3. PHAI. (6th edn.), p. 114, note 2. Actually the Purāṇas after ending the line of the Bāhradrathas with Ripuhjaya introduce the Pradyotas before Śāsunāgas. Pulika's or Sunika's son is Pradyota (DKA. p. 18) Pargiter held that the Pradyotas belonged to Magadha, while other scholars thought that Pargiter had mistranslated the first line. According to R. Morton Smith, it is not so. He translates the passage as meaning "when the Bāhradrathas had passed away, among
the Vṛtiḥotras in Avanti, Pulika will kill his master (JAOS. 77. No. 4. pp 268-69). The passage is thus—

"Bṛhadrātāsya otteteshu Vṛtiḥotresya Avantisyah
Pulikāh svāmināḥ hatvā svaputraṁ abhishekṣyati"  

If this interpretation is correct, the question is what was happening in Magadha with the end of the Bṛhadrātha dynasty?

4. DKA. pp. 19-20. Now the question is where did Śiśunāga become king after destroying the Pradyotas? Obviously in Avanti, and not in Magadha where he was already reigning.

5. PHAI. p. 115-116.

6. Ibid. p. 68,114.


7a. DKA. p. 21.

7b. MV. (Geiger) p. XLVI.

8. According to the MV, Bimbisāra was installed by his father Bhaṭṭiya in his 15th year (MV. Pt. I, ch. II. p. 8; N.L.Dey, JASB. 1914. p. 321). Other names given for his father by later writers are Bodhīśa, Mahāpadma, Hemajit, Kshemajit. According to the Purāṇas his father was Kṣatrauṛja who reigned for 40 years (DKA. p. 21). R.M. Smith has suggested a reorientation of the Purānic verses. In his view Purānic ṇākas got inverted; and the verses beginning from Śiśunāga and ending with Kṣemadharmā should be placed after the verse ending with Mahānanda. Kṣatratāṣya lived for 40 years and reigned for 24 years as the Vāyu would have it (JAOS. 74. No. 4, pp 271-72).


8b. Jat. 539. p. 20; Ind. Ant. VI, 229.

9. The Vīdhura Pañcāśīta Jātaka (Cowell VI. 133) describes Rāja-grha as a city of Aṅgā; PHAI. p. 110.

10. JASB 1914. p. 321, PHAI. p. 207 Note-3; It is not clear whether Aṅgā was annexed by Bimbisāra as a crown prince and he became a viceroy at Cāmpa (PHAI, p. 110) or it was annexed by Bimbisāra when he was already the king of Magadha (PHAI, p. 267).

11. PHAI, p. 206.

12. Ibid. p. 206.
13. CHI. I. p. 156; PHAI, p. 206-7 ff.3. According to the Jātakas (239, 283, 492), Ajātaśatru was born of Kosalan princess.


14a. CHI. I, p. 183.


14c. PHAI. p. 205 note 1.

15. Mf. Pt. I, p. 8; The Purāṇas assign him a reign of 28 years (DKA. p. 21); The Brahmaṇḍa makes it 38. (note. 21). According to the Matsya Purāṇa his father Kshatrapuṇja ruled for 24 years (Matsya, DKA. p. 21 note 17), though other Purāṇas give him 40 years (DKA. 21). The Mahānāma’s 52 years may mean the combined rule of Bimbisāra and his father (Bhāttiya) and of Bimbisāra alone after his father’s death. Smith thinks that 52 years was the life year of Bimbisāra, who was born in 544 B.C. and came to throne in 521 B.C., and if his rule for 38 years is accepted then he comes to throne in 531 B.C. He was contemporary of the Buddha, who got enlightenment in the same year, Bimbisāra was not Yaśurāja but a co-king with his father even if the Buddhist sources are to be believed. (JAOS. Vol. 77. No. 4. p. 271). According to Smith, the figure 40 for Kshatrapuṇja given in the Purāṇas in his life-figure, and the Matsya gives his reignal period. So he must have revolted at the age of 16, and we are to believe that he had just then a son born to him (Ibid). It is not impossible but very unlikely.


17. Jacobi referring to the Nirvāṇali Sūtra in his Kalpaśūtras of Bhadravāhu, 1879, p. 5. V. A. Smith who first believed that Ajātaśatru slew his father (EHI. p. 35), in the 4th edition of the work held that it was difficult to accept the story of the parricide as historically true.

17a. CHI. I. p. 184.

18. Ibid.
19. Ibid. According to *Samyutta Nikāya* at first Pasenadi was forced to retreat to Savatthi (Śrāvasti), but he rallied back and captured Ajātaśatru. R. M. Smith thinks that Ajātaśatru hurriedly reconciled with Pasenadi because of the threat to Rājgrha by Pradyota ([JAOS, 77. No. 4, p. 267]). According to the *Ārya-Maṇju-Srī-Mūla-Kalpa* (AMMK, 23,322), Kāśi was a part of Ajātaśatru's dominion.

20. PHAI. pp. 211-12.


21a. *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*—Dialogues of the Buddha by Rhys Davids, II, p. 78; R. M. Smith thinks that Ajātaśatru's first attack on the Vṛjji republic was repulsed in 488 B.C. "A repulse is far better explanation of his building a fort at Pātaliputra. An unexpected check is a more likely explanation for the defensive." [JAOS, 77 No 4, Page 268.]

21b. JRAS. 1931; DPPN. II. 846.


21d. *Nirayavī Śūtra*, qu. PHAI, p. 212.

22. CHI. I. pp. 185; PHAI. p. 214.

22a. CHI. I., pp. 188-189.

23. K.A. XI. 1. 5. The Licchivikas and the Vṛjikas are referred to separately.

23a. AMMK. III.

24. *Majjhima Nikāya* III. 7. PHAI. p. 215. According to Rapson, Pradyota had established temporary sovereignty over Magadha as a result of the attack on Rājgrha in the time of Ajātaśatru (CHI. I, p. 311). Udena or Udayana of Vatta (Prayāga region) was a junior contemporary of Caṇḍa Pradyota whose daughter Vāsavadatta fell in love with Udayana, who remained under the influence of his father-in-law. Smith suggests that Pradyota in fact conquered the kingdom of Vatta. ([JAOS, 77. No. 4, p. 267]) This must have brought Magadha and Avanti quite close to each other. This might have happened quite early in the reign of Ajātaśatru, who fortified Rājgrha in apprehension of Pradyota's attack at about the same time when the war with Kośala was on. Both Kośala and Magadha were afraid of Caṇḍa Pradyota's aggressive intentions (ibid, pp. 267-68). This event may have taken place in cir. 489 B.C. It appears that Praṣenajit had to flee to Rājgrha for shelter with his son-in-law against
revolt in Kośala engendered by Avanti. Prasenajit died at the city gate of Rājagrha; however this might have provoked Canda to besiege Rājagrha. But nothing came out, as the defence under Prince Abhaya, son of Bimbisāra and brother of Ajṭāsātru proved successful. It is not necessary to believe that the attack came in the time of Bimbisāra himself (ABRORI, 1920-21, p. 3; DPPN. I. 128) Ajṭāsātru might have employed his brother to lead the defence of the capital city. The tension appears to have continued in the time of Udāyi also (Jacobi-Parśishtaparvan, pp. 45-46).

26. DKA. p. 21. In some Matisya mss., reign of 27 years is attributed to Ajṭāsātru.
27. JAOS. Vol. 77, No. 4, pp. 271-2.
28. Dīghanikāya I 50; Dialogues of the Buddha I, 68; DV. IV. 38, V. 97, 11.8; MV. Pt. 1, Ch. III. p. 11: Parśishtaparvan p. 42. Udāyiibhadda is a parricide according to the Mahāvamsa (IV. p. 11).
29. DKA. p. 21.
29a. Geiger (Mahāvamsa) p. XLV.
29b. E. H. I. p. 39, note I.
29c. Udāyi had dethroned a king whose son entered into the service of Udāyi's rival, the king of Avanti and promised to kill Udāyi if the former made him his ally and equal. This son of the king later in the guise of a Jain ascetic went to Pātaliputra and killed Udāyi—Parśishtaparvan Intro. Jacobi p. 45.
30. JAOS Vo. 77, No. 4, p. 270 (table p. 272).
30a. PHAI. p. 216.
31a. Mahāvamsa pt. I (Turnour), ch IV, p. 11,
31b. Jacobi, Parśishtaparvan 2nd edn. p. XIII.
32. DKA. p. 22; Parśishtaparvan VI. 34; 175-180; Gārgisamhita (Kern. Bṭhattasamhita, 36). Jacobi's view that Udāyi and Kākavāraṇa are identical has been rightly rejected by Geiger MV. p. XLIII).
33. Parśishtaparvan pp. 45-46 refers to the enmity between Udāyi and the king of Avanti. Vatsa had already become a part of Avanti's king Pālaka's dominion (Tawney's Trans. of the KSS. II, p. 484), and so the struggle begun in the time of
Ajātaśatru continued. Magadha had only Avanti as its only important rival to deal with.

25. *DV*, IV. 38; MV, IV. p. 11.
26. DKA, p. 22.
27. JAOS, Vol. 77, No. 4, p. 270. The 60 years may be his life figure.
28. PHAI, p. 218 foot note I.
29. DKA, p. 22.
31. *MV*, Ch. IV, p. 11. All the three are regarded as parricides.
32. Anguttara Nikāya III, 57-63.
33. *MV*, Ch. IV, p. 11.
34. JAOS, Vol. 77, No. 4, p. 270.
36. Ibid., p. XXXVIII. The author of the *Parīśītāpatraṇa* is certainly confused when he speaks of selection of Nanda as king after Udāyi. *Parīśītāpatraṇa*. Intro p. 46.
37. *MV* (Turnour) pt. I p. XXXVII. The story is said to have been taken from the *Atthaṅkathā*. It is relevant to note that Tārānātha mentions that the Second Buddhist Council was held under king Nandin of the Līchhavi race in Kusumapurt Vihāra. We know that in Kālaśoka's time the second Buddhist council was held at Vaiśali. Filliozat had reconciled the contradiction. Nandin has been identified with Kālaśoka (Nandin means happiness and Asoka means free from chargin) Kusumapurt Vihāra may have been in Vaiśali (Studies in Aśokan Inscriptions). Being son of śiśunāga born of a Līchhavi chief and city courtesan, Kālaśoka (Nandin) could well be taken to belong to the Līchhavi race. Filliozat identifies Kālaśoka with Nandivardhana of the Purāṇas (Ibid p. 8; J. A. 1948, p. 194).
38. qu. in PHAI, pp. 116, 219.
39. DKA, p. 21.
40. SBE. XI, p. XVI.
42. DKA, p. 21.
47a. *DV* (Geiger) IV. 7.
47b. DKA. p. 21.
48. PHAI. p. 221, Jayaswal has tried to identify Aja-Udåyi and Nandivardhana of Bimbisära's family with Áryaka or Ajaka and Nandivardhana of the Avanti List (JBORS.............)
This is untenable. The Purânas definitely make Pâlaka, Viśakhayûpa, Ajaka (Sûryaka) and Nandivardhana as descendants of Pradyota (DKA. p. 21). Bhandarkar (Garm. Lect. 1918. p. 64 ff.) has ably shown on the basis of the *Myâchâkatâka* that Áryaka was a cowboy who was raised to the throne after the overthrow of the tyrant Pâlaka. But J. Sen (IHQ. 1930, p. 699) holds that Ajaka was the son of Gopaḷa, the elder brother of Pâlaka.

48a. DKA. p. 21. Filliozat (Studies in Asokan Inscription, p. 8) identifies Kâlásoka with the Nandin of Taranâtha in whose reign the Second Buddhist Council was held and with Nandivardhana of the Purânic list.
49. DKA. p. 21.
50. MV. IV. p. 11. *DV* refers to him as Aśoka son of Śisunâga (V. 25). Kâlásoka and Kâkavarin are identical (PHAI. revised 5th Edn. 221-222) Asokavardhana refers to Kâkavarin, not Kâlásoka.


51. *DV*. Suvannagassa putto Aśoka ladda āri mahtpato, Pâtaliputta nagaramhi râjjan Kâresi Khattiya. (V. 25);
The Mahâvihara refers to the hiretic Buddhist monks going from Vaisali to the capital city Pâtaliputra (Pupphapura) where king Kâlásoka was residing (MV. (Geiger) ch. IV., 32.). The transference of capital from Râjagaha to Pâtaliputra is ascribed to Kâlásoka by a Burmese tradition (Buddhist India, p. 27, Chap. II, note 63). Hsuan Tsang attributes this to Aśoka—O-Shu-kia or Wu-Yan—(Beal II, p. 85 ff.). Geiger points out that the Chinese pilgrim is referring here to an earlier Asoka than Aśoka Maurya (MV. p XLIV). Mahâbodhivihara refers to Ajâtaśatru, Udayabhadda, Anuruddha, Mûndô, M(N)âgadaya (Sa) Ka, Siṣunâga as kings of Magadha (Magadharâyanam) and to Kâlásoka as residing in the best city Pâtaliputra (Pâtaliputram name Uttamam nagaram) (Mahâbodhivamśa—Stong, 1891, p. 96.
52. DV. V. 23-29; MV (Geiger) IV. 8.
52a. JAOS VA. 77 No. 4. p. 269.
53. Harshacarita (Ed. by Kaśināth Pandurang Parab, p. 233). It has been suggested on the authority of Jain sources that Kākavarpin had attacked Avanti and temporarily occupied it; and later, on return was murdered in the vicinity of his city (JAOS, Vol. 77, No. 4, p. 269). The Jain reference may actually suggest the victory over Pradyota of Avanti in the time of Śiśunāga when Kālāśoka-Kākavarpin might have been in charge of the invasion.
54. See infra.
54a. MV (Turnour) pt. I, Ch. IV. p. 11, ff. 5.
54b. DKA, p. 21, and note 11.
54c. MV (Turnour) pt. I, Ch. V. p. 21.
55. PHAI. (6th edn.), p. 222. Mahābodhivamsa (Strong) p. 98 has them as sons of Kālāśoka, Bhadrasena, Koraṇḍavarna, Mangura, Sarvaṇjaka, Jalika, Ubbāka, Sanjaya, Kosavya, Nandivardhana and Pañcamana.
56a. PHAI. 6th Ed. 222-24 & BORS 1918, p. 91.
56b. Ibid p. 222-23, foot note 5.
57. DKA, p. 22. According to the Purāṇas Kshemadharman was Kālāśoka’s successor.
57a. According to a Jain tradition Nanda became king after the assassination of Udāyi and 60 years after the death of Mahāvīra (Pariśītisāra VI. 243). Was this Nanda, Nandivardhana, who followed Udāyi according to the Purāṇas?
58. DKA, p. 25. According to the Purāṇas, Mahānandī belonged to the family of Śiśunāga and came after Nandivardhana who had followed Udāyi p. 22. But we have seen that Purāṇic verses appear to be hopelessly mixed, and Mahānandī of the Purāṇas should be really placed in the dynasty of Bimbisāra. We know from the Harshacarita that Kālāśoka was murdered, and it has been accepted that the murderer was Mahāpadma Nanda. So it is possible that Mahānandī of the Purāṇas whose son was Mahāpadma Nanda was probably Kālāśoka himself. According to Smith, he was Nāga-dāsaka (JAOS Vol. 77 No. 4, p. 275). But the Greek accounts which are contemporary throw interesting light as will be seen later. It appears that it is not definite whether
Mahāpadma Nanda was connected with the Śisunāga family through his father or mother. Eggeman identifies Mahāpadma with Mahānandā of the Purāṇas (Chronology of Aśoka Maurya p. 154ff) mainly on the ground that one in some Purāṇa mss. Mahānandā, Nanda are mentioned for Mahāpadma (DKA. p. 74. note 9).

58a. Jacobi-Parīśitihāparvan, p. 46.

59. Majumdar, R.G., Classical Accounts of India, pp. 129-130.

59a. MV (Turnour), Intro. p. XXVIII-IX.

60. DKA. p. 25.

60a. Mahābhāratamśa

60b. PHAI (enlarged 5th ed.) p. 233.

60c. Smith thinks that there were only 3 Nandas (JAOS. 77. No. 4 p. 276).

60d. JBORS 1915, p. 21;

60e. CHI. I. pp. 313-14.

61. PHAI (5th Edn.), p. 223.

61a. CHI. p. 314.; Mahāpadmapati is known as sovereign of infinite host (Wilson, Vīha Purāṇa, IX. p. 184 n.)

62. DKA. p. 25. Sarvakṣhatrāṇiākṣaṇā. Mahāpadmapura, a city on the Ganges is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, (XII, 353. 1).

62a. Ibid. p. 25.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid. pp. 23-24.

64a. Sastri, Age of the Nanda and Mauryas, p. 20.

64b. Sastri, Age of the Nandas and the Mauryas, p. 19.

64c. JAOS, Vol. 77, No. 4. p. 273.

65. Parīśitihāparvan VII. 81. Saumitraasanelebhya āsamudramapiśryah upayāhastāārakṣaḥbhya tāvāh so kṣta Nandasāt.

66. PHAI, p. 235.

67. Sircar, D. G., S. I. Vol. I. p. 213. Ti-Vasa-rata has been taken to mean 300 and not 103. See also PHAI. p. 229, Note 2.

68. KSS (Taweny) I p. 21.

68a. Parīśitihāparvan VII, 70-84. Ed. by Jacobi (pp. 48-49).


69a. Smith, R. M., thinks that the Purāṇa really mean that Kauṭilya at the age of 116 uprooted the Nandas (JAOS 77. IV. p. 274).
References

70. DKA. note 17, PHAI. p. 236.
71. Mahâvamsa (Geiger) V. 15.
71a. DKA. p. 25, note 24.
72. Mahâvamsa V. 16-17.
Mahâbodhisamta (Strong, p. 98) names nine Nandas as follows—Ugrasenananda, Pandukananda, Bhutapalanananda, Rathapalanananda, Govisânananda, Dasasiddhakananda, Kevâtananda and Dhananananda.
73. PHAI (5th enlarged edition) p. 236.
73a. Aiyangar, S.K. Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 89.
74. qu. in PHAI. p. 230; It probably refers to Mahâpadma Nanda.
75. Mudrârâkshasa, Act. II. V. 27; Act. I.
76. KSS (Tawney) I, p. 21.
77. Mahâvamsa (Turnour), p. XXXIX.
78. Watters, II, p. 296.
Beal II. p. 94. The five Stûpas near Pâtaliputra ascribed to Aûka were attributed by another tradition to Nandarâja, and supposed to be his treasuries. (qu. in Smith Eng. p. 41. note 2).
79. Majumdar op. cit. p. 199 (Plutarch).
79a. MV. (Turnour) pt. I, Intro. p. XXXIX.
79b. Paristhâtarpavam (Jacobi) pp. 50 ff.
80. Majumdar op. cit. pp. 128-129.
80a. Ibid. p. 128 (Curtius). According to Plutarch, the kings of Prasii and Ganganadai had 80000 horses, 200000 foot, 8000 war chariots, and 6000 fighting elephants (Ibid. p. 198). Does it suggest that the king of Ganganadai was a subordinate king having his own army joined with that of the overlord Nanda king? But the number of foot soldiers is the same. Ganganadai has been equated with Gangâhrdaya and located between Tamluk and Chittagong between the old courses of the Bhâgirâthi and the Padmâ (Amitabha Bhattâcârya, East Vol. I. No. 170 ff).
82. Rice—Mysore and Coorg from the Inscription, p. 3, that Fleet—Dynasties of the Kanarese District, 284, n. 2.
82a. Smith, V.A. quoted in the Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 25.

82b. Sastri, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 25. Vararuci's association with the last Nanda as contemporary with Sakatāla referred to by Hemacandra (Parīśihaṭaparvan ed. by Jacobi, pp. 50-52).

83. Vinaya, I; 179.


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CHAPTER XIII

Buddhist Religion, Philosophy and Literature
600 B.C.—325 B.C.

A—Life of the Buddha

During the period under discussion the later Vedic Varṇāśrama-dharma was in vogue. But there were significant changes and numerous complexities. The simple religion of the Rgveda was gradually replaced by the complex sacrificial cult and the Brahmans adept in this cult claimed the position of gods on earth. On the other hand, the Upanishads brought about a change giving the Kshatriyas also a high position in the philosophical field, of which the Brāhmaṇas were so long the only masters. The epoch under review shows that the Brāhmaṇas lost some of their ancient glory and the Kshatriyas rose to eminence in various respects. Again we find the ancient centres of culture lost much of their importance and new centres arose in regions which had received comparative neglect in earlier times.

The biographers of the Buddha are unanimous in accepting him as a scion of the famous Ikshvāku race. It is said that the king Okkaka by his first wife Bhaṭṭā had four sons Okkāmukha, Karanḍaka, Hatthinika and Sinipura and five daughters Piyā, Suppiyā, Anandā Vijitā and Vijitasenā. These princes and princesses had to be banished as their step-mother got the kingdom as a boon for her own son. They went to a far off forest towards the Himalayas along with eight ministers and fourfold army. The princes were in search of a suitable place to establish a city and chanced to meet a sage Kapila by name who was none else than the Bodhisattva himself. Kapila
used to live in a hermitage on the bank of a lotus pool in a Śāla-grove. He advised the princes to build the proposed city around his hermitage. They did so and the city was called Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu) after his name. The young princes conscious of their high lineage could find no suitable brides for themselves and had to select their own sisters for their wives. Their offsprings came to be known as Śākyas.

The eldest sister afflicted with leprosy married a king of Vārāṇasī who left his kingdom due to an attack of the same disease. The king and his consort, free from the disease, had thirty-two sons and built a city named Kolamāgara or Vyāghrapadyā very close to Kapilavastu.

The two cities grew side by side and the two dynasties related to each other ruled them and had matrimonial alliances among them. The Śākyas gradually spread in the north eastern part of the Uttarapradēṣa and along the border of Nepal between Bahraich and Gorakhpur. Kapilavastu remained their capital. After a long epoch Śuddhodana became the head of the Śākyas who had a republican form of government. He was not a king in the ordinary sense of the term. But the post was hereditary. His family was rich in wealth and heroes. The Buddha is often found to take pride in his high lineage. The other Śākyas were no less proud and they could offer the daughter of a maid servant to king Prasenajit of Kośala when he sought the hands of a Śākya princess.

King Śuddhodana had two wives Māyā and Mahāprajāvati, daughters of Aṇjana, a Śākya chief. The Buddha was the son of Māyā who died seven days after his birth. Before his birth Māyā with the consent of the king started for her father’s house at Devadaha with adequate arrangements befitting her position. The beautiful sight of the Śāla-groves in the Lumbint forest during the Vaisākhi
pūrṇimā (full-moon of Vaiśākha) night actuated her to sport in the groves. The time of delivery arrived and she gave birth to a male child under a Śāla tree in the lonely forest. It is said that the Bodhi tree in Bodha Gayā, Yaśodharā, the consort of the Buddha, his horse Kanṭhaka and his charioteer Chandaka were born on the same occasion. The queen along with the child and return to the capital.

The Lumbini grove was visited by emperor Asoka during the twentieth year of his reign and a stone pillar was set up by him to identify the birth-place of the Buddha.

The sage Asita came to king Śuddhodana and discovered all the major and minor marks of a great man in the child. He declared that the boy was destined to attain enlightenment and preach the Saddharma (the holy doctrine). The prince was named Sarvārthasiddha. He was also called Siddhārtha, Gautama and Śākya-simha. On the name-giving day enlightened Brāhmaṇas examined the auspicious marks on the child and prophesied his leaving the world at the sight of an old man, a sick man, a dead man and an ascetic and his ultimate attainment of enlightenment.

The prince grew along with the riches of the kingdom. After the demise of Māyā, Mahāprajāvatī took his charge. He underwent all the consecrations befitting a prince and quickly learnt all the sciences. His non-attachment to the science of archery raised some discontent among his kinsmen. He silenced them by showing his uncommon skill in the science though he did not learn it from anyone. The king sought a bride for the prince, and among the Śākya girls offered, Yaśodharā, was selected. The marriage was solemnised when the prince was sixteen years of age.
There are numerous stories giving details of the superior virtues of the prince. But every thing pales into insignificance when compared with his resolve to leave the world in search of the truth about the _samsāra_. With the permission of the king he wanted to look round the city. On three occasions the joy-ride was marred by the sights of an old man, a diseased man and a dead man. He learnt from his charioteer that everybody is destined to fall a victim to old age, decay and death. He received a severe shock and knew no peace of mind. The sight of an ascetic, however, helped him to make up his mind to leave the world in search of peace and enlightenment. The life of luxury in the palace, the sight of the new-born babe, the love of the devoted wife and the prosperous career ahead had no meaning to him. He sought immortality for himself as well as for all other mortals.

_Aśvaghosha_ informs us that the prince sought permission of the king to leave the world, who naturally tried to dissuade him from his resolve but everything was in vain. The prince entered the harem, had a hurried look at his wife and child and at the dead of night asked Chandaka, his charioteer to bring his horse Kanṭhaka. Chandaka obeyed and the prince left the city along with the charioteer unnoticed by the guards and the citizens. He took a vow not to come back before attaining the true knowledge that would make him immune from the worldly sufferings.

When the day broke, they found themselves in the hermitage of the sage Bhārgava. The prince left his ornaments, cut his hairs and exchanged the yellow clothes of a hunter for his valuable raiment. Highly afflicted Chandaka saw him clad as an ascetic and with much reluctance returned to the city with the horse to give the tidings of this great renunciation to the citizens of Kapilavastu.
The prince now entered the hermitage with a hope to get spiritual instructions, heard about the severe austerities of the sages there and the ends they wanted to achieve thereby. On an analysis he found that they forsook mundane pleasures in the hope of divine ones which are equally transitory and the thirst for enjoyment reigned supreme in their hearts. He on the other hand, wanted to cut the root of this thirst and heard of Alara Kalama who might satisfy his spiritual quest. He traversed a long way to reach the city of Vaisali near which the sage lived. As a disciple he heard the Sankhya tenets. The sage no doubt was highly advanced in spiritual life but could not lead the prince to the goal he wanted to reach. The acceptance of an eternal soul was very repulsive to him and he started for the hermitage of another sage Rudraka Ramaputra, who lived near Rajagaha.

On his way he met king Bimbisara of Magadha who was highly attracted and is said to have offered half of his kingdom to him with a request to return to worldly life. He was ready to offer military help to the prince to conquer a kingdom for himself in case his pride stood in the way of the acceptance of the gift. The exhortation of the monarch had no effect on the royal ascetic who politely declared that his only aim was to penetrate the mystery of existence and nothing short of that would pacify him. No amount of worldly pleasure can satisfy a man. On the other hand it enhances his greed for further pleasures. The monarch wished him good-bye but requested the ascetic to pay a visit to him if and when he attains the supreme knowledge.

Rudraka Ramaputra reached a very high stage of meditation. But in the eye of Siddhartha it fell short of final liberation. Ramaputra also accepted the soul as a permanent entity which was not acceptable to the disciple.
who found that the attainment of true knowledge through instructions of teachers was not possible.

And he made up his mind to achieve his end through austerities, went to Gaya on the Nairanjanā and took recourse to rigorous practices which also did not produce the desired result. Six years' exertions told upon his health. He became extremely weak and decided to give up the method. He accepted food offered by a village girl. His five Brāhmaṇa companions in austerity mistook that Gautama was returning to worldly life and left him.

He now decided to practise meditation. Resolute to attain his end, he took his seat under an Aśvattha tree and absorbed himself in deep meditation. Māra, the evil spirit with his retinue came and tried to dissuade him from his endeavour. Unsuccessful at the first attempt Māra now raised a terrible whirlwind, a storm of rain and a mighty flood. He along with other demons applied all the forces but could neither frighten nor seduce Gautama. Abashed they went away.

The Boddhisattva now sank in deeper thought. In the first watch of the night he discerned the series of births and deaths through which he had to move from time immemorial. Now unbounded compassion towards the living creatures who are fettered by the cycle of births and rebirths arose in him. He became certain that no good could be expected out of this world.

During the second watch he visioned animals reaping the consequences of their actions—good or bad. He found the meritorious to flourish and the vicious to fall. His compassion deepened when he found the severe tortures the erring animals underwent. Beings strive to get pleasure and to avoid sorrow but the consequences become equally unpalatable. He saw how actions done drag them to the different species. Merit leads one to heaven and
Buddhist Religion, Philosophy and Literature 600 B.C – 325 B.C, 385

offers enjoyment of pleasures. But when the fixed period passes off, the garland dries up and the fall is assured. The memory of the pleasures endures to torment ever more. Endowed with the vision divine he saw the go of all the five lokas and could discover no tangible good in the world.

During the third watch he contemplated about the true nature of the universe. Misery pervades animal existence. Births and deaths intercept. Vision becomes covered by intense desire and delusion. The sufferer knows no way out. Now the chain of causation became perfectly clear to him. He searched minutely but found nothing like a permanent soul or self and came to the conclusion that the eightfold noble path leads one to the sumnum bonum. Now he found that he was in possession of what he sought for and his aim was achieved. He now became the Buddha—the Enlightened One.

In the fourth watch he attained omniscience and exclaimed.

\textit{anekajālisamsāraṁ samdhivissam anibbisaṁ/}
\textit{gahakārakaṁ gavesamto dukkhā jātt paṇappunam/}
\textit{gahakāraka diṭṭho'si puna geham na kāhasi/}
\textit{sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakātam visañkhataṁ/}
\textit{Visañkhāragatan' cittam tañhanam khayam ajjhagāl/}

"Through worldly round of many births
I ran my course unceasingly,
Seeking the maker of the house,
Painful is birth again and again.
House-builder! I behold thee now,
Again a house thou shalt not build;
All thy rafters are broken now,
The ridge-pole also destroyed;
My mind, its elements dissolved,
The end of cravings has attained."
Gautama attained enlightenment on the *Vaiśakhi Pūrṇima* night and completed the thirty-fifth year of his life.

For seven weeks the Buddha remained there, enjoyed the fruits of his labours and experienced no bodily wants. On the fiftieth day there came two merchants Tapassu and Bhallika by name from Orissa who offered him food which the Blessed One accepted. The merchants became his first lay disciples.

At a considerable personal sacrifice and as a result of undergoing diverse painful experiences the Blessed One now had penetrated the mystery behind the worldly existence. His personal needs were thus satisfied. But that was not all. He now turned his compassionate eyes towards the suffering humanity, and thus wanted to share the fruits of his attainments with others. There arose a doubt. He thought that the deep and subtle truths discovered may not be intelligible to others. He looked around for spiritually advanced people and the names of Alāra Kālāma and Rudraka Rāmaputra occurred to him. But alas, none of them was alive to receive the truth from him. Next he thought of the five associates who left him on his giving up of severe austerities. He now started for Sārnāth to meet them. And here began his missionary life covering forty-five years.

The bhikshus were reluctant to receive him but soon became struck by his wise talks and came to realise that the Śākyaputra had attained his desired goal. In the first sermon called the *dharma-cakra-pravartanasūtra*—the turning of the wheel of the sacred doctrine, in the Deer park at Rṣhi-paṭṭaṇa, the Master explained the *Madhyamapratipada*—the doctrine of the middle path. People generally adopt the extreme courses—those of unbridled sensual enjoyments and total self-mortification. The Tathāgata advocated
none of them but prescribed a balanced view that annihilates sufferings and leads to bliss. This path is eightfold. Now he turned to the four noble truths of which the eightfold path forms the third constituent. The four noble truths, the Buddha claimed, were unheard before. About himself he exclaimed “I attained the highest complete enlightenment. Thus I know. Knowledge arose in me, insight arose that the release of my mind is unshakeable; this is my last existence; now there is no rebirth.”

Of the five comrades Kaundinya now realised that anything having an origin is subject to cessation. He received Pravrajya (the ceremony of leaving the world) and Upasampada (the ceremony of ordination). And thus Kaundinya was the first ordained bhikshu. Vappa, Bhadriya, Mahanama and Asvajit received further instruction and were similarly ordained. The theory of non-soul was then explained to them. With five bhikshus the Buddha now came to Varanasi where Yasas, the son of a rich merchant along with his fifty four friends received ordination and his parents became lay disciples.

The Buddha now asked the sixty bhikshus to preach and teach the dharma. He himself started for Uruvela and on his way ordained thirty young noble men who also were asked to spread the faith. At Uruvela the three Brahmanical ascetics of the Kasypa family, Uruvela, Nadi and Gayas by name, along with their one thousand disciples were converted to the new faith.

Now the Master along with the Kasypapas and the thousand monks came to Rajagaha to keep his promise to king Bimbisara who paid a visit to him. There arose a doubt if Uruvela Kasypa was actually ordained by the Buddha and the doubt was dispelled by Kasypa himself by showing proper respects to the Master whose sermon changed the hearts of most of those present. The king
and most of his retinue entered the first path and the rest became lay disciples. The Venuvana vihāra was dedicated to the Buddha and the Saṃgha by the king.

Sāriputra or Sāradvatipaṭṭa (Sāriputta) and Maudgalyāyana (Moggallāna) were two Brahmanical ascetics. The former found venerable Āśvajit when begging and enquired about his faith and his Master. Venerable Āśvajit replied—

*ye dhammā hetupphabhañ āha/ hetum tesam tathāgato āha/ tesam ca yo nirodho evamvādi mahāsambhavo!*

"Of the objects that are produced from causes, the causes have been discovered by the Tathāgata. And likewise their cessation also has been explained. One who explains thus is surely the great ascetic." Greatly moved, Sāriputta related this to Moggallāna and both came to the Master, became ordained and were regarded as his foremost disciples. Now people came in hundreds and thousands, heard the Master and took refuge to the three jewels i.e. Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha.

King Śuddhodana made attempts to take the Master to Kapilavastu. Several messengers came but before conveying the king’s requests were ordained and lost interest in mundane duties. At last Kāludāyin, son of a courtier and a friend and playmate of the Master in his early life, on an assurance to be allowed to leave the world promised to convey the message. He was ordained but kept the promise and made a fervent request to the Master to pay the visit. With 20,000 arhats that Magadha presented to the Saṃgha, the Buddha reached Kapilavastu and camped at the Nyagrodha Park. The Śākyas on witnessing his supernatural feats and hearing his preachings changed their mind and the superiors also bowed down in reverence irrespective of their personal relation with him. The Master took a meal in the palace and all
its inhabitants including the king did reverence to him. The young Rāhula begged his inheritance and the father could offer the begging bowl King Śuddhodana, Nanda (half brother of the Master, whose conversion formed the subject-matter of a Mahākāvya of Aśvaghosha) and Rāhula were all converted. Eighty thousand Śākya young-men along with Ānanda (who later became the Master’s personal attendant), Devadatta, Upāli Bhadriya and others were ordained. And the Master returned to Rājagrha.

Sudatta of Śrāvastī, whose benevolence earned for him the title Anāthapiṇḍada, chanced to come to a relative at Rājagrha. He saw the Buddha, became converted and offered a meal to the Buddha and the Saṅgha. He invited the Master to Śrāvastī and made enormous preparations on the way to that place. He purchased a park from prince Jeta at a huge cost and offered it to the Saṅgha. The bountiful Viśākhā (called Migāramātā) of Śrāvastī donated the Pūrvarāma Vihāra. Henceforward Śrāvastī became one of the greatest Buddhist centres.

The Master was at Vaiśāli and received the news of a dispute between the Śākyas and the Koliyas over the distribution of the water of the river Rohiṇī that formed the boundary line between the two kingdoms. The Buddha went there and saw the two sides in battle array. His efforts averted the calamity and five hundred princes were ordained.

King Śuddhodana fell ill. The Master paid him a visit. His prechings led the king to arhathood and nirvāṇa.

Now Mahāprajāvatī along with the wives of the five hundred princes ordained recently made fervent requests to be allowed to join the order as nuns which the Master had to refuse three times. Soon after his return to Vaiśāli
Mahāprajāvati and the princesses cut their hairs, put on the yellow robe, took the earthen bowl and set out for Vaiśālī on foot. The earnestness and advocacy of Ānanda on their behalf bore fruit and they were permitted to join the order. Special rules were framed for the nuns. The event was not to the liking of the Master and many of his disciples. The Master thought that the purity of the Saṅgha could last one thousand years without the nuns but with them it would last half the period only. Ānanda was taken to task in the first Council for his advocacy. Mahāprajāvati attained arhathood. Nandā, her daughter and Yasodharā, the mother of Rāhula, were among the newly ordained nuns. The *Therīgāthā* records the names of over seventy nuns. Queen Khemā, proud of her beauty neglected the Master. King Bimbisāra somehow brought her to him. The Master showed her in a picture the changes which human beauty undergoes with the advancement of age. Her pride melted away. She became an arhat in future life.

Once Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja astonished the citizens of Rājagṛha by his miraculous powers. When this was reported to the Buddha, he prohibited the exhibition of miracles on the part of Bhikshus and thought that it might hamper their spiritual progress. But he reserved this privilege for himself and to appease the heretical teachers in the presence of king Prasenajit of Kośala exhibited a number of miracles. The opponents were defeated and the Master preached the *Saddharma*. Thereafter, it is said, the Master went to the Heaven of the thirty-three gods and preached the Law to his mother, Māyādevi, passed the years there and came down at Sāṅkāsyā.

From this time on the Master did not travel much beyond the area traversed so far. But he knew no rest and moved from one place to another, made new converts and
spent his time in consolidation of the Saṅgha and the spiritual and moral uplift of the people and the bhikshus in particular. He knew no distinction of caste or creed. And everybody received his unbounded compassion and even the lowliest and lost were not excepted.

We find numerous instances in the Buddhist canons of members of other sects showing much respect to the Master for his superior virtues.

The Buddha had to face the opposition of the Brāhmaṇas, and heretic teachers like Nigantha Nātapatutta (i.e. Mahāvīra, the 24th Tirthankara of the Jainas), Makkhali Gosāla, Puran-kāśapa, Ajitakesakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana and Saṅjaya Belatthiputta. Some of the heretic teachers or at least some of their followers tried to slight him in public estimation. Thus arose the incidents of Ānācā and Sundari. But the plots were soon discovered.

When the Buddha was seventy-two years old a plot was hatched by Devadatta, his kinsman and disciple and Ajātaśatru, the Magadhan prince. Both were impatient to gain supremacy by killing the Master and king Bimbisāra respectively. Ajātaśatru succeeded but Devadatta failed inspite of the help received from Ajātaśatru. The murderers employed could do no harm to the Master. Once Devadatta hurled a piece of rock of which a splinter caused some blood-shed from the body of the Buddha. A mad elephant was let loose but it behaved like a tame one before the Buddha. Devadatta now proposed some rigourous changes in the rules of the Saṅgha which the Master generally approved but refused to make compulsory. Lastly his attempt to bring about a schism in the Saṅgha was also frustrated. Disgraced in public estimation, he went to see the Buddha but died on the way.

Viḍūḍabha son of Prasenajit by a Śākya slave girl dethroned his father who died in despair and inspite of
the expostulations of the Buddha destroyed the Śākyas of Kapilavastu whose pride was responsible for this low birth.

Ajātaśatru now wanted an empire and the Vajjis of Vaiśāli stood in his way. He sought the Master’s advice who praised the virtues of the Vajjis and tried to dissuade him from his design against them. But this also ultimately proved in vain. Ajātaśatru constructed an army barrack at Pātaligrāma at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Śoṇa which the Buddha visited. He predicted the role which this place, afterwards called Pātaliputra, would play in the history of the country.

The last years of his life saw him at Vaiśāli where the famous courtesan Āmrāpāḷī did reverence to him. The Master along with the Saṅgha accepted her invitation and was served by her own hands. The courtesan presented her mango-grove to the Saṅgha.

Now the fruitful career was drawing to its end. The Buddha fell ill and after he came round disclosed that he would live three months more. The death of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana was reported to him. From Pāvā he began his last journey. He accepted his last meal from Cunḍa, a blacksmith who offered among other articles sukrāmaddava (pork or food from some kind of herbs), which was very difficult to digest and the Master felt severe pain in the stomach. He started for Kuśināra with Ānanda to attend upon him, halted on the way and drank water. There came Pukkusā, a disciple of Alāra Kāḷāma who praised the profound abstraction of his preceptor. The Buddha related a story of his own abstraction and Pukkusā was converted. Indications of the imminent death were manifest. The Master took a bath in the river Kakutthā and asked Ānanda to console Cunḍa who was fortunate to offer the last meal to him.
They approached the Śāla-grove of the Mallas on the farther side of the Hiranyavati. Ānanda, at the instance of the Master spread the bed between two śāla trees and the Master laid himself down. The śāla trees bloomed though out of season and flowers fell on and around him. This was in honour of the Buddha who thought that proper honour to him would consist in translating his precepts into the lives of the people. The Master appointed no successor to him and told Ānanda that the Dhamma and Vinaya preached by him would take his place when he would be no more. He instructed Ānanda to hand over his mortal remains to the lay disciples.

Ānanda, who was not an Arhat till then, was much moved and began to weep. The Master consoled him and told him that whatever is born must perish. One must be a light to oneself.

The Mallas of Kuśinārā were informed and they came and paid their respects. Subhadra, a wanderer came and wanted that the Master should dispel his doubt with regard to the perfection attained by other teachers of the time. He was not allowed access to the Master who called him and declared that the doctrine and discipline advocating the noble eightfold path and the saints of the first, second, third or fourth stages are alone perfect. Subhadra was converted, became an arhat and had the good fortune to become the last disciple of the Master.

The Master now wanted to dispel any other doubt in the minds of those present but none among the five hundred brethren assembled had any doubts. He now exhorted the brethren that "decay is inherent in all component things and they should work out their salvation with diligence".

Then in the third watch of the night the exalted one entered the four stages of rapture one by one and "rising
from the fourth stage, he entered into the stations of the infinity of space of thought, of emptiness, of conscious and unconscious, of perfect want of sensations and ideas. Then he descended in the reverse order and came to the second stage of rapture and again rose to the third and fourth and then he passed away.

It was again the Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā night that saw the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the teacher who taught and strove for the uplift of mankind for more than half a century.

The people from far and near paid their respects for seven days and the mortal remains were cremated with honours befitting a cakravartī king. The relics of the Buddha were divided into eight shares and each was enshrined in a stūpa and honoured for long.

8. Main Features of Buddhism as a Religion and Philosophy:

The Buddha was an ethical teacher and he wanted to make life free from misery through cultivation of true knowledge and personal efforts. Pure metaphysical questions or logical disquisitions that did not contribute to the achievement of the goal had very little meaning to him. He kept mum on some questions. He thought that discussions on them had no practical value as they are always based upon insufficient evidence leading to erroneous conclusions just like the proverbial accounts of an elephant given by several blind persons who could touch the different parts of its body. On the other hand, he took interest in matters that in his opinion lead man to the sumum bonum of human existence, i.e., freedom from all suffering. Ten indeterminate questions have been enumerated in the Pottapādasutta (Dialogues, I, R, Davids, pp. 254-7) They are (1) Is the world eternal? (2) Is it non-eternal? (3) Is it finite? (4) Is it infinite? (5) Is the soul the same as the body? (6) Is it different from the body? (7) Does one after enlighten-
ment live again after death? (8) Does he not live after death? (9) Does he both live and not live again after death? (10) Does he neither live nor not live again after death? These in Pāli are called āpyākatūni-indeterminate questions. The Buddha felt that the animal existence is pervaded by untold misery. He analysed it, found its roots, suggested its antidotes and informed of a position totally free from the clutches of misery. All these findings of the Buddha are known as the four noble truths (catvāri āryasatyāni).

The first noble truth deals with misery (duḥkha). The sights of suffering in the form of old age, disease and death actuated the Buddha to think seriously and he found every aspect of the worldly existence saturated with misery. Pleasures are transitory and bring in their train more miseries.

The second noble truth speaks of the causes of misery (samudaya)—Now as these miseries are caused, they must have their causes. And here the Buddha explained his special theory of causation called pratītyasamutpāda which means to say that nothing is unconditional. Everything has its origin and is transitory and the origin depends on conditions. The effect for its arrival must presuppose some conditions. Animal sufferings (duḥkha) like old age, death etc. are there and they also presuppose birth (janma). If birth could have been eliminated, these sufferings would not arise. But birth itself is conditioned and has for its condition bhava—will to become. This blind ‘will to become’ springs from our grasping (upādāna) the objects. This grasping arises from trṣṇā or craving to enjoy the objects of senses—sight, taste, smell, touch and sound. The craving is again caused by former sense-experience (vedanā). Sense-experience in its turn depends on Sparśa—contact between the object and the sense-organ. There would have been
no contact in the absence of the six organs of cognition (śaḍāyatana), those of sight, taste, smell, touch, sound and the internal organ, the mind. These āyatanas depend upon the body-mind organism (nāma-rūpa) for its formation in the mother's womb. Consciousness (vijñāna) is presupposed by this body-mind organism for its origin. This consciousness comes in the embryo due to impressions (samskāras) of our past life. Lastly, these impressions arise due to ignorance (avidyā) about the truth. When this avidyā is uprooted samskāras disappear, Samskāras being absent, vijñāna does not arise. Want of vijñāna dismisses nāma-rūpa and nāma-rūpa when absent, negates āyatanas. And āyatanas being absent sparśa does not arise. Want of sparśa does not allow vedanā to arise. Vedanā remaining absent tṛṣṇā does not occur. Non-occurrence of tṛṣṇā means non-occurrence of upādāna. If there is no upādāna, there is no bhava. Bhava being absent, there will be no jāti and if there is no jāti, the consequent miseries like jara and maraṇa will not occur.

These are the twelve links (dvādaśa-nidānas) in the chain of causation. These form the wheel of existence—bhava-cakra.

The third noble truth deals with cessation of miseries (nirodha). The second noble truth shows that mundane miseries are the results of a series of conditions. The third seeks to establish that there is a position in which all the miseries cease. The Buddha says that this position is attainable and that in this very life. 'Control of passions and constant contemplation of truth' are the means that lead a man to perfect wisdom through the four stages of concentration. When this wisdom is achieved he becomes an Arhat, Worthy or Venerable one. No worldly ties bind him and his shackles are broken. He is considered as liberated. But this liberation by no means indicates
inactivity, nor does it show total extinction of existence. The Buddha worked ceaselessly throughout his life after he attained arhathood. He is said to have exclaimed—
‘this is my last existence; now there is no rebirth.’

The fourth noble truth speaks of the mārga—the road leading to the cessation of misery. The Buddha asserts that this mārga is eightfold, consisting of right views (samyagdṛṣṭi), right resolve (samyak-saṅkalpa), right speech (samyak-vāk), right conduct (samyak-kārmaṇa), right livelihood (samyagājīta), right effort (samyag-veṇyāma), right mindfulness (samyak-smṛti) and right concentration (samyak-samādhi). This is called the ārya-ashtāṅgika-mārga.

There are ten Samyojanas (setters) that bind creatures to the cycles of misery. They are “kāmarūgasamyojanam—love for living in the Kāmaloka, rūparūga—love for living in the Rūpaloka, arūparūga—love for living in Arūpaloka, patigha—aversion, māna—conceit, dīṭṭhi—false view, slabbataparamāsa—belief that the external rituals may lead to purity, vicikicchā perplexity, Uddhacca—distraction and avijjā ignorance. “There are again the four mārgas (paths). “One who has cultivated the consciousness of the path (sotapattimagga) by destroying the first two setters, namely, dīṭṭhi (false view) and vicikicchā (perplexity), is called a sotapanna. He is sure to become an arhat within seven births. He cultivates the path of once returning (sakādāgānimagga) by further slackening the bondage of rāga (attachment), dosa (hatred) and moha (dullness and deception) and becomes a sakādāgāmi. He takes one more birth after this in which he is sure to become an arhat and freed from this world. He cultivates the path of never returning (anāgamimagga) by further completely destroying the fetters of kāmarūga (lust) and vyāpada (ill-will) and becomes an anāgāmi. He is sure to become an arhat in this very life and will not be born again. He
cultivates the consciousness of the path of arhathood, by destroying all the remaining fetters and becomes an Arhat. He becomes pure and most honourable."

The Buddha does not accept a permanent soul as we find in other systems of Indian thought. Human body with its life principle is the product of the five skandhas (constituents)—rupa (material qualities), Vedana (feeling), saanna (perception), saukhara (co-efficients of consciousness) and viñana (consciousness). And all cosmical, physical and mental phenomena originate according to the law of Pratityasamutpada. This law presupposes another doctrine, that of universal change and impermanence. Nothing according to the Buddha is permanent. The laws work independently. There is no God to set things in motion. There is no permanent soul also. But a man has capacity to understand the mysteries of the universe. He has the freedom of will and power to change the course of his destiny. He can attain nirodha which consists of total annihilation of all the five skandhas through meditation, knowledge and practice of virtue.

In this life the relations among the individuals should be guided by ahimsa—non-injury to life which gradually rises to higher and higher stages. The bhikshu has been advised to overcome anger by love, evil by good, greed by liberality and the liers by truth.

The ideal state of mind, according to the Buddhist, is described in what is technically called the Brahmavihara. It consists of metta (friendliness towards all living beings), karuna (compassion towards the afflicted), mudita (feeling of joy at the well-being of others) and upeksha (indifference towards the perverted ones.)

The spread of Buddhism

The religion spread by the Buddha was accepted by the people for several reasons. India since the beginning
of her history, is famous for religious tolerance. Buddhism therefore found no undue opposition on Indian soil. The time also contributed much to its progress. The ancient Vedic sacrificial cult was not much favoured. Nor was the Upanishadic soul-theory along with the philosophic systems popular among the masses to which Sanskrit, the language of their cults and culture, was unknown. The heretical sects of the time could not capture the imagination of the people to any considerable extent. The land where Buddhism flourished in its initial stage was mostly outside the pale of orthodox Vedic culture. The Buddha had some personal advantages also. His birth in a noble Kshatriya family, his sacrifices, his unbounded compassion and catholicity of views, his superb power of organisation, his skill in disputations, his miraculous powers and his acceptance of the local dialects as the vehicle of preaching, all stood him in good stead. King Bimbisāra was drawn to him even prior to his enlightenment. King Prasenajit claimed to be his kinsman. So were the Śākyas. The other Kshatriya kings and noblemen also might have been drawn to him because of his Kshatriya descent. The Buddha was catholic enough to recognise the virtues in the opponents also. He is said to have praised an Ājivika ascetic. He allowed Simha to continue his charities to the Jain ascetics even after his conversion to Buddhism. Outlaws like Aṅgulimāla received his favour. His selection of disciples also contributed a great deal to the consolidation of Buddhism. The acceptance of nuns in the Buddhist church was a very bold step and many of these nuns attained eminence and respects. The miracles shown at Kapilavastu and Śrāvasti attracted many people to him and silenced much opposition.

The contribution of the disciples of the Buddha must be remembered here. Anāthapiṇḍaka, Viśākhā Migārāmātā, Simha, Abhayarājacakumāra, Jivaka, Āmrapāli,
Nandaka and others are well-known for various services to the Saṅgha. Sārīputra, Maudgalyāyana, Ānanda, Mahākāśyapa were the pillars of this church.

There were many attractive aspects of Buddhism. It created no artificial distinction between man and man, replaced crude faith by rationalism and avoided the extremes.

All these were contributory factors to the success of Buddhism.

The *Janavasasuttanta* mentions Kāśi, Kośala, Vajji, Malla, Ceti, Varāṇaśa, Kuru, Pāṇcāla, Maccha and Sūrāsenā in which the Master made repeated tours and preached the Dhamma.

A rough idea about the geography of Buddhism during the Master’s life-time can be had from the list of places where he passed the rainy seasons. Śrāvasti offered him rain retreat for twenty six times, Rājagṛha five times, Catiyagiri three times and Vaiśālī two times. Leaving aside the Heaven of thirty three gods in which the Master is said to have retreated during the seventh rainy season, Rśhipattana, Mankulaparvata, Sūrśumāragiri, Kauśāmbi, Pārileyaka, Nālā, Veraṇjā, Kapilavastu and Ālavī offered one retreat each. Magadha, Kośala, Vaiśālī and Kapilavastu proved most fertile grounds for the Saddharmā during the life time of the Master. He paid occasional visits to many other places including Campā, Āpaṇa, Aśvapura and Kajāngala. Kauśāmbi gave him mixed reception while Avantī under Pradyota was not visited inspite of an invitation but Mahākaccāyanā was sent there. After the Mahaparinirvāṇa, Ajātaśātrū of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappā, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, a Brahmin of Veṭhadvīpa, the Mallas of Pāvā and the Mallas of Kusīnārā received portions of the relic of the Buddha.
Buddhist Religion, Philosophy and Literature 600 B.C.-325 B.C. 351

The Moriyas of Pippalivana came late and received the ashes only. In all the places mentioned, stūpas were erected to enshrine the relics which received worship from the devout Buddhists for long. This also helps to estimate the sphere of influence of the Buddha and his religion.

**Monastic Life and Organisation**

The Buddha in the beginning of his missionary life did not conceive of any monastic organisation and his first disciples were wandering monks living on alms, lying under trees and putting on rags. But with the growth in the number of disciples, rules for organisation of the Saṅgha were framed and king Bimbisāra thought it proper to offer the Venuvanavihāra to the Buddha and the Saṅgha for their accommodation. This was followed by similar offer of monasteries, big or small, from lay disciples and the Buddha accepted them all. Again, king Bimbisāra seems to be the first man to extend invitation to the Buddha and the Saṅgha for a meal in his palace. This also was accepted. Henceforward living in monasteries, accepting invitations and other gifts from lay devotees were permitted to the members of the Saṅgha. Medical treatment also was provided. But strict rules were framed to regulate misuse of the privileges. We find these rules in the Vinaya literature. The rules were amended as and when necessity arose. Vigilance on the part of the Master and his disciples did not allow the organisation to grow weak with the swelling up of its membership and the provisions for amenities of life in the Saṅgha. The whole area under the influence of the Buddha was divided into small parishes with *Uposathāgāras* at the centre. Each parish had its jurisdiction over an area covered by a radius of not more than fifteen miles from its centre. And every monk living within the area permanently or otherwise was deemed a member of the parish council and had to take
an active part in its affairs. The inclusion of sojourners in
the parish council served the useful purpose of uniting the
parishes to one another.

The Uposatha ceremony of meeting together of monks
once a fortnight was a regular feature. Each parish had a
saṅghasthavira-president who was elected to this post. He
had to announce the date and place of the ceremony and
attendance on the part of every member was compulsory.
The junior monks made the arrangements of cleaning the
place, arranging the seats and keeping water and food
ready for the monks coming from afar.

The chief business transacted was the recitation of
the Pātimokkha rules and ascertaining the upkeep of the
moral standard in the Saṅgha. Offences committed had
to be admitted and punishments prescribed undergone.
Decisions taken were binding upon every member. Other
necessary matters could also be discussed and proper
actions were taken. This was exclusively an affair of the
monks and no layman had access to the assembly. At its
conclusion, religious talks to the lay people were arranged
wherever necessary.

The three months of the rainy season created many
difficulties and the usual rules were slackened during them.
The monks were allowed to live in private residences and
no Uposatha ceremony was held. But when the retreat
ended they had to meet together, confess offences, if any,
and accept punishments for them in a ceremony called
pavāraṇā. In another ceremony, cloth offered by lay people
was distributed among the monks after the retreat. But
before distribution, the cloths were cut into pieces, stitched,
washed and dyed by the Bhikkhus.

The admission of nuns in the Buddhist Saṅgha was
a very bold step. But the Buddha was alive to the danger
it might bring in its train. Special rules had to be framed
for the guidance of the nuns. They were not allowed to live in forests and had to live in outhouses, hermitages and *nava-kammās*—cottages. Monks and nuns lived apart and a nun could be ordained by proxy and one with a child also was ordained. But in every case there were special rules. The nuns required help from the monks and it was available when the rules permitted. A nun had to show respect to a monk but not *vice versa*. The nuns also observed *uposathās*, retreated and held *pavārāṇa*.

At the initial stage the Buddha ordained grown up educated and spiritually advanced people. But soon after, the power of ordination was delegated to the monks also and the candidates for ordination included young boys. The candidates had to obtain the permission of their parents. Their antecedents were taken into account. When there was a satisfaction with regard to their physical, mental and moral fitness, and after they had shaved their heads and face, put on the yellow robes and took refuge to the three jewels i.e. Buddha, Dharma and Samgha, they were given the lower ordination by the teachers selected by them from among the monks in a monastery. The lower ordination was called *Pabbajjā*. They now observed the ten precepts, viz., abstention from killing, stealing, adultery, speaking falsehood, drinking, afternoon meals, witnessing dance, music and the like, use of garlands, unguents etc., the use of high beds and the acceptance of gold and silver. A śramaṇa had to serve his upādhyāya in every respect, cultivate knowledge and piety for five years before he was allowed to receive *Upasampadā*, the higher ordination from his teacher. The period of probation formerly was ten years and was afterwards reduced. Now the student became a monk but he had to remain under training for ten years more before he was considered to have become a fullfledged monk.
From the time of his admission, he learnt the scriptures and the philosophic works of the Buddhists. Thus the monastery did not only serve to accommodate the monks and offer them the ordinary necessities of life, but it served as a centre of moral and religious training to the young entrants who would in due time take charge of the Saṅgha.

Pali Literature up to 300 B.C.

The Buddha used to preach in the language of the people and his sermons were remembered by his disciples. These sermons were collected, edited and re-edited with occasional additions and were taken to Ceylon where they were committed to writing during the reign of king Vaṭṭagāmanī Abhaya (101-77 B.C). The area covered by the Buddha's missionary work included Bihar and Uttarapra ḍeśa including the Nepal Tarai. It may thus be presumed that he spoke in a dialect or dialects current in those regions. Considering the very late date of the commitment of the Buddhavacana to writing and that at a distant island, changes in the language of the text can be imagined. This is further supported by the fact that the Master laid stress on the subject-matter of his teachings and not on language and that the generations of disciples through whom the texts came down hailed from different parts of the country.

The language of the Buddhavacana is called Pāli or Māgadhī and sometimes Śuddha-māgadhī presumably in order to distinguish it from Ardhamāgadhī, the language of Jain Canons. Māgadhī means the language or dialect current in the then Magadha. But the word Pāli has been differently explained. It seems to have originally meant a 'line' from the sacred texts and not the commentaries. But gradually it included the commentaries etc. written in the same language. There are of course, other scholars who connect the word Pāli with Pālīt (village), Pāṭalī (putra), pāriyāya etc.
The sermons of the Buddha from the very beginning were known as \textit{sutta}. This again has been connected with the word \textit{sutra} (aphorism) or \textit{su-ukta} (good saying). The second suggestion is happier as the Suttas of the Buddhist canon are not aphoristic in style but many of them are very elaborate in character.

The Master left no record of his sermons nor did he appoint a successor. On the other hand, he told Ānanda just before his demise that the Dhamma and Vinaya preached by him would take his place when he would be no more. This laid special emphasis on the importance of his sermons which were delivered before different assemblies at different places. People got them by heart. But after the \textit{Mahāparinirvāṇa}, his chief disciples with Mahākāśyapa at their head, decided to hold an assembly and recite and approve the corpus of the Buddhavacana. Accordingly the first \textit{saṅgīti} was held during the rains at Rājagṛha where five hundred selected arhats assembled. Mahākāśyapa, with the permission of the assembly, asked questions on the Vinaya to Upāli who answered them and the assembly approved the text of the Vinaya that Upāli recited. Similarly the text of the sermons on Dhamma was recited by Ānanda and were approved. The collections later on came to be known as the \textit{VinayaPiṭaka} and the \textit{SuttaPiṭaka} respectively. The texts consisted of 82000 sermons of the Buddha and 2000 sermons of his immediate disciples. But all of them were given equal sanctity. The word \textit{Piṭaka} means a basket and seems to have come into use very late. A basket could contain the texts when they were committed to writing. The \textit{Abhidhamma Piṭaka} finds no mention and seems to have been collected later on. It is said that the Master before his Mahāparinirvāṇa told Ānanda that the ‘minor precepts’ could be omitted from the corpus of the Buddhavacana. But as the ‘minor precepts’ to be omitted
were not ear-marked, none was actually omitted in the first Council.

It was after a century from the Mahāparinirvāṇa that the second Council was held at Vaiśālī. The Cullavagga says that Yaśa, the son of Kākandaka, in course of his wanderings came to Vaiśālī and found that monks living there had fallen from the norm. They carried salt in horns, took their meals after the prescribed time, took a second meal in a different place on the same day, observed the uposatha in different places in the same area, received permission of the Saṅgha after the actual occurrence of an act cited convention as authority, drank whey after meals, drank toddy, used rugs having no fringes and accepted gold and silver. These went against the Vinaya canons and as such Yaśa objected to these practices to which the monks of Vaiśālī resented and Yaśa was excommunicated by them. Yaśa sought support from Venerable Sānavāsi and Venerable Revata along with the monks of the western countries. The easterners also tried to win over Venerable Revata but to no effect. Seven hundred monks assembled in the Council at Vaiśālī and a sub-committee of four members from each side was formed to decide the issue. All the ten points were discussed and found against the Vinaya rules. The Vajjiputtas thus were found guilty by the sub-committee and their decision was ratified in the open session of the assembly. The second Sangiti seems to have paid more attention to the observation of the Vinaya rules and the accounts throw very little light on the growth of the literature of the time. They mention Suttavibhāṅga, Uposatāsamyutta and Vinayaastu. Buddhaghosha refers to the drawing up of a new edition of the canon consisting of the Nikāyas, Angas and Dharmaskandhas.

The dissatisfied Vajjian monks convened at Vālukārāma what they called the Great Council (Mahāsaṅgha) which was attended by ten thousand monks.
Doubts were expressed as to the genuineness of the two Saṅgītis of the Theravādins referred to above. But these doubts have, later on been shown as unfounded by several scholars.

The third council of the Theravādins was held at Pāṭaliputra under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa, the preceptor of Aśoka, the Great. The Sage Tissa is said to have added the Kathāvatthu to the Abhidhamma literature, most of the rest of which must have taken shape before this occasion. The accounts of the third council and the evidences supplied by the Kathāvatthu show that the Buddhists all over the country were divided into numerous sects and Tissa had to re-establish the Theravāda doctrine after refuting all others. The council consisted of ten thousand monks from among whom one thousand formed a sub-committee to re-edit the canons and after nine months they completed their task. We may thus assume that the three Piṭakas as we find them took almost the present shape about the time of Emperor Aśoka. There were small additions thereafter but no substantial change seems to have been made.

The present Pāli Tripitaka belongs to the Theravādins otherwise called Vibhajyavādins and is divided into three divisions called the Sutta-piṭaka, the Vinaya-piṭaka and the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. The Sutta-piṭaka again is subdivided into five Nikāyas or Āgamas called Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta, Aṅguttara or Ekkuttara and Khuddaka. The first four are separate works consisting of suttas of different lengths. But the Khuddakanikāya is like an appendix consisting of several independent works. According to some, it consists of twelve works viz. the Jātakas, Mahānīddesa, Cullanīddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragātha and Therīgātha. The list of Buddhaghosha, combines Mahānīddesa and
Cullaniddesa into one and adds Khuddakapāṭha, Apadāna Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka to the above list.

The Vinayaṭīṭaka consists of the Suttavibhaṅga, Khandhaka, Parivārāpāṭha and Pātimokkha.

The Abhidhammaṭīṭaka is divided into seven sections viz., Dhammasaṅgaṇi, Vibhaṅga, Dhetukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka and Paṭṭhana.

The Abhidhammaṭīṭaka has not been accepted as a genuine work by the Sarvāstivādins as well as the Mahāsāṅgītikas. But its nucleus, the Mutika, is mentioned in the Mahāparinibbānasutta. It must have had a slow growth attaining a shape at the time of the Third Council.

Rhys Davids (Buddhist India, p. 188) has discussed the chronology of the Tripiṭaka and has shown ten stages between the time of the Mahāparinibbāṇa and that of Aśoka:

1. The Buddhavacanas found in common in almost all the constituent works of the Tripiṭaka.
2. Those that are found in two or three works.
3. Śīla, Pārāyaṇa, Āṭṭhakavadga and Pātimokkha.
4. Dīgha, Majjhima, Anguttara and Samyuttanikāya.
5. Suttanipāta, Theragāthā, Thertgāthā, Udāna and Khuddakapāṭha.
7. Jātaka and Dhammapada.

The order has been amended by Dr. B. C. Law in his History of Pali Literature (p. 42). Rhys Davids and Law
depend on linguistic evidence which is sometimes misleading. Rāhula Samkṛtyāyana, on the other hand, has attempted to arrange some suttas according to the events of the Master’s life. This also does not give us the idea when a sutta actually was incorporated in the Buddhistvacana. There are a few suttas like the Dhammacakkavatthu and the Mahāparinibbāya which form the oldest kernel.

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1. Visit to the Bhārgavaśrama is described by Aśvaghośha.
2. Aśvaghośha places Alāra near Rājagṛha and the meeting with king Bimbisāra prior to that with Alāra.
3. Yo vo Ananda maya dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mama' ceayena Sutta.—
   Mahāparinibbānasutta.
4. Vayadhama saṁkhāra appamādena sāmpūdetha ti—
   Mahāparinibbānasutta.
5. Akkodhena jine kodham asādhum sādhuna jine/ jine kadariyam dānena saccena alikavādīnam/
   Dhammapada, 223.
6. Āsippattana—1.
   Rājagṛha—2, 4, 17, 20,
   Vaiśālī—5, 46
   Maṅkulaparvata—6
   Heaven (trayastrimśa)—7
   Sumsumāragiri—8
   Kauśambī—9
   Pārileyaka—10
   Nālā—11
   Veṇañjā—12
   Cāḷyagiri—13, 18, 19
   Śravasti—14, 21-45
   Kapilavastu—15
   Ālava—16.
8. etc. *Mahānāma* etc.) Pālimuttakavasena vuttatta gandhāntara- 
trati vuccanti—Sāsanavamsa, p. 34.


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CHAPTER XIV

Jain and other Systems of Religion and Philosophy
(up to C. 325 B. C.)

Life of Mahāvīra

The fertile soil of Bihar has the unique distinction of not only giving birth to Śramaṇa Bhagavān, Mahāvīra, the great genius but also to Pūraṇa Kassapa, Māṅkhati Goshāla, Ajita Keśakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Gautama Buddha who expounded the outlines of various religions and philosophies in the sixth century B. C. There were about three hundred and sixty-four different sects prevalent at that time which have been described in the Jain and the Buddhist canons. Sixty two different sects have been mentioned alone in the Brahmajālasutta of Dīghanikāya at the time when Lord Mahāvīra came on the earth. The Śvetāsvatara and Maitrāyaṇi Upanishads have pointed out different sects regarding time, nature, fate and destiny as the causes of the world.

Vardhamāna Mahāvīra occupies an important place in the history of ancient India. He had been described as a supreme personality, who was acknowledged as a great guide, a great preacher, 'a great pilot' and 'a great recluse'. His father Siddhārtha was a Kshatriya prince of "Kāśyapa Gotra" and was the head of the Jñāṭrka clan of the Licchavis of Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśāli. His mother Triśalā, also known as Priyakāriṇī or Videhadattā, was the daughter of king Četaka of Vaiśāli, head of the Vajjian confederacy of republican states. Some learned scholars are of the view that Mahāvīra was the son of Devanandā, wife of a Brāhmana named Ṛshabhadatta. But it is clearly proved that being conscious of the fact that the Arhat
should never be born in poor Brāhmaṇa families, Śakra, king of Gods ordered a God styled Hariṇogameti to remove Lord Mahāvīra to the womb of Kṣahatriyaṇi Trishalā, wife of Siddhārtha. Dr. Jacobi has also clarified this dispute in a very convincing and straightforward way. According to us Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was born on Caityra Śukla Trayodaśi, April 30,599 B. C. Both Digambara as well as Śvetāmbara do not differ on this date.

The childhood of Lord Mahāvīra is full of strange and adventurous episodes. He was endowed with a sharp intellect, high sense of discipline, obedience and other qualities we find in great men even in their childhood. His very mission of life was to be an example of an ideal noble life and thus to teach the people to be good. Many remarkable incidents took place in his early childhood. When Mahāvīra was only eight years old, he was admitted into a primary school. The teachers and others got bewildered to see his sharp intellect and witty remarks. There are many incidents showing his miraculous power. One day while playing with his friends in the garden of his father, Mahāvīra saw a big elephant coming towards him who was mad and ferocious. Rut was flowing from his temples. All his companions, boys as they were, awe-stricken and afraid of the impending danger deserted him and fled away. Without losing a moment, Mahāvīra went towards the elephant, caught hold of his trunk with his mighty hands and overpowered him and thus demonstrated his unlimited valour (ananta virya). Lord Mahāvīra was also called Sanmati. One day, two monks who had doubts about the existence of tattva were passing through the road where child Mahāvīra was playing. After seeing the spark of innocence on his face their doubts vanished and they were fully satisfied of its existence. They named him as Sanmati. And thus Lord Mahāvīra’s childhood was spent in a dignified way.
Mahāvira was related to almost all the royal families of that time. The maternal grandfather of Mahāvira, Cetaka, was chief of the Licchavi republic. His mother’s first sister Prabhavati was married to king Udayana of Vatsa, her second sister Padmavati to Dadhivahana, king of Cempā, and the third sister Śivā to king Caṇḍa Pradyota of Ujjayini. Thus Mahāvira had his maternal relation with the royal families of Aṅga, Vatsa, Avanti, Videha and Magadhā.

About his adult life, Jaina scholars differ. The Digambaras are of the view that Mahāvira was never married and led the life of a Brahmacāri till his death, and was disgusted with the ways of the world from his very childhood. On the contrary, Śvetāmbaras assert that he was married to a lovely and beautiful princess Yaśodharā, daughter of Simhavarman, King of Kaundinya pura, and was blessed with a daughter named Anujā or Priyadarśanā who was married to Jamāli son of Mahāvira’s sister and had a daughter called Sevasti or Yaśovati. Dr. Jacobi is also of the same view and has given genealogical table of Mahāvira’s family. But the views taken by Digambaras is that he never married and his horoscope shows that he should never have married.

One day, while meditating upon his self, all of a sudden, he reflected upon his age which he knew through his three-fold knowledge and his reflection reminded him of his long-cherished wish to become a muni. He was determined to leave the worldly affairs to become a Nirgrantha Muni. He renounced on Mārgaśiśa Kṛṣṇa11 Daśamī, November 11, 570 B.C. According to the Ācārāṅga sūtra he distributed his immense wealth and gold among the poor. He left his place in the afternoon on that very day and performed his first penance in a garden known as the Sārathikhanḍa. Arriving there he got down the conveyance. He then
relinquished twenty four parigrahas or the attachments and acquired the twenty eight Mūla guñas or the chief qualities of a monk. Mahāvīra led the life of a monk and preached philosophy and religion. He performed penances for full twelve years. During the penances he spent the rainy seasons in Arthikāgrāma, Nālandā, Prasūṭhā Campā, Bhaddilā (capital of Malaya), Bhaddīya, Alambhiyānagarī, Rājagṛha, Śrāvasti, and Vaiśālī. He had to face a lot of troubles and hardships during the period of penance.

After twelve years of penance, he got enlightenment on Vaiśākha Śukla Daśami, April, 26, 557 B.C. near a place called Gṛmbhakāgrāma on the northern bank of the river Rjukulā beneath a sālavyāksha. The Harivamśa Purāṇa contains an allusion to a contest between Gautama and Mahāvīra in which the latter was successful. Thus Mahāvīra got gaṇadhara (interpreter) and he delivered his first sermon. Mahāvīra’s chief gaṇadhara was Indrabhūti Gautama but along with him there were other ten gaṇadharas—Agnibhūti, Bhavabhūti, Āryāvyakta, Sudharmā, Maṇḍika, Mauryaputra, Akampi, Achalabhṛta, Medārya and Prabāsa. All these gaṇadharas were brahmīns by caste and were inhabitants of different places of Bihar. Thus Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra delivered his first sermon on Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa Pratipadā in the morning on Bipulācala mountain of Rājagṛha.

He spent his last rainy season in the town of Pāvā. The venerable ascetic got his Nirvāṇa in Padmasarovara on Kārtika Kṛṣṇa Caturdaśī, Tuesday, October 15, 527 B.C. in brāhmamahūṭta. Broadly speaking all over the country 527 B.C. is regarded as Mahāvīra’s Nirvāṇa period.

Lord Mahāvīra’s Philosophy and Religion

It has already been mentioned above that Lord Mahāvīra delivered his religious sermon on the mount
Vipulácala. Thereafter he travelled around and preached at different places like Campá, Nálandá, Vaiśáli, Páwápuri and Gayá. He chose Rājagrha as the centre of his intense activity. His foremost disciple was Śreníka or Bimbisāra, the king of Rājagrha. It was after Mahāvīra that the places of Jain pilgrimage and their sacredness came to be established in Magadha and Videha. Mount Pārśvanātha in the district of Hazaribagh (now Giridih) attained its fame due to the rigorous Tapa and Nirvāṇa of Pārśvanātha, who existed some two hundred and fifty years before Lord Mahāvīra. Though Jain tradition accepts Sammedaśikhara (Pārśvanātha hill) and Rājagrha as places of Pilgrimage from the period of Rṣabhadeva, yet in the light of historical proofs it would not be inappropriate to note that Sammedaśikhara attained its fame after Pārśvanātha and Rājagrha after Mahāvīra. Pārśvanātha preached *Ahimsā*, *Satya*, *Acaurya* and *Aparigraha* among the aboriginals of Santhāl Parganā and made them Śrāvakas. Even today we find in Bihar a sect named Sarāka which is nothing but a degenerated form of the word Śrāvaka. Pārśvanātha is the deity of this sect and *Ahimsā* is their religion.

Mahāvīra belonged to Videha and his main field of activity was North Bihar also. The organization of monks and householders that stood around him and which he always addressed was known as *Sammosarana sabhā*. He gave his sermons in the prevalent language of the common men of his time, which has been termed as *Ardhamāgadhī*. The characteristic of the language was that about half of its vocabulary and linguistic forms were of Magadha and half of other languages.

In the congregations of Mahāvīra there assembled people of all ranks along with Rājās and Mahārājās without any differentiation and they got converted to his
religion being impressed by his teachings, Śramaṇa Lord Mahāvīra gave his sermons against the violence in sacrifices. He proclaimed the baselessness of Kriyākānda and warned the entire humanity against false glories and false suppositions. He spoke in un-equivocal terms that animal sacrifice could not take the place of religion. One could not be religious without purifying one’s conduct. Man’s uplift is not in the hands of God or any other being beyond and above the worldly existence. Man is the architect of his own fortune. He can himself become high or low according to his own deeds and misdeeds. So, he preached self-purification to be the only religion.

Mahāvīra did not accept God as the creator of the universe. He held that by accepting the existence of God, man accepts Him as the cause of all his good and bad qualities as responsible for all his deeds and thereby reduces himself to the position of an inactive being. Mahāvīra preached that the governance of the universe is not in God’s hands, the world being without a beginning or end. The world is existing as it is from time immemorial. Every individual is himself the creator and the created. His uplift and decline both are in his own hands. Good or bad whatever work he performs ends in corresponding results. Existence or non-existence is not an absolute entity. Changeability is inherent in the nature of things. Every thing is changing by the force of its own nature and there can be no creator of this world as its very nature connotes.

Man commits mistakes by virtue of his own ignorance and egoism and thereby binds himself in this world. But when he evolves restraint, renunciation and distinctions he attains his perfection. Equal power inheres in the soul of all creatures but its manifestation is not equal in all of them. The individual being is developing its inherent power through its own efforts and when it succeeds in
developing it fully it attains godhood. In the attainment of its position, caste, sex, class or community is no bar; everyone through his or her own efforts can rise to the height of godhood.

The soul is of three categories, Extrovert soul, Introvert soul and the Perfect soul or Paramātmā. That soul which assumes external physical body as the soul and the bodily activities, is the Extrovert; whereas the other which through his sense of discrimination, discriminates body from the soul is the Introvert soul. Such a soul gets hold over his passions of emotions like anger, greed, deceitfulness and self-pride etc. and engages himself in the processes of self-purification, such as meditation, self-study, renunciation and restraint. He treats his body as an instrument observing religious practices for the purpose of the spiritual uplift of the soul and, consequently his identification with the body or outer things gets feeblener and feeblener. The sense of egoism begins to drop down. When the soul becomes free from passions, perfect knowledge emerges in him and he becomes God. Thus it is obvious that God is only the name of the perfectly free and pure state of soul itself, and that so long as the soul is bound under the fetters of 'Karma', one cannot become God.

Ardhamāgadhi Āgama Literature

According to scholars like the late Dr. Sten Konow a council of the Jain Sangha was held at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of king Khāravela in Kalinga about three hundred and fifty years after the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra, for the authentic oral redaction of the Jain Canonical literature. Saints who remembered the whole or only some particular portions of the Āgamas narrated them before the sacred Assembly, which in its turn accepted the Āgamas with alterations, additions, and subtraction whenever and
wherever necessary. Thus all the Āgamas can be expected to have taken a definite shape at this council. And though the Āgamas were finally reduced to writing at the Valabhi council held under the presidentship of Devarddhiganī kṣamāśramaṇa in the 5th century A.D., the credit of preserving the Āgamas may be allotted to the Paṭaliputra Council as well. In the following pages a very brief synopsis of the Ardhamāgadhi canonical literature is being put forward.

1. Āyārāṅga

The Āyārāṅga is divided into the two Sūyas. There are nine Adhyayanas and forty four uddeśakas in the first Sūya. This part of the Āyārāṅga is original and the oldest from the linguistic point of view. It deals with the rules and regulations pertaining to the conduct of the Jain Clergy. In this Āgama the principle of Ahimsā is held out as an ideal and the means to refrain from Ahimsā and the rigidity of the monastic life have been discussed in detail. The second part is divided into four Cūlas and sixteen chapters. The first Cūla deals with the rules pertaining to begging of food, a couch, and clothes. The second Cūla gives the rules regarding religious postures, places of study etc. The third Cūla deals with the biography of Lord Mahāvīra. The fourth Cūla marks the end of the Ayāra and it contains twelve verses only.

2. Sūyagadāṅga

This is the second Aṅga having three titles. It is divided into two Suyakshandas. The first suyakshanda has sixteen Adhyayanas and in all there are twenty three Adhyayanas. In the Samavāya the names of all the twenty three Adhyayanas are given.

The second Aṅga provides a young monk with materials whereby he can fortify himself against the heretical
doctrines of alien teachers and preachers, can confirm himself in the right faith and can lead himself to the summum bonum.

3. Ṭhāṇa

This is the third Aṅga. It is divided into the sections known as Addhayanas and 783 sūtras. Unlike other Aṅgas, this Aṅga is not divided into uddeśakas. The entire work is mostly in prose. A numerical description of things from one onward up to innumerable is the style enumerated in this Aṅga. As for example, in the third section persons are divided into three classes, best mediocre and worst. In the seventh section seven nayás seven svaras, samudghātās and seven schisms have been described. In the eighth section eight types of philosophers, eight mahanimittas and eight vibhaktis have been named. In the tenth section we find ten types of dravyānuyāga, ten kinds of satya, ten sorts of sādhanākāryānuyoga, ten types of calculations, ten sections of the Aṅgas, ten kinds of sons and ten sorts of wonders. There are four kinds of baskets and also of teachers, four sorts of fish and also of medicines, four varieties of bull and men alike.

4. Samavāya :

This fourth Aṅga has been divided into one hundred and sixty suttas. This work is important for arranging different entities in separate numerical groups. This is followed by the description of the twelve Aṅgas, two rāśis (jīva rāśi and Ajīva rāśi) and their subdivisions. It also describes the names of twenty four Tīrthankaras, twelve Cakravartis, nine Vāsudevas and nine Baladevas, of the present avasarpīṇī. It also includes the names of twenty four Tīrthāṅkaras of Āryāvarta.

5. Vīyāhapannatti :

This fifth Aṅga has been divided into fortyone sections known as Śatakās. Its subdivisions are as Uddeśakas, and
then sub-divided into fortyone suttas. It has 10,000 uddeśakas, 3600 Prasamas and 288000 Paradas. There is no connection between the uddeśakas of one and the same sataka. This work has also been divided into the Khōṇḍas. All the explanations contain answers to some definite problems raised in the work itself. Gautama Gaṇadhāra asks questions relating to the Jain siddhānta and Lord Mahāvīra explains them thoroughly. At the end of the work, the Agamas have been attended. According to the commentary of Abhayadeva, this work consists of 36000 answers. These answers are related to Ancient History, Geography, Politics, Religion and Philosophy, social customs and traditions etc. This fifth Aṅga throws much light on the life of Lord Mahāvīra. The names of 16 Jātis, Grahas and Vedas, Itihāsa, Nighaṇṭu, Vaidika, Upāṅgas and Śaśṭhitantra are mentioned here.

6. Nāyādhammakahā:

This sixth Aṅga has been divided into two suyakkhandas, Nāyā and Dhammakahā. The first consists of 19 subdivisions viz. Vaggas, whereas the second has only ten Vaggas. Each Vagga is further subdivided into adhyāyanas.

The story of Meghakumāra has been described in the first vagga. In the second suyakkhandha there is a story of the Goddess Kāli. This Aṅga also gives the names of some of the anārya tribes. At one place it mentions 16 jewels and 72 sashtīrthankara and 16 diseases.

7. Uvasagadasā

This is called the seventh Aṅga. It consists of 10 aṭṭhakathās or chapters which put before us a very clear picture of the social life in those days. The various vows and observances undertaken by Ānanda have been dealt
with the first chapter of this book. The next four chapters furnish us with the religious way of life of four other lay people. Each one of them was threatened by one God or another, with the loss of life, sons, health and property respectively. The sixth chapter deals with the life of Kunda Koliya who had a deep-root faith in Lord Mahavira's teachings. The seventh describes the story of Sadaputta. Lord Mahavira convinces him by arguments that the doctrine of Gosala is faulty. The eighth states as to how Revati (Skt.-Revati) harasses her husband Mahasayagya by subjecting him to temptation to enjoy pleasures. The remaining two chapters relate the story of the quiet and peaceful lives led by Nandimitriya and Salinipriya, the last two out of the ten devotees of Lord Mahavira.

8. Antagadaśasā:

There is only one suyakhandha in this eighth Aṅga. It deals with the lives of the ten Antakrtkevalins who become siddhas (liberated souls) after their death.

9. Anuttaravayiyadasā:

This ninth Aṅga has been divided into three vaggas. It deals with the lives of persons, who after their death, were born as gods in the Anuttaravimāna and who would later come to this world, take a human birth and would attain the state of siddhahood by their own efforts in the same life. The last stūtas of this Aṅga mention some of the noble thoughts of Lord Mahavira.

10. Paññāvāgarana

This Aṅga is composed of ten ājīhayānas, out of which the first five deal with āsrava and the last five with Sāmvara. The names of anārya tribes and those of nine grahas are mentioned in it. A notable feature of this Aṅga is that it deals with Vidyas and mantras.
II. Vivāgasuya:

This eleventh Āṅga deals with the good and bad fruits of action done in previous births after their coming to the stage of fruition, through narratives. Sixteen diseases and their remedies have also been mentioned here. It also shows how the science of medicine was developed in those days. The science of surgery has also been noted. It also deals with the good and bad elements of the human society.

Uvangas (Upāngas)

After the eleven Āṅgas described above we shall be discussing the twelve Upāṅgas. The upāṅgas are not necessarily related to the corresponding Āṅgas, though they must have originally been supplementary to the Āṅgas. They are as follows:


Mulasuttas are four in number:

(i) Uttarajjhayaṇa, (ii) Dasaveyaliya, (iii) Avassaya, (iv) Oha niṣṭuttī.

Chuliyā Suttas are two in number:

(i) Nandi, (ii) Aṇuogadāra

Payaṇṇas are ten in number:


To conclude, the Jain canonical literature is divided into forty five volumes. They deal with the social, religious,
historical conditions prevailing in Bihar from 5th century B.C. to the 1st century B.C.

**History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas**

The land of Bihar has been undoubtedly the mother of many religious sects. It has been much fertile for the growth of new ideas and thoughts. The Vedic system of sacrifice was not blindly accepted. Therefore, some new religious sects opposed the sacrificial systems of the Vedas. Among them Ājīvika sect is one.

Ājīvikism is a religious sect of ancient India. It has its birth in about the 6th century B.C. It rose in opposition to Vedism which was a dominant religion of ancient India. The very foundations of Vedism depended on the various systems of sacrifices which were vigorously opposed by Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvikism. Ājīvikism had to face a tough trial even at the hands of its rival religions. It was blackened by Buddhism and Jainism. Yet the Ājīvikas clung to their doctrine of predestination. They believed that there was an all-enhancing power. It is called Niyati. It controls all the activities of human beings as well as the natural phenomena. It leaves no room for man’s free will. It was founded on the basis of strict determinism.

This determinism emerged at a very crucial period of human history. It was the time when a new civilization was rising in the Ganges valley. This was the time of the Buddha. This was also the time of Makkhali Gosāla, the founder of Ājīvikism.

Nearabout the 6th century B.C. there were three prominent anti-Vedic sects in eastern India. These were—Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvikism. All these three sects had many common traits. They all vehemently opposed and completely rejected the system of sacrifice of the Brāhmaṇas. They also rejected the monistic theories of
the upanishads. They recognized the rule of natural law in the universe.

The Ājivikas believed in the principle of 'Niyati.' In their opinion 'Niyati' is the only determining factor in the universe. This fatalistic tendency had existed even before the time of Makkhali Gośāla. In countries, even outside India, people believed in Destiny. They believed in the inevitability of important events as well as that of Destiny. The heroes of many of the epics and tragedies knew it fully well that they were fated for defeat and death. In Greek Tragedies, dramatists like Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides believed in the inevitability of Fate. Thus the principle of 'Niyati' had a long past.

Out of all the countries of the world, India was the most suited for the growth of 'Niyativāda'. The climate of India encourages a fatalistic attitude to life. Natural calamities like great flood, drought, famine, etc. occur here on such a wide scale that most of the people begin to think that human efforts are useless and futile. Nobody can check them. In those earlier days this dependence on nature was even greatly and more acutely felt. So the Ājivikas gave the slogan, "Human effort is ineffectual". Even today it is the typical cry of the peasants in India.

In the Pāli texts the teachings of the Buddha are contrasted with the doctrines of six other teachers and their followers. They are also mentioned in the Jain canons. They were the contemporaries of Mahāvīra and the Buddha and like them they were also inspired by a sense of dissatisfaction with orthodox Brahmanism which was the most potent sect of the Gangā valley in the 6th and 5th century B.C.

These six teachers had little individuality. They were usually referred to as a group. Their teachings were often
confused. The Buddhist and Jain texts are the only source of our knowledge of these sects. The ‘Samaṅgaphalasutta’ of the Dīgha Nikāya contains a long passage on these teachers and their doctrines. It is here that Makkhali Gośāla propounds his determinist view of the universe.

In its earlier stages Buddhism had to contend not only with Brāhmaṇism and Janism but with many other religious sects as well. These six teachers were opposed to Buddhism. They also made some contributions to the thought of the age. The three unorthodox systems were associated with the names of the Buddha, Mahāvīra and Makkhali Gośāla. But there were some other teachers of lesser importance. They also contributed to the system. Out of the six teachers three have little relevance to Ājīvīkās. Only Purāṇa, Makkhali and Pakudha are connected with Ājīvīkism. These three names are often associated and their doctrines are sometime confused.

There were many other ascetics of Ājīvīkism before Makkhali Gośāla. Makkhali Gośāla considered himself to be the 24th Tīrthaṅkara. There must have been, therefore, twenty three more teachers before Makkhali Gośāla. Of these the two, Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Sankissa are linked with Makkhali Gośāla. Kisa and Nanda were, perhaps Makkhali’s contemporaries. But Mr. Barua believes that Nanda was succeeded by Kisa, and Kisa by Makkhali. It is, thus clear that the Ājīvīkas had many earlier teachers.

Makkhali Gośāla is considered by many scholars as the sole founder of Ājīvīkism. Other Ājīvīkas respected him most. There is a lot of controversy about his birth and parentage. Some think that he was born of a low parentage in a cowshed. But it is all a wild conjecture. In the Bhagavatti Sutta it is written that Gośāla spent a few years in the company of Lord Mahāvīra. But the
account of the circumstances of the meeting is most unreliable. Some think that Gośāla spent six years with Lord Mahāvīra. There are many detailed accounts of the conversation between Makkhali and Mahāvīra. But there are no valid proofs. Even the Buddha knew Makkhali Gośāla. In the Anguttara Nikāya the Buddha says that Makkhali is a stupid man. He is just like a fisherman. His doctrine is the worst.

According to Bhagavatī-sutta Gośāla lived in Savatthi in the twenty-fourth year of his asceticism. He was there surrounded by a group of Ājīvīkas. At this time he was visited by six 'diśākaras'. Here Gośāla declared that there were six inevitable factors in the life of every individual, gain and loss, joy and sorrow, life and death. It is just possible that these diśākaras were his chief disciples.

Mahāvīra was living in the neighbourhood. Mahāvīra told his disciples about Gośālas birth and the story spread like a wild fire. At this Gośāla threatened Mahāvīra to burn him to ashes if he continued to slander him. Mahāvīra forbade his disciples to meet Gośāla. These two teachers met each other many times. They were not on friendly terms, it is clear.

Purāna and Pakuṇḍha are the other teachers who played important role in the development of Ājīvīkism. The name of Purāna is combined with that of Makkhali. Purāna is said to have maintained the doctrine of the six classes of man. Ājīvīkas considered Purāna as a great leader. In the Pāli scriptures the word 'The Elder' is used twice for Purāna. It is, thus, clear that Purāna was an important figure among the Ājīvīkas. But our knowledge of his life is very fragmentary. His doctrines and practices did not differ much from those of Makkhali. Purāna considered him as his superior.

Pakuṇḍha, too, had some influence on the Ājīvīkas. He believed in seven eternal and immutable elements—
earth, water, air, fire, life, joy, sorrow. His creed is associated with Makkhali’s fatalistic creed. He was a determinist. His main teaching is a very primitive atomism. Pakuḍha was less influential than Purāṇa or Makkhali. He is never more than a shadowy figure. He is not individualised. It is, thus, clear that he made a very slight impression on the contemnorary life.

The Early Ājīvika Community

The ascetic groups existed even before Makkhali Gosāla. They followed more or less a common way of life. Makkhali Gosāla, put these groups together under his own leadership. But Ājīvika ascetics are met even before Makkhali. Upaka was one of them. He had met the Buddha. He was born in Magadha, near the Bodhi Tree.

The term ‘Ājīvika’ according to Burnouf, meant ‘one who lives on the charity of others’. Lassen believed that the word meant “an ascetic who ate no living or animal food”. According to Hoernle it means ‘the mode of life, or properties of any particular class of people, whether they live as householders or as religious mendicants. It is, thus, obvious that the term Ājīvika originally had a wide connotation. It might be applied to any non-brāhmaical naked ascetic.

In the Pali Jain texts it is stated that the Ājīvikas lived in a state of nudity. Makkhali Gosāla and Purāṇa Kassapa are described to be completely unclad. Even the junior members were naked. But in the later times nudity was not practised. It is just possible that with some of the sects of Ājīvikism, as with the Jains, the cult of nakedness, tended to die out. Thus it is clear that the typical Ājīvika of the early period was completely naked but this practice was later on relaxed.

The Ājīvikas performed seven penances. Their reputation for asceticism had reached far and wide. The
most important thing was Niyati which determined every action of man.

The Buddhists criticised the doctrine of Niyati. Since no one can modify his life either by good work or self control or by asceticism, all such works are useless so the Ājivika doctrines are conductive to luxury and licentiousness. This is a practical criticism of the Ājivika philosophy.

References

1. Uvasagadas VII. 187.
2. Jayadhavalī Pt. I, p. 7; Uttarapurāṇa Pañca 74
3. "I assume that Siddhārtha had two wives, the Brāhmaṇa Devaśānā, the real mother of Mahāvīra and the Kshatriyāṇi Trisalī; for the name of the alleged husband of the former, viz. Rāshabhadatta cannot be very old, because its Prakrit form would in that case probably be Usabhadīna instead of Usabhadatta. Besides, the name is such as could be given to a Jain only, not to a Brāhmaṇa. I therefore have no doubt that Rāshabhadatta has been invented by the Jains in order to provide Devaṃśa with another husband. Now Siddhārtha was connected with persons of high rank and great influence through his marriage with Trisalī. It was therefore, probably thought more profitable to give out that Mahāvīra was the son, and not merely the step son of Trisalī, for this reason, that he should be entitled to the patronage of her relations. This story could all the more easily have gained credence as Mahāvīra's parents were dead many years when he came forward as a prophet.

5. Uttarapurāṇa 74/29-295
6. Ibid. 74/282-283
7. Bhagawati Sūtra 491

10. See Bṛhatajñātaka and Saravādi Vivāh-Yogas.
11. Jayadhavalā Pt. I p. 78
    Harivamśa Purāṇa 2/51; Uttara Purāṇa 74-303-304
    Kalpasūtra 113.
12. See Ācārāṅga Sūtra, Book—I, Lecture 8, Lesson 2 and 3
    (In the Sacred books of the east, Vol. 22).
17. Uttarapurāṇa 73/156-157
20. Samayasaṅga gāthā 50-54.
22. 'A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains' 1941,
    pp. 20-29.
23. 'History and Doctrines of the Ājītvikas' by A. L. Basham,
    pp. 27-66.
24. 'The fundamental principle of Ājīvika philosophy was Fate,
    usually called 'Niyati. Buddhist and Jain sources agree that
    Gośāla was a rigid determinist, who exalted 'Niyati to the
    status of the motive factor of the universe and the sole agent
    of all phenomenal change.' Ibid, p. 224.

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CHAPTER XV

Social and Economic Conditions
600 B.C.—325 B.C.

SOCIETY

The Castes

The division of the society into the four *Vānas* was regarded as God-ordained, and social life in Bihar during this period was marked by intensification of caste distinction and a deep-rooted feeling of superiority based on birth. But the remarkable feature was that the Buddha and Mahāvīra and their followers raised their voice against the current notion of caste superiority. The Buddha as a reformist exerted himself for liberalising the existing caste feeling. But he was successful in removing the feeling of caste consciousness only within the monastic fold; he himself often appeared to be a spokesman of Kshatriya superiority. Sometimes he figures as accepting the ascendancy of the Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas over other castes, and at places as arguing for the superiority of the Kshatriyas over the Brāhmaṇas. The situation was that acceptance of Buddhism did not imply loss of one's caste and the established order remained unchanged. Buddhist sources claims the purity of lineage not only for kings and celebrated Brāhmaṇas, but even for the Buddha. The Brāhmaṇas’ claim of superiority over all castes was challenged by the Kshatriyas who also made the same claim. Sub-castes also claimed superiority over other groups within the same caste.

It is obvious from emphasis on the purity of lineage that endogamy was the normal practice in the society of the age, though a few cases of inter-caste marriages are
referred to in the Ājīvakaś. Restrictions on inter-caste dining were also gradually growing. The Śākya Mahānāma is described as avoiding to dine in the same dish with his daughter, born of a slave girl.¹⁰ From the list given by Āpastamba of those whose food should not be accepted by a Brāhmaṇa Śnātaka,¹¹ it appears that the impure nature of certain professions was at the root of such restrictions. In some cases this restriction was imposed as a punishment.

The Brāhmaṇas were divided into two distinct categories of the true and the worldly ones. The first category included the ascetics, Vedic teachers, and priests. The members of this group appear as well-grounded in the three Vedas and the various branches of learning.¹² The learned Brāhmaṇa teachers whose fame spread in all the directions, gathered around them numerous pupils.¹³ As sacrificial priests they enjoyed special respect, for sacrifices were an important feature of popular Brāhmaṇism, followed by the vast majority of the population. On the occasions of sacrifices they received in charity various objects like cows, beds, clothes etc.¹⁴ Kings granted the lands, called Brahmadeya.¹⁵

Under the category of worldly Brāhmaṇas came those who in the changing circumstances of the society, mainly due to economic pressure could not stick to their hereditary professions of teaching and priesthood. The Brāhmaṇa law-givers were quite aware of the situation and permitted them to take up professions of the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas in times of distress.¹⁶ It appears from the Buddhist sources that the Brāhmaṇas could be found in almost every field of life and that some of them took up objectionable professions like hunting, carpentry, medical profession, servicing etc.¹⁷ There were big Brāhmaṇa cultivators like Soṇadaṇḍa, Kūṭadanta and Kāsibhāra-
dvāja⁹. They also lived in the society as traders, hawkers, servants, shepherds and archers⁹.

The Buddhist and Jain Canons assign to the Kṣatristyas the highest place of honour, and they are generally mentioned first while enumerating the castes⁷. The Buddha and Mahāvīra are described as being born in the Kṣatristya caste, because it was considered to be above all⁴. They primarily constituted a warrior class, considered as born to lead the army and rule the people. But as in the case of the Brāhmaṇas, economic factors had led many of them to adopt professions other than those prescribed for them.

The Buddhist Canons refer to the members of the Vaiśya community by the words Vessa, Gahapati, Setṭhi, and Kuṭumbika⁷. The Gahapatis were ordinary Vaiśya householders; the Kuṭumbikas were businessmen and well-to-do cultivators; and the Setṭhis, the aristocratic and the richest section of the Vaiśya caste, enjoying the highest honour. The Jātakas tell us that the Setṭhis traded with distant lands, led big caravans and owned huge property⁸.

The Buddhist sources do not specify the castes constituting the Śūdra Varna but the status of several low professional groups indicate that they constituted the larger group of the Śūdras. The day-labourers (Bhaṭaka),¹⁰ various categories of the lower artisans like potters¹⁰, smiths¹⁰, and carpenters¹⁰ etc., following hereditary professions, and a number of unorganised and unsettled castes like dancers, singers¹⁰, acrobats¹⁰, jugglers¹⁰ and snake-charmers¹¹ etc. seem to have been included among the Śūdras. The same may have been the case with professionals like the cowherds, foresters, grass-cutters and stick-gatherers etc., who were leading comparatively a more settled life¹⁰.

There existed also a few castes like the Caṇḍālas, the Nishādas, the Pukkusas and the Veṇas¹⁰, who either due to
their ethnic origin, or on account of the low nature of their professions, were looked down upon by the members of the higher sections of the society. Most unfortunate was the condition of the Caṇḍālas who were forced to live outside the cities and towns, having their own settlements and who are described as the lowest and meanest on the earth. They spoke a dialect of their own which may be taken as indicative of their ethnic difference. Being unseeables and untouchables, they did dare not enter the city-gates, nor could they walk on the windward side if a Brāhmaṇa was walking on the leeward side on the same road. They were considered to be inauspicious, and the study of the Vedas was not continued in their presence. The Brāhmaṇas even refused to be cremated in a cemetery where a Caṇḍāla was burnt. The Caṇḍālas appear to have been earning their livelihood as sweepers, burners of corpses, vendors of old rubbish and the like.

The Nishādas who were mostly hunters and foresters, and the Pukkusas, employed for low works were despised like the Caṇḍālas. The Pukkusas did mainly cleansing work. The Veṇas, Rathakāras, basket-makers, potters, weavers and cobblers described as following kinasippas, and the butcher, the fowler, the hunter, the fisher, etc. following bloody professions fell in the same category. But the barbers, potters, basket-makers and the garland-makers etc. employed in the royal household enjoyed better position, probably due to their higher income.

Slavery

The Buddhist Pāli Canons reveal that the practices of employing dasas and dāsīs was well-known in Bihar. That they were bought and sold and given in gifts are mentioned both in the Buddhist and the contemporary Brāhmaṇical sources; the former even mentions definite prices of a slave. It appears that ordinarily a slave could be bought for one
hundred karshapanas." In a few cases the price might have varied according to the physical fitness of the slave and the needs of the seller and the purchaser.

The Buddhist sources make mention of several categories of slaves. War, famine and indebtedness seem to have been the main factors for its origin.

It is obvious that whether a slave received good or bad treatment depended on the temperament of the master, and a few harsh slave-owners were not wanting in the society. There were such slave-owners who would beat their slaves for the latter's faults; the majority of the masters seem to have been treating their slaves with kindness. The Buddhist sources generally describe them as being treated by their masters like members of the family concerned. Sometimes they are represented as enjoying the fullest confidence of the master. The female slaves appear to have been enjoying a better status than the male ones, as the former had the chances of being wooed by their young masters, and ultimately being elevated to the wife's position.

Slaves were mostly employed for performing ordinary duties of the household and rendering personal service to their employers. They are represented as cooking and serving food, fetching water, handling plates and dishes, spreading rice in the sun and watching it, attending on the master and the mistress at the time of bathing and taking their meals etc. In some of the ordinary families they appear to have been earning daily wages for their masters.

Slavery had no doubt developed into a regular institution, but a slave's fate was not doomed for ever. Under certain circumstances he could terminate his servile status and breathe the fresh air of freedom. The Buddhist sources reveal that a slave could be liberated either by accepting Sanyasa or by the will of the master, or by
paying off a ransom to the master. Sometimes bringing happy news for the master also resulted in his emancipation.

Marriage

The Buddhist and the contemporary Brāhmaṇical sources frequently speak of polygamous marriages. Āpastamba even prescribes a charm to be repeated by a wife for suppressing her co-wives, suggesting thereby the presence of jealousy among the co-wives. But the Dharmaśāstra writers allow a second wife for a man during the lifetime of the first only when she happened to be either barren or suffering from some incurable disease. Polygamy was more common among the kings and nobles than the ordinary members of the society. Kings like Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and others had several wives and kings are generally represented polygamous in the Jātakas.

The Pāli literature reveals that marriages were generally negotiated and settled by the elders of the parties concerned. Initiative came from the bridegroom's side who sent men for finding a suitable girl. Sometimes grown-up girls were wooed by their suitors.

By this period caste had become a dominant factor in marriage settlement. The tendency of preserving the purity of blood through endogamous marriages is distinct, and the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Seṭṭhis, etc. are mentioned as solemnising marriages in their respective castes or sub-castes. However, in the higher circles of the society, caste and family restrictions could be relaxed, and the bridegroom of a high caste could accept the bride of a lower caste in exceptional cases. This was quite in conformity with the dharmaśāstra-rules, which permitted anuloma marriage. But the other form, pratiloma, prohibited in the Dharmaśāstras, does not seem to have been in practice, because a Licchavi girl is described as forbidden fruit for a
barbar boy in a Jātaka story. Gotra also seems to have been playing some part in determining marriages, but the precise nature of it is not clear.

The Buddhist evidence discloses that one could marry his maternal uncle's daughter. King Ajātaśatru had married the daughter of his maternal uncle, king Prasenajit of Kośala. The dharmaśāstras speak of such marriage being confined to the south, but it appears that it was not so in our period.

Works like the Therīgāthā, Dhammapadaṭṭika, and the Jātakai reveal that generally sixteen years was regarded as the proper age for the marriage of girls; and it can be safely concluded that post-puberty marriage was the order of the day. The bridegroom would have been a few years' older than his partner. But in some cases even old persons married young girls, though such marriages were not encouraged.

The Buddhist sources show that the Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva and Rākshasa forms of marriages were common in the society of the period. When marriage were settled by parents, auspicious days were fixed for solemnising marriage, bridegroom's party reached the house of the bride on the fixed day, the bride was carried in a car to the bridegroom's place and the like. The Āsura form of marriage in which a wife was obtained by paying a substantial amount to the bride's father was also in practice is clear from expressions like kito dhanema bahunā, bhariyā yāpi dhanena hoti kīṭā, and yā ca bhariyā dhanakīṭā. It appears that this practice was encouraged by old persons, contracting a second marriage. The Gāndharva and Rākshasa forms of marriages were more common among the nobles.

Evidence of widow-marriage is conflicting, and it appears that different sections of the society followed
different practices. Among the higher sections, only a few seem to have been taking recourse to widow-marriage; while a higher percentage of the lower sections of the society practised this custom. It appears from the Āṅguttara Nikāya and the Nanda Jātaka that sonless widows found it easier to remarry than mothers. The Ucchanga Jātaka suggests that in the lower sections of the society widow-marriage was an ordinary affair. Vaśishṭha is more sympathetic to child-widows when he gives them permission of second marriage, and by using the term punarbhā for the widow who remarried. He supports the Buddhist evidence that widow-marriages were not unknown in the society.

In social circumstances a lady could marry in the lifetime of her husband. According to Vaśishṭha Dharmasūtra the wife would seek a new husband if the former one proved to be either impotent, or mean, or insane. Even a Brahmāṇa lady was permitted to remarry after waiting for five years for her husband who either became an ascetic, or went abroad and did not return back. But the law-giver advises her to select a husband among the members of her diseased husband’s family. But it appears that generally this practice was not resorted to, as the family convention and local customs have almost always played a dominant part in determining social practices. The Jātakas tell us that wives and husbands, though disliking each other, preferred to live together, honouring the family traditions.

The Courtesans

Bihar, during this period had become studded with several cities, the gaiety and dignity of which were added to by the courtesans. That the presence of a courtesan in a royal city was a matter of pride for its citizens is revealed by the way in which Sālavatt was installed a courtesan of
Rājagṛha\textsuperscript{54}. The courtesans were experts and patrons of the fine arts of singing and dancing.

The Buddha’s acceptance of the invitation extended to him by the Vaiśālian courtesan Ambapālī\textsuperscript{55} and that the mother of the famous physician Jīvaka was Sālavatī, a courtesan of Rājagṛha, reveal that the courtesans enjoyed respectable position in the society. Their financial position also seems to have been sound, as the way in which Ambapāli proceeded to see the Buddha at Koṭigāma was almost royal. The Jātakas give highly exaggerated accounts of the income of the courtesans, but on the evidence of the Vinaya texts we can safely conclude that the daily income of a courtesan of high order varied from 50 to 100 silver punch-marked coins (Kārshāpaṇas)\textsuperscript{56} which would have enabled them to live a life of luxury and comforts.

It is true that courtesans like Ambapāli and Sālavatī adorning the royal cities enjoyed respect in the society, but the ordinary ones, selling their flesh merely for money appear to have been looked down upon. The society did not appreciate the profession of prostitution, and it is described as a vile trade (Nīca-kamma).\textsuperscript{57}

**Food and Drink**

Like today rice was the staple food of the people of Bihar during this period too, of which several varieties were available. The superior quality of rice was enjoyed by the higher sections of the society, whereas the inferior one was the food of people belonging to the lower strata.\textsuperscript{58} Generally people preferred to eat three years’ old rice, which also would have been available to the privileged class, not to the poor, who earned livelihood by day-labour or by serving others:

Cooked rice was called Bhatta or Bhakta (modern Bhāta). It was ordinarily eaten with Sūpa (pulses) and
vegetables. Usually favourable dish seems to have been one constituted of rice and meat or fish, added with Śūpa, vegetables, and ghee. Milk, curd and butter were also included in the diet.

Rice-milk, mixed with honey was a commendable morning breakfast. Yavāgū (rice or barley gruel) was a common liquid food. Rice-gruel is the food of the commons in modern Bengal and Bihar.

Sattu and its another variety called Udanatha or Udakamantha were also quite common. Kummasa or Kulmasha was a coarse food of the poor.

There were also some special preparations which in most of the cases have been retained till today. The Jātakas make mention of puva sweet cake, piṭṭha khajjaka (modern khājā), palala (modern tilakā) etc. for which Bihar is well-known even today.

The Buddhist sources make it quite clear that non-vegetarian diet was popular during this period. The Jain and Buddhist philosophies of non-injury to living beings did not affect much the practice of meat-eating. The Buddha prohibited only killing, and not eating. The Buddhist texts by mentioning the cattle-butcher, the goat-butcher, the pig-butcher, the deer-hunter, the fowler and the slaughter-house imply that the wide prevalence of the practice of meat-eating had given rise to professionals making livelihood by killing various animals and birds and supplying meat to the people. Meat was carried on carts to the towns and cities for being sold in the open market. It was lavishly consumed on festive occasions like marriages.

The Brāhmaṇas are described in the Buddhist texts as enjoying non-vegetarian diet on occasions like sacrifices and the Srāddha ceremony, which is confirmed.
by the Brāhmaṇical evidence. According to Āpastamba, meat offered to a guest was equal to the merit of the performance of Doḍasāṅh sacrifice\[14\]. and the Brāhmaṇa guests must have been offered the best dish, including meat. It is well-known that the Brāhmaṇas were served with meat in the Madhuparka. According to Āpastamba, the Vedic teachers abstained from meat-eating in the months from Upākarma to Utsarga\[15\]. It was customary to serve the child with non-vegetarian dish at the time of annaprāśana\[16\].

The Buddhist, Jain and Brāhmaṇical sources disclose that drinking was widely practised with the exception of the religious classes. Surā and Meraya are mentioned as the intoxicating drinks\[17\]. The Jātakas refer to the crowded taverns in the towns and cities where liquor was kept in jars and freely sold\[18\]. Occasionally people went there to enjoy drinking along with their wives\[19\]. The festive occasions were marked by feasting, drinking and merry-making\[20\]. The festival called Sura-Nakkhata was dedicated to unrestricted drinking, feasting and dancing\[21\].

The students and the priests were not to drink intoxicating liquors. The Vinaya rules prohibited drinking for the novices and the elders\[22\]. The Jain sūtras did the same for the Jain monks\[23\]. Similarly, Brahmacārins and Brāhmaṇas were not to drink according to the rules of the dharmaśāstras\[24\]. But the dharmaśāstras do not put restrictions on the members of other castes.

### Popular Festivals

Occasional festive celebrations were a remarkable feature of the social life in Bihar during the period. The festivals were either religious or secular in nature, and were marked by feasting, dancing, singing and the like\[25\]. The festive gathering is generally denoted by the word Samajja in the Pāli Canons\[26\]. Nakkhata is also often used in the Jātakas to mark a festive occasion\[27\]. Some of the
festive gatherings were organized at the courtyard of the royal palace where the assemblage was amused by wrestling, archery, horse-races, parade of elephants, dramatic representations etc.  

Both the religious and secular festivals had assumed the form of fairs lasting for several days, in which people used to enjoy in a number of ways. The Dīgha Nīkāya tells us that there took place dances, singing, instrumental music, chanting by bards, fairy scenes, acrobatic feats, wrestling and animal and bird fights. The Jātakas inform us that people from the neighbourhood gathered in large numbers in the fairs, and were amused by the tumblers, jugglers, rope-dancers, jumpers over javelins, snake-charmers, and drummers, etc. The entertainments included feasting, drinking, amorous acts and the profuse consumption of garlands, scents and perfumes etc. The Kattikā (Kaumudi-mahotsava) figures prominently in the Buddhist texts and seems to have been whole-heartedly celebrated by the people of Bihar belonging to all the sections of society. It was the Caturmāsya festival of the month of Kārttika, celebrated on the full-moon day. The end of the rainy season and the commencement of the winter, when the sky became clear of clouds and the fields became rich with ensuing harvest, people naturally celebrated the festival falling on the occasion with great zeal. We are told that when Ajātaśatru was the king of Magadha, on the occasion of the Kattikā festival day, the city of Rājagṛha was decorated like a city of gods. The king went out in a procession and was showered with flowers from the balconies of palaces. At night every one came out of his house to enjoy the occasion. The festival lasted for a week.

The Buddhist Jātakas frequently refer to the drinking festival (surānakkhata), and one of them describes it as
being celebrated at Rājagrha. The characteristics of this festival were similar to those of others, but it was specially marked by drinking and dancing. At times drunkenness resulted in quarrels, which must have marred the whole spirit of enjoyment.

Sālabhañjikā which means plucking the sāla flowers was a festival peculiar to the eastern people according to Pāṇini. In the opinion of Dr. Vogel, Magadha and the neighbouring countries may be taken to have been its home. Its description in the Buddhist literature shows that multitudes of people gathered on certain days at the Sāla groves, plucked the Sāla flowers, sported and passed the time in merrymaking.

The earth has been worshipped as Mother Goddess and hence ploughing her was regarded a sacred act. The occasion of the first ploughing at the beginning of the rains was celebrated as a festival. Jātaka no. 467 tells us that the king started the first ploughing. According to Sāṅkhya-yana Gṛhyasūtra ploughing should be started under the nakṣattra Rohiṇi, preceded by a bali offered to heaven and earth, at the eastern boundary of the field. A Brāhmaṇa should touch the plough, reciting Vedic mantras when it is put to motion. This religious rite seems to have been transformed into a festival when even the king graced the occasion by his presence. In addition to these major festivals, people celebrated a number of minor ones in honour of Gods, Demons, Yakshas, Nāgas, trees, cows, wells, tanks, rivers etc.

**ÉCONOMIC CONDITIONS**

**Rural Economy**

In villages houses were grouped together, probably separated only by narrow lanes. Close to the duellings, stood the sacred grove of trees of the primeval forest,
beyond which lay the arable land, generally ricefields; next to it existed an extensive stretch of pasture-land for the cattle. Adjacent to it was the forest, providing wood for the villagers.  

Gāma, gāmaka, dvāragāma and paccantagāma were the various types of villages which are mentioned in the Pāli Canons. Gāma and gāmaka were probably the ordinary village and hamlet respectively. The dvāragāmas were situated at the city gates and were mostly industrial villages. The paccantagāmas were located at the border of the kingdom, and hence their economic life was unstable. The nigama was probably a busy market-village unlike the quiet agricultural one.

The main feature of the village life during this period was the emergence of villages inhabited exclusively by men of the same craft or caste or profession, and such a development was evidently due to the economic factor of specialisation of labour. Thus, there were villages of carpenters (Vādāhakigāma), smiths (Kammārāgāma), weavers, salt-makers (Pānākārāgāma), Brāhmaṇas (Brāhmaṇagāma), Kshatriyas (Kshatriyagāma), Vaiśyas (Baniya-grāma), Caṇḍālas (Chandālāgāma), Nasādas (Nasādagāma), robbers (Corāgāma), Park-keepers (Ārāmikagāma) etc.

It appears that the size of the villages varied from those inhabited by 30 families to those populated by 500 or 1000 families.

Our sources present a detailed account of the agricultural process pursued by the farmers of the period, which is practically the same as practised in the modern villages of Bihar. They refer to ploughing the fields, watering them, sowing of seeds, fencing the fields, pulling up of the weeds, reaping the crops, arranging them in bundles, getting them trodden, picking the straw, removing the chaff, winning and garnering the harvest as the successive
stages of the process of agriculture\textsuperscript{164}. For the purpose of ploughing, big ploughs were also used\textsuperscript{165}, and the agriculturist availed the benefits of irrigation.

As at present, the main crop of Bihar was rice, of which several varieties were cultivated. Śāli, vihi, and tāndula are the words used for rice in the Pāli texts\textsuperscript{167}. The \textit{Grhyasūtras} mention only vihi\textsuperscript{168}, and Pāṇini refers to vihi šāli, mahāvṛthi, hāyana, shashtikā and nivāra.\textsuperscript{169} The different words seem to denote different varieties of rice, and most of these may have been grown in ancient Bihar which was mainly a rice-producing region. Śāli of Magadha is highly praised by \textit{Patañjali}.

According to Hwu Limahāśāli was grown only in Magadha, and Hsuan Tsiang was entertained with this rice at Nalandā\textsuperscript{171}. Other cereals harvested were barley (\textit{yava}), wheat (\textit{godhūma}) and millet (\textit{kaṅgu}).

Grans (\textit{kālaya}) beams (\textit{mugga}) peas (\textit{masa}), Kolattthi or kolattha and masura\textsuperscript{172} are mentioned as the pulses, and sesame (\textit{tila}), castor oil (\textit{oranḍa}) and mustard oil seed,\textsuperscript{173} as the oil seeds. Among the fibre crops mention is made of cotton (\textit{kapāsā}), silk (\textit{Kess-eya}), linen (\textit{khoma}) silk-cotton (\textit{simbali} or \textit{sālmali}) and hemp (\textit{bhaṅga})\textsuperscript{174}. It cannot be said definitely whether all these fibre crops were grown in Bihar during this period. Betel was largely cultivated,\textsuperscript{175} and it has remained so.

Standing crops were protected from the birds and animals by digging pitfalls around the fields, fixing stakes, setting stone-traps and planting snares. Fields were also guarded by fences and placards.

Nature is not always kind to the farmers who have been facing calamities like drought and flood. They fought drought by constructing canals, dams and wells\textsuperscript{176}.

It appears that there were many grades of landholdings, down from those of a few acres under the poor farmers up to those of hundreds of acres of land owned
by the wealthy cultivators. According to the Sutta Nipata the Brahmāṇa Kāśi Bhāradvāja of the village Ekanāla in Magadha needed 500 ploughs for ploughing his plot of land. One of the Jātakas states that a wealthy cultivator in the village Sālindiya to the east of Magadha possessed one thousand karises (probably 800 acres) of cultivable land. But such plots were probably a few and farmers carrying on agricultural pursuits with the aid of only a pair of oxen were not unknown.

The plots under different owners were separated by boundary stones. The rice-fields of Magadha are described in the Mahāvagga (VIII. 12.1) as divided into short pieces, in rows, by outside boundaries, and by cross boundaries. Pāṇini shows that arable lands were divided into separate holdings, held by individual owners. According to the Jātakas the land used to be surveyed by the king's officer who is called kshetrankara by Pāṇini. He surveyed the fields by a chord fixed to a stick, the one end of which was held by himself and the other by the owner of the field concerned. The peasant land-owner was levied a tax which appears to have varied from 1/6 to 1/12 of the produce.

Cattle-rearing also was in a good condition. Cows are described as the source of milk, curd, butter and ghee. Gorakkhā is mentioned as a livelihood. The cowherds (gopālakas) maintained dairies in the pasture-grounds (gocaras) to whom cattle were entrusted by the owners who used to receive dairy produces from time to time.

Arts, Crafts, Industries and Professions

During this period Magadha was becoming imperialist and her army was being rapidly expanded. Hence, crafts concerned with military requirements must have been in a fairly advanced stage. Again, due to the development
of city-life several crafts may have made progress. It appears from the Buddhist sources that crafts like spinning and weaving, carpentry, pottery, smithy, metallurgy, leaf and cane work, leather-work etc. had attained a state of high standard.

Spinning and weaving were well-known and threads were spun and woven out of textile fibres like linen, cotton, silk, wool and hemp. We are told of the weaver, his loom and the weaving appliances. The Buddhist texts refer to finished textile goods of numerous varieties like blankets, carpets, embroidered coverlets, rugs for horses chariots and elephants etc. It is very likely that the flourishing cities of Rājagṛha, Pāṭaliputra, Vaiśālī, Mithilā and Campā would have been manufacturing plenty of textile goods.

Reference to the dārukkammika as the wealthy carpenter, Tānakāra as the chariot-maker, tacekaka as the wood-carver and the carpenters as engaged in constructing wooden buildings suggest that carpentry was in a highly advanced stage. Construction of buildings appears to have been the most appreciable undertaking of the carpenters. It is well-known that wooden architecture was common before the Maurya period. Wooden palaces are often referred to in the Jātakas. The Mahā-Ummaga Jātaka speaks of the building of the city rampart of Mithilā and restoration of the old buildings for which carpenters were engaged. That Pāṭaliputra was also fortified with wooden rampart is evident from excavations. Next to house-building, the carpenters constructed boats, ships, carts and chariots. They also made furnitures of various designs, mentioned in the popular stories and article needed for sacrificial purposes referred to in the Gṛhyaśtras.

Apart from the wooden structures, houses were built of brick and mud, which had probably wooden ceilings
and roofs. Walls of such houses were most probably decorated with paintings, as suggested by the Buddha’s prohibition of having imaginative drawings painted on the walls of the monasteries and the Jātaka accounts.

Blacksmith

The Kammāra (blacksmith) occupied an important position among the artisans. References to villages of blacksmiths consisting of a thousand families suggest that the craft was in a flourishing condition. The blacksmith worked at the furnace (ukka) with his anvil (adhikaraṇī) and pincers (sandasa) and made mainly agricultural and household implements like razors, axes, ploughshares, goads, spades, hangers, hammers, pigs, grass-cutters, vessels, needles etc. and weapons of war such as spears, swords, arrows, coats of mail and the like. Keeping in view the military strength of Bihar during this period, it can be said that the production of war-materials must have absorbed a large number of blacksmiths.

The svarṇakāras (goldsmiths) and the maṇīkāras were workers in precious metals and gems. The Buddhist Nikāyas refer to the goldsmith and his apprentice working at the furnace and describe in detail how gold used to be worked out. The goldsmiths work appears to have been divided into finding the ore, refining it and turning into finished goods.

The goldsmith made ornaments of various types for the different parts of the body. Our sources mention pattikā and muddikā (rings), vallikā or kuṇḍala (earring), kāyura or graiveyaka (necklace), svarṇamāla or kaṇcanamāla (gold chain), pamaṅga (ear-drop), ovaṭṭikā (bangles), Ḥattharaṇa (bracelet), mekhalā (waist-band) etc. as the different types of ornaments worn by the males and females of the period.
In addition to ornaments, the goldsmith made dishes (sūppathāla), bowls, coups, mirrors (ādāsa) and vessels (sūppathakalasa) of gold and dishes of silver (rajaṭathāla) used by the higher sections of society.\textsuperscript{211}

The Buddhist sources mention mukta (pearls) mani (crystal), beluriya (beryl), bhaddaka (luck-stone), saṅkha, pawāla (coral), lohitaka (ruby) and masaragalla, exploited from the ocean,\textsuperscript{212} which may have been imported from outside. All these were used for making ornaments and inlay works.

The wealthy cities of Bihar which were centres of culture, must have got a large population of ivory-workers. Ivory-workers were great experts in their handicraft\textsuperscript{213} and were having their separate settlements in the cities.\textsuperscript{214} They made ornaments, handles of mirrors, carvings and inlaying of royal chariots.\textsuperscript{215}

People of this period were fond of flowers and perfumes. A number of flower-gardens (pupphārānas) were maintained from where the garland-makers (mālākāras) obtained flowers for making beautiful garlands and bouquets.\textsuperscript{216} The perfumers (gandhakas) produced perfumeries of several varieties out of roots, flowers, leaves, sandalwood, tagara, anusāri, Kāliya and bhudramuktaka, etc. Scents produced from sandalwood, kālāsāri and vassika were regarded the best of all.\textsuperscript{217}

It is clear from the literary as well as archaeological evidence that the ceramic industry was highly advanced. The Nikāyas speak of the expert potter and his apprentice\textsuperscript{218} and the Jātakas refer to potters' villages where were moulded various types of bowls, jars and vessels etc. by skilful hands on the wheel.\textsuperscript{219} Recent excavations in Bihar have yielded very fine specimens of N. B. P. were from the layers belonging to this period. NBP's home appears to have been Magadha and this highly bright pottery in many
colours reached its acme in quality and extent in the Mauryan period.

Dyeing also was an important occupation, as putting on dyed clothes was quite common. Both new and old clothes were dyed by the washerman after washing them. Dyeing was done with colours like blue, yellow, red, saffrons, crimson, brown, black, red etc. prepared from roots, fruits, leaves, flowers, the trunks and barks of trees and the like. Apart from dyeing, dyes were also used by ladies for decorating their hands and feet, for which usually lakṣhāraṇa was used.

The Mahāvagga and the Dīgha Nikāya show that medical science had progressed to such extent as to necessitate the use of gums, drugs and chemicals. The Mahāvagga mentions gums like hīngu, hīngulac, sipātika, taka, takapatti, takapanni and sajjhulasa. Drugs and chemicals were probably made from roots, fruits and leaves which were used as medicines.

Bihar must have been a prominent sugar-producing area as is the case today. The Vinaya texts refer to cart-loads of sugar. It is evident that sugar was prepared from sugarcane-juice, extracted by a machine. References to lump as well as powdered sugar show that jaggery and bhūra were produced. The manufacture of guda is implied in Sūtra IV, 4.103 of Pāṇini.

Drinking liquor was widely practised in the society and various varieties of liquor like meraya (maireya), surā, varana, majha, (madya) and āsava were distilled. The salt-maker (lonakāra) is also referred to and he probably extracted salt from salty soil. The nalakāras, venukāras and velukāras were workers in cane, bamboo and leaf and made butas, baskets, ropes, mats, fans etc. The cammakāras (cobbler) made various types of leather-goods, shoes being the most important produce. Shoes and slippers made were
of diverse designs and were adorned with skins of various animals and painted in many colours. Finished leather-goods included sacks, shields, straps, ropes and thongs.

**Trade and Trade-routes**

References to caravans and Setthīs from Śrāvasti and Orissa visiting Rājagrha, Rājagrha Setṭhis visiting Vaiśālī and the like would suggest that busy trade transaction was going on among the important towns and cities of eastern India like Rājagrha, Vaiśālī, Śrāvasti, Campā and Mithilā. Most of the routes connecting these places are known from the wanderings of the Buddha. We are further told of Bihar’s trade contacts with distant regions like Panjab, Gandhāra, Kashmir and Sind. The expression like trade between east and west suggests trade between Bihar and western India. It appears that there existed five short-distance, but busy and three long-distance trade-routes connecting the towns and cities of Bihar with the trade-centres in the different parts of the country, which were the following:

1. **Rājagrha-Kapilavastu route**: Starting from Rājagrha it passed through Nālandā, Pāṭaligāma, Vaiśālī, Bhogānagarā, Pāvā and Kuśānagarā.

2. **Rājagrha-Śrāvasti route**: The course of this route was the same as the previous one upto Vaiśālī where it branched off into two, the one passing through Bhaddiya, Āṅguttarāpa, Āpaṇṇa, Kuśinārā and Ātumā and the other via Vārānastī.

3. **Rājagrha-Mithilā route**: It passed through Vaiśālī, but the details are not available.

4. **Rājagrha-Campā route**: The Buddha had travelled along this route, but the halting places are not mentioned. From Campā it extended upto Mithilā.
5. Rajagṛha-Kaliṅga route: Starting from Rajagṛha it went to Kaliṅga via Bodha-Gayā in the time of the Buddha. It may have been repaired under the Nandas who had occupied Kaliṅga and undertaken constructional activities at the capital.

6. Rājagṛha-Takshaśilā route: Takshaśilā, which was like an international trade-centre in the N. W. extremity of India was connected with Rājagṛha by a route, called Uttarāpatha by Pāṇini (v. 1.77) and the Northern route by the Greeks. It was the same route which was used by the Mauryas, repaired by Shershāh and given the name of Grand Trunk Road by the British rulers of India. It was by this road that students from the various parts of Bihar, such as Mithilā, Vaśāli and Rājagṛha used to go to Takshaśilā for their education. It seems to have passed through Pāṭaliputra, Vārāṇasi, Kauśāmbi, Mathurā, Indraprastha and Sākala.

7. Rājagṛha-Pratishṭhāna route: Pāṇini calls it the Kāntārāpatha, because of its passing through forest region. Its course was the same as the Rājagṛha-Takshaśilā route upto Kauśāmbi from where it passed via Vanasahvaya, Vedisa (Vidiśā), Gonaddha, Ujjāni, Mahissati and then to Pattiṭhāna. From Mahissati it seems to have extended upto Bharukacchha, the renowned sea-port and a trade centre.

8. Rājagṛha-Sindhu route (or the western route): This route was the same as the Uttarāpatha upto Mathurā, but from there it branched off to the direction of the Sind region. The Jātakas speak of caravans passing through a desert which was very likely the desert of Rajasthan. It is probably through this route that horses and donkeys from Sind were brought to the eastern region. Keeping in view the military requirements of the Magadha kings, it can be naturally conclu-
ed that Sind horses must have found a very favourable market in Bihar.

Rivers in Bihar seem to have been fully utilised for navigation. River-ports like Campā and Pāṭaliputra, which were connected through the waterway, were having brisk trade transactions. Boats from the river-ports of Bihar were sailed as far as Sahajāṭi towards the north-west.\textsuperscript{247} Ships may have been used in rivers as far as practicable. Steamers passing through forests were utilised for transporting timber for building and other purposes.\textsuperscript{248}

The Buddhist evidence discloses that people were keenly interested in maritime activities and that they sailed to foreign lands for transacting business. Illustrations cited by the Buddha before the Magadhan and other Bhikshus of boats sailing on the ocean for six months,\textsuperscript{249} merchants going to the ocean with direction—showing birds,\textsuperscript{250} traders crossing the ocean\textsuperscript{251} and so on would suggest that Bihar of the Buddha's time was well-acquainted with sea-faring. The popular stories speak of seafarers from Videha and Campā sailing to foreign countries like Suvaṇṇadīpa and Tāmbapaṇḍī,\textsuperscript{252} and refer to shipwrecks, spacious ships and ship-building activities.\textsuperscript{253} There are frequent references to sea-voyages from the river port of Vārāṇasi.\textsuperscript{254} Ships starting from Vārāṇasi must have been anchoring at Pāṭaliputra and Campā where traders may have bartered their goods for the local produce and then sailed for the foreign market.

It appears that sea-faring was in an advanced stage, and proper training in navigation was imparted to the young mariners (niyāmakas).\textsuperscript{255} Probably they were trained in the knowledge of the trade-routes, directions of winds, the use of direction-showing birds, and how to escape shipwrecks etc. The direction-showing birds were kept in every ship and they enabled the mariners to know whether they
were sailing near any land. The mariners had also organised themselves under the niyamaka Jetthaka, who used to be probably the captain, the owner of the ship and the leader of the fellow-travellers.

Organisation of Industry and Trade

The organisational genius of the people played an important role during this period in the sphere of trade and industry. Frequent references to guilds (Senī) and the existence of towns and cities in Bihar which were centres of trade and industry suggest that the agencies to organise and control them must have been functioning. The Buddhist sources mention eighteen guilds (attharasa seniyo) and it appears that almost all the craftsmen had organised themselves into guilds, headed by an alderman (Jetthaka). The guilds were autonomous bodies with their own laws, recognised by the state, and exercising considerable control over the members.

The precise nature of the relationship existing between the guild and the state is not known. Guild-laws enjoyed state-recognition and guilds were often consulted by the king. Probably the royal court had a permanent representative in whose consultation the king decided cases concerning the senis. Disputes among the guilds were also probably settled by the king. According to Rhys Davids, the Mahasethhi or the Lord High Treasurer acted as a sort of the chief Alderman over the guilds.

The economic life of this period was also marked by the localisation of various cottage industries in separate villages. There are references to villages of smiths, carpenters, weavers etc, which were generally located in the vicinity of towns. Some industries were localised in the streets of the towns and cities. Popular stories refer to the separate streets of weavers, washermen, ivory-
workers etc. The practice of carrying on trade with partners was also not unknown. This would have been helpful to the smaller traders, and specially for the caravan-leaders (Satthavāhas) and the sea-farers (niyamakas), whose life was always insecure.

Medium of exchange, prices, fees, salaries and wages:

The literary sources reveal that exchange was carried on through the medium of coins of various denominations struck in gold, silver, copper, and sometimes in lead. They refer to Nishka, Suvarṇa, and Śatamāna as the main denominations of the gold currency, but as yet no specimens of gold coins belonging to this age have been found, either in Bihar or outside. The silver coins of the period were Śatamānas (of 100 rattis = 175 grains) and the Kārshapānas (of 16 māshas = 58.56 grains). Kātyāyana's reference to Śatamāna shows that the silver coins weighing 100 rattis were current in the time of the śrauta sūtras (c. 600 B.C.). The bent-bar coins are regarded as the specimens of this standard, but so far they have not been found in Bihar. That the coin known as Kārshapāna or Kahapāna was the standard currency of this period is accepted by almost all scholars, but there is difference of opinion as regards the metal in which it was struck. Most probably both silver and copper Kārshapānas were issued. Kārshapāna was so called because theoretically it corresponded to one Karsha in weight.

Bihar has yielded several hoards of the punch-marked coins in Golakhpur, Patraha, Machhuatoli, Ramna, Gorhaghat etc. The Golakhpur hoard of 108 coins, the Ramna hoard of 48 coins and 709 out of 2873 coins of the Patraha hoard and one third of the Machhuatoli hoard have been assigned to the pre-Mauryan period and it should be accepted that the Kahapānas of the Buddhist literature and Paṇas and Kārshapānas of the Brahman-
nical sources are the punch-marked coins, confronting to 32 ratti standard.

The literary as well as the archaeological evidence suggest that Magadha had her own coinage during this period; and in the time of the Buddha and Bimbisāra it was of the 20 māshakas standard according to the Sūmantapāsādika of Buddhaghosha on Vinaya Piṭaka. Pāṇini and Kātyāyana also refer to the silver coin of 20 māshakas, the former calls it Viṇāśatika. Fortunately actual specimens of silver Viṇāśatika were found at Rajgir which are at present in the Lucknow museum. Pāṇini (V 1.24) refers to another specific silver coin named Triṁśatka, which is not referred to by other authorities. Specimens of silver punch-marked coins weighing 58 ratti found in Bihar by Babu Durga Prasad may be identified with Triṁśatka, explaining the loss of two ratti as the result of circulation.

The indigenous coinage of Magadha seems to have undergone considerable change after her attaining an imperial status. Most probably the Nandas standardised Magadhan coinage according to the traditional standard of 16 māshakas. The Sanskrit Grammar has retained the illustration Nandapakramaṇi māṇṇi, i.e. the task of standardising weight was first accomplished by a Nanda ruler. The new standard introduced by the Nandas corresponded to 32 ratti in weight and probably during their reign the old coin Viṇāśatika as well as the new Kārṣṭāṇa were in circulation. The Kārṣṭāṇa had several divisions like Arddhakārṣṭāṇa, Paḍa-kārṣṭāṇa (four māshaka), Triṁśakas, Divṃśakas, Māshaka, Arddha-māshaka Kākaṇi, Arddha-kākaṇi.

The Jātakas very often refer to the prices of articles sold in the market, but they generally give highly exaggerated figures, and it is only in a few cases that we come across actual prices of certain objects. Articles found seem
to have been cheap. A small quantity of ghee or oil cost one Kathapana. Meat for a chameleon could be bought for a Kakani or an Arddhamasha. The price of a fish was only 7 Mashakas. A jar of liquor was available for one Mashaka. An ordinary labourer could buy a garland, some perfume and strong drink for one Mashaka. Animals of inferior quality were cheap, whereas those of superior quality were dear. A donkey and an ox cost eight and twelve Kathapanas respectively. A plump dog was bought for one Kathapana and a clock. A dead mouse cost only one Kakani.

There are references to prices being determined by haggling, and Mrs. Rhys Davids has rightly observed that the act of exchange between producer or dealer and the consumer was both before and during the Jataka age a free bargain, a transaction unregulated by any system of statute-fixed prices. However, the Buddhist sources refer to an official of the state known as the court-valuer (Agghapanika, Agghakara), who fixed prices of articles brought for the royal household, but how far he was effective in controlling market prices is not known.

The Buddhist sources refer also to fees of certain professionals which are also not always correct. Jivaka is described as receiving 16000 to 100000 Kathapanas for curing a disease which appears to be unduly exaggerated. The teacher is referred to as receiving 1000 Kathapanas as his honorarium from his pupils. But it is not clear whether this amount was for a year or for the whole course.

The labourers fell into two distinct categories of the day-labourers, working on the basis of daily wages and of those who received monthly wages or were employed as servants. The labourer as wage-earner called Kammakara or Karmakara, and the word bhataka (bhataka) probably denoted the wage-earner on monthly basis. The daily wage
of a labourer seems to have varied from 1½ *Māshaka* to four *Māshakas*. Probably the higher wage refers to labourers in cities where living was costly. But the income of an ordinary labourer did not ensure him a happy life, and he lived in a wretched condition.

**References**

1. *Ja.* VI. 207-8
2. The Buddha said that as rivers, after pouring their waters into the Great Ocean lose their identity, similarly all castes having entered the monastic fold renounced their lineage (*CV*, IX I. 4). That Upāli, the barber had become the chief of *Vinaya* is well-known.
5. *AN*, IV. 188; III. 151.
7. *DN*, I. 131; *MN*, II. 166; *Nīdānakathā*, I. 2.
8. *DN*, I. 97-99, 103; *AN*, 327-28; *Ja.* I. 49, V. 257. *SBE.* XXII. 218-29
10. *Kaṭṭhāhari* *Ja.* (No. 7); *Bhaddasāla* *Ja.* (No. 465).
12. *DN*, I. 88, 120. *MN*, II. 139-34; *AN*, III. 223; *GS*, I. 146; *Su. Ni.* III. 7; *MN*, II. 133.
13. A story describes a Brāhmaṇa at Campā as teaching 500 pupils (*Ja.* VI. 32). Renowned Brāhmaṇa teachers were known as *disāpāmakkhāhariya* (*Ja.* I. 166, 239, 299; II. 137; III. 215).
15. Campā was enjoyed as the Brahmadeyya by Sonadaṇḍa. (*DN* I. III. Khāṇumāta in Magadhā was another Brahmadeyya village enjoyed Kūṭādanta. (*DN* I. 127).
17. *Brahmajīta-sutta* of *DN*; *KS*, I. 227; *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka* (No. 495); *Ja.* II. 200; IV. 207; VI. 170, 182.
20. CV, X. 1. 4; MN, II. 128; AN, II. 194, IV. 129-34. etc.
22. MN, VI. 28.4, VIII. I. 16; DN, I. 67, II. 145-46; MN, II. 5, 128; III. 177; Ja. II. 121, 267, IV. 370; I. 196, 349.
25. MN, II. 18, 46; III. 118; Ja. II. 79; III. 376.
26. DN, II. 126; AN, V. 263; Dhāp, 239.
27. Ja. II. 18, 405; IV. 344.
32. MN, I. 79; Ja. V. 417.
33. MN, II. 152; III. 119; AN, II. 85, III. 385.
34. Ja. IV. 209, 376, 390.
40. Uparāthaka Ja. (No. 166).
41. Ja. IV. 388; V. 429, 449.
42. Ja. IV. 413; V. 110, 337. According to Manu (X. 48), they pursued the profession of killing fish.
43. Ja. II. 36.
44. Sutta-Vibhanga-Pāchattiya: quoted in Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, p. 459; Ja. IV. 251; I. 356; II. 5; III. 452.
45. KS. II. 171; AN, II. 207.
46. Ja. I. 121, 133; II. 5; V. 290-92.
53. CV, IV. 4.7; VI. 4.1; Ja. V. 293.
54. Jā. V. 284, 413.
56. Jā. I. 484.
60. DN, I. 60-61.
61. Somananda Jā.
63. MN, II. 62.
64. ĀP. G.S. III. 9, 8.
65. ĀP. Dh. S. II. 5. 11, 12-13.
66. Jā. IV. 316; V. 178.
68. Thātigaṭha, 152, Jā. II. 138.
69. Jā. II. 225; III. 162; IV. 22; Psalms of Sisters, pp. 42, 84.
72. Jā. II. 5.
73. Jā. I. 457; II. 119, 327; VI. 436.
74. Jā. 237, 403-4; IV. 342-43.
75. Thātigaṭha, 445.
76. Commentary of Dhammapada, 120.
77. Jā. III. 93; IV. 484.
80. DN. I 11; Jā. I. 258.
82. Kunala Jā, (No. 536).
83. DN, III. 295
85. V. Dh. S., XVIII. 74.
86. V. Dh. S., XVII. 20
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid XVII. 78-80.
89. Ibid.
90. Mahāvagga, VIII. 1. 2.
91. Ibid. VI. 30. 2.
92. Ambapālī is described as earning 50 Kāhāpanas (MN, VIII. I. 1) whereas Sālavatti is said to have been charging 100
Kahāpaṇas (MV, VIII. 1. 3). This shows that the income of the courtesan of Rājagrha was higher than that of Vaiśālī. Probably, the standard of living in Rājagrha was higher than in Vaiśālī, and the nobility there would afford to pay more for a courtesan than would have been the case in other towns of Bihar of that period. The same may have been the case in Pāṭaliputra when it became the capital of the Magadha Empire.

93. Ja. III. 60.
95. Ja. VI. 372.
96. Kesava Ja.
97. AN, II. 95; Pāṇini, II. 4. 14; IV. 2. 18; IV. 3. 16.
98. MV, VI. 24-25.
99. Sattabhartā Ja. (No. 402); Pāṇini, VI. 3. 59.
100. Pāṇini, VI. 3. 60.
102. Illa Na. It was prepared from the mixture of powdered rice, milk, sugar, ghee and honey.
103. Ja. I. 310. It was a common sweet. Sāriputta is said to have been very fond of it (Ja. No. 69). It is a popular sweet in modern Bihar, and Silāo, near Rājagrha is famous for its khājā.
104. Pāṇini, VI. 2. 128. In modern Bihar, Gaya is well-known for its tilakāta and an ancient Magadha this sweet may have been quite common.
105. Ja, II. 262-63.
106. MN, I. 364; II. 193; KS, II. 170-71.
107. GS, I. 229.
108. KS, II. 171.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. MN, I. 364.
112. Muniya Ja. (No. 315).
113. Ja. I. 196-97; II. 419.
117. Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 5. 16.
119. CV, XII. 1. 3; AN, II. 53-54; IV. 5; IV. 246; Itivuttaka, 74; Pañini, II. 4. 25; VI. 2. 70.
120. Jñ. I. 251-52.
121. Jñ. IV. 114.
122. Jñ. III. 435; SBE, XII. 94-95.
124. SBE, XIII. 211, 215.
125. SBE, XXII. 94-95.
126. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 23; I. 5. 17-21; Gau. Dh. S. II. 26, XIII. 1; V. Dh. S. XII. 84; V. Dh. S., XX. 19.
127. Jñ. II. 248; III 435; SBE, XXII. 94-95.
128. CV, V. 2. 6, VI. 2. 7; The Sigalovadanasutta.
130. Jñ. II. 46-49, 253; III. 160; IV. 81-82; VI. 275-77; 311-12.
132. DN, II. 6.
133. Jñ. IV. 324.
135. Jñ. II. 267; III. 198.
137. Jñ. II. 248; SBE, XXII. 94-95.
143. Pañini, VI. 2. 74.
146. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 33; Agrawala, V. S., India as known to Pañini, pp. 141-2.
147. DN, I. 193; MN, I. 189; II. 40; AN, N. 365; Su, Ni. I. 4.
149. Jñ. III. 35.
150. Jñ. I. 478; II. 76; IV. 31, 326.
151. DN, I. 193; MN, I. 166, 189, 271, 473; SN, IV. 327; V. 2; Jñ. I. 345.
152. *Jā.* II. 18, 405; IV. 159, 207.
156. The Buddhist works speak of several Brāhmaṇa villages in Magadha of this period like Khānumata (*DN,* I. 127); Anbasaṇḍa (*DN,* II. 263-64); Eknāla (*KS,* I. 216); Pāñchasāla (*KS,* I. 143); Salindiya, (*Jā.* III. 293, IV. 271).
159. *Jā.* IV. 200, 370, 390; The *Mahāvamsa* (V. 41) speaks of a Candāla-village to the east of Pāṭaliputra.
160. *Jā.* II. 36; IV. 413; VI. 71.
162. *M.V.* VI. 15. 4.
163. Muchaladāma, a village of Magadha consisted of only 30 families (*Jā.* I. 199)
164. *Jā.* II. 18; I. 234.
165. *CF,* VII. 1.2; *GS,* I. 209, 221; *AN,* IV. 237-8; *Jā.* No. 36.
166. *SN,* III. 155.
167. *MN,* I. 57, III. 90; *AN,* V. 213; *Jā.* I. 429, 484; II. 110, 135; IV. 367.
169. *Pāṇini,* III. 1. 48; III. 3.48; V. 1. 90; V. 2. 2; VI. 2. 38.
171. *Agrawala,* *India as known to Pāṇini,* p. 103.
172. *Jā.* II. 110; VI. 580; *Āśva.* G. S. I. 9. 6; I. 17. 2; *Sāñ. G.S.* I. 24. 3; I. 28. 6; III. 1. 3.; IV. 4. 9; *Pāṇini,* IV. 3. 136; V. 1. 7; V. 2. 3.
173. *MN,* I. 57, 80; III. 90; *AN,* IV. 108; *KS,* I. 189; *Sā. Ni.* III. 10; *Jā.* I. 429; *Sāñ. G.S.* I. 22. 5; *Pa.* G.S. I. 15. 4; *Pāṇini,* IV. 1. 7; IV. 4. 25; IV. 3. 136; IV. 4. 4; V. 1. 7; V. 2. 4.
174. *MN,* I. 57, 80; III. 90; *AN,* IV. 108; *Jā.* I. 423, II. 440; VI. 335; *Āśva.* G. S. I. 9. 6; II. 4; *N.* I. 13; *Pa.* G.S. I. 15. 4; II. 6. 17; *Sāñ. G.S.* III. 1. 3.
175. *Jā.* III. 206; IV. 227; VI. 47; *Āśva.* Śrāuta. S. V. 4. 17; *Sāñ. G.S.* I. 24, 11; *Pāṇini,* III. 1. 25; *Pa.* 2. 4, IV. 3. 134. A lady is described as keeping watch over her cotton field in Mithila (*Jā.* VI. 396). *A Simhaliyana,* near Rajagrha is also referred to (*Jā.* IV. 277).
177. *Dhp.* 80; *Therigāthā,* 19, 877; *Bhāṣya,* I. I. 24, I. 82.
179. *Ja.* III. 293; IV. 276. It is quite clear that such large estates could be profitably cultivated by the help of slaves and hired or retained labourers. This may explain more or less humane treatment of the slaves and labourers, on whom depended profitable production (Ed.).
180. *Ja.* II. 165; II. 300.
182. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini,* p. 142.
183. *Ja.* IV. 169.
185. *Ja.* II. 376.
187. *AN,* II. 95.
188. *AN,* IV. 281, 286.
189. *Ja.* I. 388: The *Sahyutta Nikāya* (IV. 181) says that when a *gopaḷaka* wished to enter the order, he was told by the Buddha to return the herds to his master.
190. *MV,* VIII. 3. 1; *DN,* II. 350 51; *Peha,* II. 1. 17; *India as known to Pāṇini,* pp. 125-26.
191. *SBE,* XIII. 28; *Vinaya,* II. 135; *DN,* I. 51; *Ja.* I. 356, IV. 475. The weaver was known by the terms *pecakāra* and *tuntāvāya*.
192. *MV,* V. 10. 3; *DN,* I. 15; *MN,* I. 76, G.S., I. 120, 164; *Ja.* V. 322.
193. *AN,* III. 391.
196. *Ja.* II. 18, IV. 153, 159.
197. *Ja.* IV. 139, 207; VI. 427.
199. *Āśa.* G.S. I. 8; III. 12, 2; IV. 33, 10; *San. G.S.,* I. 9, 14; *Pa. G.S.* I. 1. 3; I. 8, 18; I. 10. 1-3, II. 14. 13, 20, 24; III. 1. 76; III. 3. 80; V. 4. 95.
201. *GV,* VI. 3. 2.
202. *E.G.* *Ja.* VI. 332-33, describes the construction of a play-hall at Mithilā, which was furnished with beautiful paintings.

204. *Ja*. I. 223; II. 342; III. 133, 285; VI. 189, 437.


206. *Āśva G.S.* I. 15, 3; III. 12, 10; *Saṅ. G.S.* I. 13, 1; *Pa. G.S.* II. 6, 16; III. 15, 21.

207. *Ja*. V. 438-9; VI. 276.

208. *MN*, III. 243; *GS*. I. 231, 236.

209. *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 234-35.

210. *CV*, V. 2, 1; *MN*, III. 245; *GS*. I. 232, 236; *AN*, III. 16; *Ja*. I. 134, II. 122, 373; III. 153, 377; IV. 60, 493; V. 202, 215; VI. 144-45 etc. *SBE*. XXII 123-24; *India As Known to Pāṇini*, p. 234.

211. *Ja*. I. 111, 266; II. 90, 297, 371; III. 224; IV. 107, 384.

212. *AN*, IV. 199, 203, 255, 258, 262; *Udāna*, V. 5; *Ja*. I. 351; II. 6; IV. 60, 85; VI. 116-20, 175, 276, 403, 493.

213. *DN*, I. 78; *MN*, II. 18.


215. *Ja*. II. 197; V. 303; VI. 223.

216. *MN*, I. 386-87; *Ja*. I. 120, II. 321; III. 405; *Dhūpa*. 53.

217. *MN*, III. 6-7; *SN*, III 156.

218. *DN*, I. 51; *MN*, II. 18, 46; *KS*, I. 49-50.


220. *MN*, I. 36, 384-85; *SN*, V. 121.

221. *MV*, VII. 10, 1; VIII. 29, 1; *MN*, I. 36; *SN*, V. 121.

222. *Ja*. III. 183; VI. 218.


224. *Ja*. II. 240

225. *Ja*. I. 238; IV. 379; V. 384.

226. *AN*, II. 53; IV. 5; *Itivuttaka*, 74; *Ja*. I. 349, 362; IV. 217, 222, 367, V. 467; *Pāṇini*, III. 1, 100.

227. *MV*, VI. 27.

228. *Ja*. II. 302; IV. 251, 318; VI. 341, 370.

229. *MV*, V. 1, 29, V. 2; *Ja*. VI. 218; *Pāṇini*, V. 3, 9.

230. *Pāṇini*, III. 2, 182; *Kāśika* V. 1, 15.


233. *MV*, VIII. 1, 2.
284. *Ja.* III, 365. The king of Videha is described as making enquiries from the traders about the health of his friends, the kings of Gandhāra and Kashmir. *Ja.* No. 160.


288. It is referred to in the *Mahābhārata Sabhāparva*, XX.

289. *MN*, I, 339; *Gāthapāṇa Ja*.


292. The Buddha had travelled from Rājagrha to Kauśāmbrī (*CV*, VII, 2.5). Traders from Gandhāra and Kashmir visiting Bihār must have been using this route (*Ja.* III 365). Bhitā and Krṣṇa had travelled from Indraprastha to Rājagrha (*Mbh. Sabhāparva*, XX).

293. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 243.


295. *Apanākac Ja*, (No. 1); *Vanaṇapatha Ja* (No. 2).


297. *CV*, XII. 2, 1.


299. *SV*, III, 155, V, 51; *AN*, IV, 127.

300. *DN*, I, 222.

301. *DN*, II, 89.

302. *Ja.* VI, 34.

303. *Ja.* II, 111, 127-29; V, 75; *Ja* No. 196.

304. *Ja.* Nos. 466, 539.

305. *Ja.* IV, 159; VI, 427—refers to ship-building at Mithilā.

306. *Saṅkha Ja; Silanāśaṇa Ja; Valahassa Ja*.

307. *Ja.* IV, 137.

308. *DN*, I, 222; *Ja.* III, 126, 267.

309. *Ja.* VI, 22, 427.


311. In some of the *Jaṭaka* the king is described as calling all the guilds (*Ja*. I, 267; IV, 411). In one place a guild-leader is called rajaballabha, suggesting his close relation with the royal court (*Ja.* III, 231).

312. The *Uṛaga Jaṭaka*, says that two guild-leaders were included among the Kośala mahāmatras, and similar may have been the case in Magadha too.
266. DN, II. 342, Ja. I. 111, 404; II. 181; IV 350.
267. Ja. I. 375-76; IV. 460; Panini, V. I. 30; V. 2. 119.
269. Panini, V. I. 27.
270. Bhandarkar, CL, 1921, pp. 83, 86.
271. JBORS, 1919, pp. 61-72.
273. JBORS, 1939, pp. 91-117.
274. Ibid.
276. Bhandarkar, AIN, p. 111; Agrawala, India as known to Panini p. 269.
277. Panini, V. I. 24, V. I. 27, V. I. 32.
278. Agrawala, India as known to Panini, p. 270.
279. JUPHS, July 1939, p. 33.
280. Agrawala, India as known to Panini, p. 271.
281. Presidential address to the Numismatic Society of India, 1950, JNSI, XII, p. 197.
282. Vinaya, II. 294; CV, XII. I. I., III. 49; AN, 83; Ja. I. 120. 340; III. 446; VI. 346; Panini, V. I. 34; Bhushya, I. 3, 72. I. 239.
287. Ja. III. 446.
289. Ja. II. 305.
291. Ja. I. 120.
293. JIAS, 1901, p. 874.
294. Ja. I. 124; Commentary on Thertgatha, 20, 393.
295. MV, VIII. 1.
296. Ja. II. 47, 278; IV. 38; V. 128.
297. AN, III. 37-8; Panini, III. 2. 22.
298. Āra. IV. 277. The term bhṛtaka is used in the Aśokan edicts in the sense of a servant.

299. Āra. III. 326.

300. Bhāṣṭya, I. 3. 72.

301. Jātaka says that a labourer supported his mother with difficulty (Āra. III. 446). Another Jātaka tells us that a wage-earner was able to spend only one Māṭaka on a festival day (Āra. III. 446).
CHAPTER XVI

Maurya Dynasty

Successors of Mahāpadma Nanda, though inherited a vast empire, could not retain it for long. We have seen that the last Nanda king was extremely greedy of wealth and hoarded crores of gold pieces beneath the rock in the Ganga bed. The maintenance of large army, that he possessed and which had demoralised the world-conquering Macedonians under the ablest military leader Alexander, must have added considerably to the economic burden of the people. The Nandas being members of a low caste could hardly inspire people to their religious duty of obedience. All these factors were undermining the stability of the Nanda empire, whose king was very unpopular according to Porus and Candragupta as classical writers mention.

Across the Beas, the country was under foreign rule; Alexander had left his Indian dominion not only under Indian vassals like Ambhi and Porus but also under Greek governors and military garrisons. Political disunity had resulted in the subjugation of N. W. India under Greek rule.

CANDRAGUPTA

This crisis of national humiliation and popular discontent against the then existing government produced the man of the hour—Candragupta Maurya, who appears as the yuga-purusha, herbinger of a new era of political integration, of administrative consolidation, and of national pride and progress. The tyrannical rule was replaced by benevolent government, and the political and military humiliation was wiped out.
It is very unfortunate that so little is known about the early career of this great son of India. The stray references in the Purāṇas, quite a few notices in the Buddhist and Jain literary sources, and meagre writings of classical authors, are to be critically analysed, their comparative values are to be assessed and only then a reasonable reconstruction of his early career is to be attempted. The Purāṇas state that the Nandas will be uprooted by a Brāhmaṇa named Kauṭilya who will consecrate Candragupta on the throne.⁴ In the Arthaśāstra it is clearly stated that Kauṭilya rescued the earth from the Nandas.⁵ The Mahāvaṁśa also states, “Cāṇakya, in gratification of an implacable hatred borne towards the ninth surviving brother, called Dhanañjaya, having put him to death, (he) installed in the sovereignty over the whole of Jambudvīpa a descendant of the dynasty of Moriyan sovereigns, endowed with illustrious and beneficent attributes, surnamed Candragupta.”⁶ ⁷⁸

**Lineage and Early Life**

But who was Candragupta? Who were his parents? To which dynasty did he belong? What was his early career before he met Cāṇakya? All these questions cannot be answered with complete certainty. Indian traditions are hopelessly confused. According to the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*,⁹ Candragupta was a member of the same family as of Nanda (*Nandāvaṇya*), and *Mauryaputra*. The annotator of the *Vishnu Purāṇa* texts⁷ makes him the son of Nanda by Murā and therefore Candragupta and his descendants were called Mauryas. Dhunḍirāja,⁶ the commentator of the *Mudrārākṣasa* says that Candragupta was son of Maurya who was the son of Nanda king Sarvārthasiddhi by Murā, daughter of a *Vṛhala* (*Śūdra*). Some have tried to find corroboration of the theory of the *Śūdra* origin of Candragupta from the classical accounts and the Purānic
reference that from Mahāpadma Nanda onwards the rulers of Magadha were Śūdras. One text of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa brands the Mauryas as asuras. Buddhists are referred to as suradvishah in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. So it is obvious that the Mauryas because of their patronage of Jainism or Buddhism were spoken lowly by the orthodox Brāhmaṇa authors. According to Bhātakathā, Candragupta was the son of Nanda. When the later had died by magic, one Indradatta entered into his corpse and thus Yogananda (Nanda revived by Yoga) revived. He ruled tyrannically and after some time his minister Śakaṭāla with the help of Cāṇakya killed him and established Candragupta on the throne.

But the theory of the Śudra origin of Candragupta stands discredited. The authorities claiming Śudra origin of Candragupta are late in date. The Purāṇas' statement that thereafter kings will be of Śudra origin refers to Mahāpadma and his successors. It cannot refer to the Mauryas automatically, and we know that after the Nandas there were many non-Śūdra ruling dynasties like the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvases or the Andhras. The Purāṇas neither mention Murā nor any blood-relationship between Candragupta and the Nandas. All authorities are unanimous in designating Candragupta and his dynasty as 'Maurya' but the word cannot be derived from 'Murā', the alleged mother of Candragupta. Kauṭilya, an orthodox Brāhmaṇa and a champion of the Varnāśramadharma would prefer a weak Kshatriya to a strong Śūdra as king. He can hardly be believed to have uprooted the Śudra and ‘adharmika’ Nandas to install another Śūdra on the throne. Of course Tod's view that maurya is a probable interpretation for Mori, a branch of the Paramāra trib of Rajputs is without foundation.

The classical authors do not actually mention Candragupta as a member of low caste. Justin speaks of Cand-
ragupta as 'born in humble life'. Plutarch says that Androkottas (Candragupta) spoke to Alexander about the mean origin of the king of Prasii (Nanda), because of which he was unpopular. It can be safely assumed that Candragupta would not have adversely commented on the mean origin of the Nanda king, if he was himself of such origin. From the classical accounts all that we can say is that Candragupta was born of humble parents and not in purple.

The Jain traditions throw some welcome light on this problem. We are told that "Candragupta was born of the daughter of the chief of a village community who were known as rearers of royal peacocks (mayāra-poshaka). The Buddhist traditions take the Mauryas to be Kshatriyas. The Moriyas of the Pippalivana are one of the Kshatriya republican clans mentioned in the Buddhist literature. According to the commentary on the Mahāvamsa, Aśoka was a member of the Kshatriya Moriya clan. According to a Burmese recorded tradition after the destruction of Vaiśāli (Wethalie) by Ajātaśatru (Adazcathat) some of the princes of the republic escaped eastward and founded Moriyanagar, probably identical with Pippalivana. There also misfortunes followed them. Most probably Viḍuḍa-bha's attack on the Śākyas, neighbours of the Moriyas had something to do with it. It is also possible that consequent upon the digvijaya and destruction of the Kshatriya dynasties by Mahāpadma Nanda this region also came under Magadha, and the ruling chief of the Moriyas lost his life, power and status. His people with his widowed queen appear to have come near Pāṭaliputra probably in search of a career. Under such circumstances the pregnant queen gave birth to a son who was left under the care of the cowkeeper Canda. The father of the child might have reared peacocks; the Moriyas had peacock as their emblem. We find peacock engraved on one of the pillar-edicts of Aśoka.
This child under the care of the cow-keeper Canda grew as Candragupta. The Mahāvaṁśaṅka⁶⁸ which might have served as the source book of this tradition to the Burmese account has almost the same story. The members of the śākya line had settled in a new city having a row of buildings covered with tiles which were arranged in the pattern of the plumage of a peacock's neck and as it resounded with the notes of flocks of mayūras (pea fowls) it was so called (Maurya) nagar. The last of the Moriya rājā was put to death by a powerful rājā and the members of his clan took shelter in Puphpapura (Pāṭaliputra). The queen consort of the Moriya with her brothers came here to seek protection from the Nandas and here she gave birth to a son who was abandoned to the care of a bull named Canda at the door of a cattlepen abandoned by his mother. Later the infant was brought up by a herdsman who named him Candragupta. Cāṇakya saw the young boy playing a game in which he took the part of a king. Cāṇakya decided to make Candragupta his pupil and thus "He (Cāṇakya) discovered the prince descended from the Moriyan line. This is stated in the former works." The Mahābodhivāmaṇa⁶⁹ refers to construction of the city Moriyanagar by Śākyaputra after the sack of Kapilavastu by Viḍūḍabha and mentions prince Candragupta (Candragutta kumāra) as born in the family of king (Narendrakula-sambhava). The author of the Parīśiṣṭaparvan (Jacobi, pp. 56 ff) makes Cāṇakya associated with the mother of Candragupta when she was still pregnant and gracious to satisfy her wish to drink the moon. Later when Cāṇakya was disgraced by Nanda and had taken a vow to uproot the Nandas, he chanced to meet the boy Candragupta and made him his disciple for the realisation of his objectives. It is thus clear that according to ancient traditions Candragupta descend from the Kshatriya Moriyan clan, which had lost its kingdom and
status, and Candragupta had to begin his life in a humble way, more than a commoner, the status hinted by Justin. Dipavamsa, refers to Asoka's son Mahendra as born in the family of the Moriyas (Moriya Kulasambhava). A tribe of the Morieis known to the Greeks also. The attempt to identify Candragupta with Sashigupta of the Gandhara region is unreasonable. Candragupta's correct knowledge about Nanda's army and his unpopularity which he reported to Alexander who found it corroborated by Porus, would suggest that Candragupta was a native of the eastern provinces and was well-informed of the condition in Magadha. Probably he had a secret interest in it, otherwise it is difficult to appreciate his boldness in approaching the mighty Alexander and advising him to attack the Nanda ruler. He did it probably in the hope that Alexander would draw chestnut out of fire for him. While it is not proved that he had any blood-relationship with the Nandas, there is no doubt that he was interested rather in their overthrow. Candragupta like Cāṇakya might have had personal grudge against the last Nanda king. He is said to be the commander-in-chief or Senāpati of the Nanda and incurred the latter's displeasure, and had to leave Magadha.

Mutual hatred against the Nanda king cemented a life-long friendship between the two. Cāṇakya saw in Candragupta the tool with which to realise his oath to uproot the Nandas; and Candragupta under the personal suvervation of Ācārya Cāṇakya, received the best education in diplomacy and warfare and developed high sense of patriotism, determination, self-confidence and boldness. It was this young man of great courage and historical insight who met Alexander. Plutarch says "Androkottas (Candragupta) who was then but a youth saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could easily have taken possession of the whole country since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for
wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin.\textsuperscript{11} But Alexander did not encourage Candragupta who was threatened to be put to death for his excessive boldness. He fled and was tired and was sleeping when a lion was seen guarding him. All these miracles encouraged him to aspire for sovereignty. That Alexander did not oblige him by accepting his advice saved Candragupta from the grievous odium on his life and character. His credit to appear as a liberator of the nation from the yoke of foreign servitude and Nanda tyranny would have been very much diluted by his opportunism of seeking the help of the foreign enslaver in the overthrow of an Indian enemy.

\textbf{Wars and Conquests}

Alexander’s hold on the conquered Indian provinces was very weak. There were intense rivalry and mutual suspicion among his army commanders. The army of Alexander was heterogeneous. Sometime in September 325 B.C., the Yavana columns left Pāṭāla on the homeward road. Alexander might have hoped that he had left Punjab and Sindh solidly attached to his world empire.\textsuperscript{12} But it was not so. Nearchus who was, according to Alexander’s plan, to set sail in October 325 B.C. had to start earlier in September because revolts broke out in Sindh.\textsuperscript{13} Alexander had divided his Indian possessions into three divisions or satrapies. Philip was appointed satrap of a large territory which appears to have included the kingdom of Āmbhi, the lower Kabul valley, upto the Hindukush, and later of Sindh down to the confluence of the Indus and the Chenab. Āmbhi appears to have worked as a co-satrap with Philip. Porus was the satrap unassociated by any Greek officer over the territory between the Jhelum and the Beas. Pithon was appointed satrap of the territory covering Sindh from the Indus confluence to the ocean.
Oxyartes, father-in-law of Alexander was satrap of Paropanisidae with Kandhar (Alexandria under the Caucasus) as its capital. This satrapy lay outside India. The ruler of Abhisāra was a vassal of Alexander, and was given authority over smaller rājās in the neighbourhood. Alexander’s invasion had in fact annihilated a large number of small principalities, broken the resistance of many royal dynasties and republican communities, removed many political internal barriers and formed larger political and administrative divisions. Though these arrangements did not even survive Alexander, there is no doubt that the progress towards large political units, and the weakening of the power of resistance of the peoples of the Punjab and Sindh made it a simpler matter for the Maurya king a few years later to take these countries into his Indian empire. And as will be seen, Candragupta took full advantage of the favourable factors even before the dust of the Greek cavalry hoofs had settled down.

The insecure position of the Greek rule helped Candragupta to organise the war of liberation. Their rule in India was not based on popular support. Even when Alexander was camping at Pattala, embers of revolt were still burning in Sindh. Earlier, even before Alexander had left Taxila, an Indian chief had instigated rebellion at Kandahār, Nicanor was killed while Alexander was campaigning in the Punjab. The situation became worse when Alexander left India. The Greek rule was a military occupation held by the European mercenary hordes of different nationalities and stationed in city garrisons almost isolated from the native population. The army of occupation itself divided into mutually antagonistic and suspicious national groups added to the insecurity of the foreign rule. Macedonians and Greeks had no love lost between them. Greeks were not happy to be stationed
in India far away from their homes and did not find it easy to adjust themselves to Indian climate and conditions. This ruffled feeling and inherent discontent among them led them within a few months of Alexander’s departure to stage a mutiny under Philip who died of a fatal injury. Alexander realised the difficulty of holding the Indian satrapy under a European satrap, and ordered Ambhi to administer this satrapy with the assistance of Eudamus.

The war of liberation had started, and Candragupta and Cāṇakya were organising it. They were recruiting soldiers from different places. According to Justin\(^a\), Candragupta drew together a band of robbers and instigated the Indians to overthrow the Greek government. According to McCrindle\(^b\), these ‘robbers’ were the republican peoples of the Punjab, who had heroically resisted Alexander and were ready to avenge their defeats by Alexander. It is also possible that in Candragupta’s liberation-army were included the Cora-gañas (organised gangs of brigands), mlecchas (discontented European soldiers), and the aşavikas (forest dwellers) whose war potential is appreciated by Kauṭilya.\(^a\) According to the Mudrārākṣhasa\(^a\), the army of Candragupta and his Himālayan ally (Parvataka) included the Śakas, Yavanas, Kīrātas, Kāmbojas, Pārashikas and Bāhlikas. The Mudrārākṣhasa refers also to the Hūṇas in the army of Malayaketu (Parvataka).\(^a\) This reference weakens the value of the evidence of the Mudrārākṣhasa for our period. It is not possible to trace the course of the war of liberation nor is it possible to identify the allies of Candragupta including Parvataka or Malayaketu. Some take him, we believe wrongly, to be Porus, the elder. However, this war of independence was successful. Justin says “India after the death of Alexander had shaken off as it were the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was
Sandroccottus (Candragupta). This war was over soon after 323 B.C. and certainly before 321 B.C., when the second partition of the Greek empire took place, as no part of India east of the Indus was included in the partitioned empire. It may be safely assumed that the war of liberation ended successfully between 325-323 B.C. But this successful war of liberation was possible because of Candragupta’s conquest of the large Nanda empire before this. Candragupta had already won allies among the tribes of the Punjab during his organisation of revolt against the Greeks and so could secure their help against the mighty Nanda king on the ground that added resources would help in the final assault on foreign domination. Candragupta might have had to take recourse to dubious means to raising money for the purpose, which later could be included as measures of āpaddharma—referred to and justified by Kauṭilya in emergency. Probably Justin refers to this special circumstance in which Candragupta’s fiscal measures would appear to be oppressive. It is only in this way that we can give some credence to Justin’s remark “he (Candragupta) oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom.” It appears from a Jain source that Cāṇakya extracted wealth from under the earth (mines) by Dhatuvāda for raising troops to fight the Nandas. The Mahāvamśa-tīkā refers to counterfeiting of Kāhapāṇa, coining eight from one and then amassing 80 koṭis of Kāhapāṇa which he had buried and later taking possession of it, he formed a powerful army for Candragupta. However, it may be admitted that which event happened first, the conquest of the Punjab from the Greeks or the conquest of Magadha, is not absolutely certain. The reference to use of Greeks (Yavana) by Candragupta in his war against the Nanda king might mean that Punjab was liberated first and the Greeks then under Candragupta could very well join his
army against the Nanda kings. Resources of the Punjab might have helped him in his assault on the Magadhan empire.\textsuperscript{230}

The course of the war against the Nandas cannot be dated with certainty. We have already seen that according to Indian tradition and also according to the correct restoration of Justin's passage, Candragupta had excited the anger of the Nanda king by his insolent behaviour, and had fled for his life.\textsuperscript{24} Thus in all fairness, one has to say that Candragupta's war against the Nandas was not actuated only by his desire to free his country from the deadly despised domination of the Nanda king, as Mookerji\textsuperscript{33} would make us believe, but also by personal vendetta.

After making adequate preparations the war against the last Nanda king (Dhanananda) was launched. On the combined testimony of the Buddhist work, the Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā\textsuperscript{26} and the Jain work Parisīṣṭaparvan\textsuperscript{37}, it has been well suggested that at first Candragupta and Cāṇakya tried to raid the bordering regions and attack the centre of the Nanda empire directly. But this attempt failed, as the rear was exposed and Candragupta's forces surrounded from all sides had to lose. Another attempt to occupy the frontiers and start campaigns from there while resulted in the conquest of rāṣṭras and janapadas also bore no better fruit, and ultimately it was only when garrisons were stationed in the overrun regions that the army of liberation could move towards the centre without fear from the rear. The Nanda empire was devastated and Pāṭaliputra was captured. Dhanananda was killed and his buried treasure was obtained.\textsuperscript{57} The Parisīṣṭaparvan has a similar story, but according to it the Nanda king was allowed to escape with his two wives and one daughter.\textsuperscript{68} The war against the Nandas was a difficult one as the Nanda king possessed a very
large army and able ministers. Cāṇakya had to weave an net of intrigue to defeat Nanda according to the Mudrārākshasa. According to the Milindapañho, Bhaddasala was the commander of the Nanda army against Candragupta (Kendagutta). 100 Kotis of soldiers, 10,000 elephants, 1 lakh horses, and 5000 chariots were killed or destroyed. This is certainly an exaggeration but may show the grimness of the battle. The unpopularity of the adhārmika Nanda must have helped Candragupta, who became king of Magadha, inherited the vast army, territory and riches of the defeated Nanda king. This event may be placed in 324 B.C.

Candragupta thus became master of the country from the Indus to the Bay of Bengal, and made Pāṭaliputra his capital. His authority was challenged by Seleucus who soon after 312-11 B.C., had made himself master of the whole region from Phrygia to the Indus and decided to recover the Indian territories previously conquered by Alexander. While it is not possible to be definite about the course of events there is no doubt that Seleucus took the initiative and crossed the Indus which was then the boundary of Candragupta’s empire. But he failed in his objective. According to Smith, relying on Pliny, Seleucus ceded the territories of Gedrosia, Aria, Archosia and Paropanisadae equivalent to Baluchistan-Makran, Herat, Kandhar and Kabul. Tarn held that only those parts of the three satrapies of Paropanisadae, Archosia and Gedrosia which lay along the Indus were ceded by Seleucus. But the discovery of Aśoka’s inscription at Kandahar has disapproved Tarn and has established beyond doubt that the Indian territory of the north-west had reached the natural frontier, the Hindukush, India got control over the best recruiting ground for soldiers and horses and also the control over the trade and commerce between the east and the west.
passing through Kandahar. Seleucus was satisfied with 500 elephants, whom he used in his wars against his adversaries in west Asia. There was also a material alliance according to Appian. But this is not proved. Prof. Wilson sees the retreat and discomfiture of Seleucus in the retreat of Malayaketu of the Mudrārākṣha. However, since then, Candragupta and Seleucus remained friends and Megasthenese came to Pātaliputra as an ambassador of Seleucus, the emperor of Syria. This event may be placed near about 304 B.C. According to Athenaeus Candragupta (Indian king) sent to Seleucus a present of some Indian drugs.

Candragupta, according to Plutarch, "with an army of 60,000 men overran the whole of India and subdued it. We know that the only conquest that Aśoka made was of Kalinga. No particular conquest is attributed to Bindusāra. It is therefore possible to presume that the entire area over which edicts of Aśoka prevailed were conquered by Candragupta with the exception of Kalinga. His rule over Saurāshṭra is proved by the Girnar inscription Rudradāman. Aśoka's inscriptions are also found there. Aśoka was Viceroy at Ujjayini and stayed at Vidiśā. This shows that east and west Malwa were included in the empire before him; probably the credit should go to Candragupta. Candragupta's conquest of Deccan can be inferred from many traditional accounts. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra contains a debate as to whether the conquest of the North or of the Deccan is a better policy for the conqueror to follow, and Kauṭilya was in favour of southern conquest, which might have been actually achieved on his advice, by Candragupta. We have already noted the tradition of the Nanda rule to the Godāvari valley. It was quite legitimate for Candragupta to assert his authority over the territories claimed earlier by the Nandas. Inscriptions of
late date found in Mysore, the tradition of Candragupta in
his old age living as a Jain Muni on the Candragiri and
Tamil works refer to the Moriyas cutting their way through
the rocks with their chariots, “their army of horses and
elephants” to subdue the king of Mohur who had refused
to submit (Mookerji, p. 41). These Moriyas are most pro-
bably the Mauryas under Candragupta, and not the Mauryas
of Konkan, because we find the Tamil literary works familiar
with the Nandas and their hoarded wealth\footnote{16}. Aśoka’s in-
scriptions in the Deccan and South India, and references to his
border kingdoms in the south, would further show that
a large part of the Deccan and South India up to Mysore
formed a part of Candragupta’s empire. Chitaldurg district
marked the farthest of the Maurya empire in the south\footnote{16}. In the northwest, Kandahar was the limit, where
recently an inscription of Aśoka has been found\footnote{16}. Nepal
Tarai was definitely under the Mauryas. Aśoka’s inscriptions
at Rummendei and Nigliva prove this. Probably the first
Nanda had brought these territories under Magadhan empire
and Candragupta inherited it after the overthrow of the
Nandas.

Thus Candragupta was master of almost the entire
country with the exception of Kalinga and extreme south.
He almost was master of cakrawarti-kshetra outlined by
Kauṭilya.\footnote{16} The statement in the Mudrārākshasa that
he was ‘king over all Jambūdvīpa’ and sole monarch of the
country that extends from the lord of the mountains cooled
by showers of the spray of the divine stream, playing about
among its rocks to the shores of the southern ocean\footnote{16} is no
exaggeration. Plutarch’s statement\footnote{17} that ‘with an army of
600000 men he overran and subdued all India’ is almost a
statement of truth. Basham rightly regards Candragupta
‘the chief architect of the greatest of India’s ancient
empires’.\footnote{47}
Candragupta ruled for 24 years according to the Purāṇas (Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa). The Buddhist tradition also assign 24 years to him. According to the scheme of chronology accepted here, his regnal period may be 324-300 B.C. Candragupta at first was Brāhmaṇical in faith. According to Jain sources he appears to have later been converted to Jainism and abdicated the throne; and with Bhadravāhu passed his last days as a Jain Muni in the South. According to the Tibetan account also it appears that Kauṭilya saw the abdication of Candragupta. Was the Prime Minister too powerful to allow Jain influence prevail over the imperial government?

Achievements

Candragupta’s achievements were outstanding. He proved a national hero who successfully ended the foreign rule over his country. This was by itself a feat to earn immortality for him. But he also emerged as a great consolidator of the nation, and a successful empire-builder. He presided over the largest empire ever ruled by an Indian power, and then bestowed on his vast dominion the benefits of a benevolent administration. Not only in the field of empire-building and administration but also in the sphere of foreign policy he provided the basis which guided future Indian rulers. While he triumphantly represented the noble patriotic sentiments by expelling Greek masters from India, he at the same time exhibited wonderful restraint and enunciated the highly cherished and eternal Indian policy not to covet other man’s lands. Candragupta, who defeated Seleucus and possessed a powerful army, made no attempts to invade or conquer territories outside India’s traditional frontiers. Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes has noted that “a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting any conquest beyond the limits of India.” Candragupta follow-
ed the policy of international friendship based on principles of peace and cooperation. It is significant that while Seleucus sent a permanent ambassador, Megasthenese, to the court of Candragupta, the latter sent to Seleucus useful presents including powerful aphrodisiacs. Candragupta followed the policy of peaceful relations with foreign kingdoms and of political unification and integration at home—a policy which every wise government down to to-day has followed. Megasthenese and Kautṣīlyya testify to a strong and benevolent administration established on firm foundations by Candragupta. The Indo-Greek cultural exchanges which began with Seleucus and Candragupta proved more fruitful than it could be by Alexander’s conquest by sword. Numerous foreigners found it safe and profitable to settle in the country as hinted by Megasthenese and thus in due course led to enrichment of Indian art, costumes, social life, court etiquette by assimilation of foreign ideas and things. He is said to have done honour to the altars of Alexander (Smith EHI, p. 29n). Diodorus quoting Ianbulus speaks of the king of Pablibothra as a lover of Greeks. This king of Pablibothra may be Candragupta who had a Greek wife. He had adopted the system of ceremonial washing of the hair from the Achemenian practice. He had built a stone pillar hall like the Achemenian Imperial Hall. His administration was influenced by Achemenian-Hellenistic tradition. It is thus, though an exaggeration but partly true, that he hellenised India more than Alexander. Achemenian-Hellenistic tradition began to enter and the classical writers note the familiarity of India with Greek ideas and institutions and culture. Candragupta’s achievements are many and varied, and he ranks as one of the greatest rulers that India has produced.

BINDUSĀRA

Candragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra. According to the Ceylonese chronicle he reigned for 28
years. The Purāṇas give him a reign of 25 years (In some Vāyu-Mañ. he is named Nandasaras or Bhadrasaras.) We know very little about him. According to the commentary of the Mahāvaṃśa he was born of the chief queen of Candragupta and the daughter of the maternal uncle of Candragupta. The empire inherited by him remained in tact. The continuity of policy and administration was maintained, Kauṭilya continuing to be the minister. According to Taranātha, Cāṇakya in the time of Bindusāra reduced the 16 towns of Dakśiṇāpatha—the region between the eastern western seas. Some scholars interpret this as meaning conquest of the south by Bindusāra. But really it means that, as usual, immediately after new succession, distant provinces like the Deccan revolted but the rebellion was crushed. Bindusāra is known as Amitrochades (to the Greeks). Indian translation of which could be Amitrakhāda (devourer of enemies) or Amitraghāta, slayer of enemies, a term known to Patañjali as meaning a king. This meaning is also met with in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata. In this time there was also a revolt in Takshaśilā, the headquarters of the N. W. Province. Aśoka went from Ujjain to quell the rebellion, which was actually against the wicked officials (dusṭāmāṭyāḥ), and not against the king. The rebellions were crushed, both in the Deccan and in the north-west, rather cruelly, that is why he might have been nicknamed Amitraghāta.

Bindusāra continued the policy of his father in maintaining friendly relations with the western neighbours. Diodorus probably refers to him rather than to his father as the king of Pāṭaliputra who was very favourable to the Grecians. Diamachos from Syria came to his court as an ambassador to succeed Megasthenese. Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt sent Dionysius as an ambassador to the court of Bindusāra. Antiochus II of Syria was requested
by Bindusāra to send to him wine, dried figs, and a sophist. The Syrian king promised to send wine and dried figs, but said that a sophist is not sold.\textsuperscript{336}

Bindusāra thus appears to be interested in good things of life, in foreign wine and figs. But he was also interested in philosophy and his anxiety to have a Greek sophist shows his religious and intellectual interest. The Mahāvamsa\textsuperscript{336} informs us that Bindusāra had shown hospitality to 60000 Brāhmaṇas. From the Divyāvadāna\textsuperscript{336} we learn that he patronised an Ājivika Parivrajaka. Probably Bindusāra’s association with religious personages and philosophers had some thing to do with Aśoka’s interest in religious discourses. It is possible to share the view that ‘the reign of Bindusāra may with plausibility be regarded as a prelude to that of his great son.’\textsuperscript{336}

According to the Purāṇas\textsuperscript{336}, he ruled for 25 years. Burmese and Ceylonese chronicles raise the figure to 27 or 28.\textsuperscript{336} He may have ceased to reign by 274-73 B. C. Bindusāra had at least three sons, Sumana or Suśima, Aśoka and Tishya. His queen Subhadrāṅgā or Dharmā was Aśoka’s mother.

**AŚOKA**

Aśoka succeeded Bindusāra. We know more about him and his reign than of any other ancient Indian king. The sources are, (i) his own inscriptions, nearly 40, (ii) Ceylonese chronicles (iii) later Indian Buddhist and other literary references. His period is very much certain because of his being contemporary with the Hellenic monarchs who are mentioned in R.E.XIII, and whose dates are more or less fixed on surer grounds. His name Aśoka occurs in Maski Rock Edict which proved beyond doubt that Priyadarśin (Piyadasi) was Aśoka himself. Purāṇas refer to him as Aśoka or Aśokavardhana. Buddhist sources also refer to him as such. His mother’s name was Dharmā\textsuperscript{336}.
Early life

According to the Simhalese Chronicles, there was an interregnum of 4 years between the accession and coronation of Aśoka. This gap of 4 years is unknown to the Purāṇas. According to Eggermont's "This 4-year interim period of illegal kingship is based on fiction". This interval, according to the same source, was occupied with the civil war waged by Aśoka against his brothers, and it is said that he killed 99 of his brothers including Susțma. The Buddhist sources also add that before he became a Buddhist, Aśoka led a cruel life, and traditions assert that he killed many people and threw them in a well of hell, identified traditionally with Agam Kuan near the Kumhrarah remains in Patna. While it is quite obvious that in order to emphasise the corrective and revolutionary note of Buddhism on Aśoka's career and policy, the Buddhist sources depict the life of Aśoka before he became a Buddhist in the darkest colour and nickname him as Cāṇḍāśoka, it would not be wise to deny even the substratum of some truth in the highly exaggerated and embellished story. After the death of Bindusāra, Aśoka, the Viceroy at Ujjain and who had shown more ability than his brother Susțma (or Sumana) in quelling the rebellion in Gandhāra, the province under Susțma as a Viceroy, would be ambitious enough to become the emperor of India inspite of being not the eldest son of the late king. The commentator on the Mahāvaṃśa informs us that relying on a rumour that Aśoka would kill his father, Bindusāra had employed him at a distance from him at Ujjaiyini. Such instances are not unknown in Indian history and traditions. On hearing of the illness of his father, Aśoka left for Pāṭaliputra and the civil war began Aśoka came out successful, no doubt, but the war lasted for a long time. The Mauryan court was divided, and one of the ministers of Bindusāra, Khalataka, supported him. However, it is not necessary to believe that Aśoka actually
killed ninetynine of his brothers. On the authority of R.E.V (Manshera) it is held that Aśoka's brothers, sisters and relations were living. But it may be pointed out that in the inscription reference is made to the harems (Avarodhana-s) of his brothers and sisters, and this does not necessarily mean that his brothers were living. It is possible that his brothers' widows, sons and daughters, might have been spared by him. However, we know that Tishya, younger brother of Aśoka, was living and Aśoka had raised him to the office of vice-regent (uparāja).

From the Buddhist sources and indirect references in his inscriptions it may be assumed that Aśoka led a normal life in his early years. He went on hunting tours, ate non-vegetarian dishes, and enjoyed his life in excursions and in harem. He was a follower of Brāhmaṇism and used to make donations to Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and other pāshaṇdas. We know that while Aśoka was governing Avantīrāṭṭam as a viceroy, he used to visit frequently the city of Vidiśā, (Cetiyagiri) and there he married Devi, a daughter of a Setṭhti. She bore him a son and a daughter, named Mahendra and Saṅghamitra. When Aśoka came to occupy the throne at Pāṭaliputra, Devi does not appear to have accompanied him. We cannot say if his marriage or engagement with Devi was unconventional.

**Kaliṅga War**

Aśoka in the beginning continued the traditional policy of Magadha—the policy of complete political integration of the country. His attention was drawn to Kaliṅga, a powerful country with large trade and colonies. These pirates in the Bay of Bengal also must have interfered with the trade with S. E. Asia. "Kaliṅga was a maritime kingdom and it would not be far-fetched to suppose that the war with Kaliṅga was waged for economic and commercial
The kingdom of Kaliṅga was ‘nearest the sea’ and had trade relations with Burma and S. E. Asia. Tārānātha’s reference to Nāgas of the sea robbing jewels and making Aśoka angry may explain Aśoka’s desire to conquer Kaliṅga with a view to control the pirates of the sea. The country was famous for its elephants and ivory. It may have extended from the river Vaitarani in the north, the Amarakaṅtaka Hills in the west, and Mahendragiri in the south.71 Pliny72 refers to the army of Kaliṅga composed of 60,000 foot, 1000 horsemen, and 700 elephants. This army must have been much larger in the time of Aśoka, as can be inferred from the war casualties given by Aśoka himself in his R. E. XIII. The Magadhan imperialism could not brook the independence of Kaliṅga, which already with the absorption of Bengal down to Tāmralipti and conquest of the Deccan had been almost sandwiched between Maurya provinces. Independent Kaliṅga was a grave menace to the right flank of the Mauryan empire. There is no evidence to support the view that Bindusāra had waged war on Cola and Pāṇḍya, and Kaliṅga as the ally of the latter had attacked the Mauryan empire from the rear and caused the failure of Bindusāra’s campaign. It was therefore supremely imperative to reduce Kaliṅga to complete subjection.72 Kaliṅga was invaded, and the small kingdom put up a stiff resistance to the aggressive Maurya imperial forces. Ultimately the Kaliṅgas, after suffering and also imposing heavy casualties on Aśoka’s army, were defeated, and Kaliṅga became a part of Maurya empire in c. 260 B. C., in the 8th year of the coronation of Aśoka in 269 B. C.73

The Kaliṅga War marks a landmark in the history of India in many ways. It marks the culmination, rather abrupt end, of the process of territorial aggrandisement initiated by Bimbisāra’s conquest of Aṅga. It registered
the last stage of the Maurya imperial expansion and marked the highest limit of the Mauryan empire, which now extended over the whole of Bhāratavarṣa except the farthest south, south of Mysore.

Two versions of his inscriptions have been found in Manshera and Shabajgarhi in the N. W. F. In Laghman in the north of Kabul river fragments of Aśokan inscription in Aramaic character have been found (BSOS XIII p. 8 ff'). Aśoka refers in the inscription that the Yonas (Afghanistan), the Kāmbojas (Kashmir and Kaffiristan), Gāndhāra (N. W. F. and Western Punjab), Nābha-
Nābhapanti (Himalayan provinces), Bhoja-Pitinika (Madhya Pradesh and Berar) Raṭhika (Maharashtra), Āndhra-
Pulinda (South India including parts of modern Andhra
state, Hyderabad and Kurnool districts), Aparânta (Western
Provinces including Saurâṣṭra upt to the Arabian Sea)
all these were in his empire. Aśoka edicts at Gīrans and
the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman prove his empire's ex-
tension to Gujārāt; the Kândhar inscription to Afganistan,
Sopārā to western coast, Dhauli-Jaugaḍa to Orissa,
Rupnath to Madhya Pradesh, Shahabazgarhi to the N.W.F,
Toprā, Kalsi, Merrut, Nigliva, Rumindei, and Lauria to
Himalayan regions including Dehradun and Nepal Terai.
Irragudi, Rajul-Mandagiri, Brahmagiri, Siddagiri, Jatinga,
Garimath, Palkiguda, Maski, and Bhugam to South
India, Āndhra and Mysore; Sasram, Barabar to Bihar,
Ahiaura, to Kosambi (Mirzapure, U. P.). His monu-
ments are found in Kumrakhār (Pāṭaliputra's Assembly
Hall), Lion Pillar at Vaiṣāli, Lauriya Ararāj and Nandangarh (in Champaran), at Sarnath, at Allahabad (Pillar
Inscription), Sanchi Stūpa (Madhya Pradesh). Yuench-
wang refers to Aśoka's stūpa near Tāmralipti, Karṇasuvarna
and Puṇḍravardhana in Bengal. It appears that Kāmarūpā
(Assam), Cola (Madras), Pāṇḍya (Madurai), Satiyaputra,
and Kerala and Ceylon were outside his empire. Aṭīvika
(forest tracts of Orrisa, Chotanagpur and Madhya Pradesh) appears to be almost unconquered, but under his influence.

The war also registered a great change in the character and policy of Asoka, and as a result, affected the political and religious history of India tremendously. Buddhism was now actively patronised by Asoka who was inspired by a missionary zeal. The great emperor henceforth untiredly worked for the material and spiritual welfare of his subjects, nay of the people of the whole world (Sarvalokahitaya). And this ideal was put into practice, and welfare schemes such as opening of hospitals for men as well as beasts, planting or importing medicinal herbs, promotion of the principles of Dhamma, were carried on by Indian embassies in foreign countries— in the kingdom of Antiochus-II of Syria (261-246 B.C.), Ptolemy-II Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.); Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia (276-239); Magas of Cyrene (300-250 B.C.) and Alexander of Epirus (272-255) or more probably of Corinth (252-244). All these kings were alive in 252 B.C. after which date this edict (R.E. XIII) could not have been promulgated. According to R.K. Mookerji¹⁴ the date of the promulgation of this edict is 257 B.C. Thapar¹⁵ after examining the latest views on the dates and identifications of the Hellenic contemporaries of Asoka, believes that Asoka's contemporary was Alexander of Epirus and not that of Corinth, and that this edict was promulgated most probably in 256-55 B.C., though the latest date that could be postulated is 254 B.C.  

It is highly significant to note that Asoka had established embassies in far off countries as Egypt and Cmere in N. Africa, in Epirus and Macedonia in S.E. Europe, and in Syria in West Asia i.e. in three continents. Candragupta had diplomatic relations with Syrian emperor, and Bindusara had exchanged ambassadors with Egypt besides Syria.
Aśoka's claim to have contacts with the above-mentioned kingdoms is doubted by Rhys Davids, in whose opinion: "It is difficult to say how much of this is mere royal reedomontade. It is quite likely that the great kings are only thrown in by way of make-weight, as it were, and that no emissaries had been actually sent there at all. Even if they had been sent, there is little reason to believe that the Greek self-complacency would have been much disturbed". But knowing as we do on the authority of classical sources themselves that diplomatic relations, exchange of ambassadors and gifts between India and Syria, India and Egypt, were already existing before Aśoka, it should not appear incredible that the zealous Aśoka enlarged the area, and sent dātas to the other three Hellenic kingdoms as mentioned in R.E. XIII, and hinted in P.E. II as well. The fact that the Greek sources are silent over this, does not belie the written testimony of Aśoka. Indian sources are silent over Alexander's invasion but we do not for that reject the veracity of the classical sources. It is significant to remember that except for the reference to Yonaloka in the Buddhist sources there is no reference to preaching of Buddhism by Buddhist monks in the five Hellenic kingdoms. It appears that Aśoka utilised official legations in these kingdoms for the promotion of the Dhamma, which could not be objected to by any people. It has been suggested that the missions of Aśoka to the West probably contributed to the shaping of tenets and practices of Christianity. In the practices of the Essenes and the Therapentae scholars recognise influence of Buddhism. Some Ptolemic grave-stones in Egypt are said to have Buddhist symbols of wheel and tri-ratna and there is some evidence of an Indian colony in Memphis in c. 200 B.C. It is important to remember that this same edict (R.E.XIII) includes Tāmraparṇi (Ceylon) in the same context. We have literary evidence to corroborate the epigraphic data that Aśoka and king of Ceylon had
exchanged gifts and ambassadors, and "were already friends a long time, though they had never seen each other." Geiger observes, "before Mahinda relations existed between continental India and Ceylon."

It is significant to observe that Aśoka raised the foreign policy to a higher motive. It is obvious that Candragupta and Bindusāra maintained friendly relations and diplomatic missions with the foreign kingdoms for promotion of international peace and economic interests. Aśoka added to these aims, the additional aim of promoting welfare of the subjects of the friendly kings. Indian embassies which earlier might have been engaged in safeguarding and promoting political and commercial interests of the empire were directed to work actively for the promotion of road-building, medical facilities and propagation of the principles of Dhamma in these countries. There was nothing which could be objected to by the Hellenic kings. It is not necessary to imagine that the ancient civilised Greek governments would not tolerate finer aspects of Indian culture and policy reaching their lands. Aśoka had not instructed his missions abroad to preach any sectarian religion. They were asked to promote Dhamma, which was just a way of life based on non-controversial moral and ethical principles welcomed by all peoples in all ages. Aśoka's embassies in the foreign lands under royal instructions were transformed into veritable agencies for promoting international brotherhood and for carrying out plans of material and moral progress of the people. While it is not possible in the light of existing sources to assess the extent of the success of the policy as Aśoka claims (R.E.XIII), there is no doubt that Aśoka revolutionised the foreign policy which now contained positive humanitarian elements. It is not unlikely that the traces of Buddhist influence on some Jewish sects in the pre-Christian times may be dated in Aśoka's times.
Highly sensitive, Asoka was cut to the quick at the suffering of the people of Kalinga, proclaimed the abandonment of the policy of military conquest. In Asoka’s own words: “There was the remorse of his Sacred Majesty having conquered the Kalingas. One hundred and fifty thousand in number were those carried off from there, a hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there and many times as many those who were dead. For where an independent country is forcibly reduced, that there are slaughter, death and deportation of people has been considered very painful and deplorable by His Sacred Majesty. Therefore even a hundredth or the thousandth part of all those people who were wounded, slain or carried off captives, in Kalinga, would now be considered grievous by His Sacred Majesty. For this purpose has this religious edict been inscribed that my sons and great grandsons that may be, should not think that a new conquest ought to be made” (R. E. XIII). Thus Asoka not only abandoned the traditional policy of military conquest for himself but also advised his progeny to eschew this type of conquest as far as possible, because he appears to be wise enough to realise that his absolute directions might not be followed by his sons and great grandsons in toto, and so he observed “that if a conquest is theirs (or pleases them), they should relish forbearance and mildness of punishment” (R. E. XIII). It means that if military conquest is resorted to, minimum of force and vindictiveness be applied. This is an appeal for humanising wars, if wars could ever be humane. There is no evidence to show that his successors followed his high policy in its spirit, probably they had no time and ability to undertake fresh military conquest, when what they had inherited, as will be seen later, was proving too heavy a burden for them to bear. But there is no doubt that Asoka made no other military conquest after that of Kalinga. While
Aśoka might have been genuinely struck with such remorse as to give up any further scheme of military conquest, it was also a wise decision, Real-politik. The conquest of Kaliṅga had almost rounded the edges of the Maurya imperial dominion. The grim resistance that the Kalingas had put up and heavy casualties that the imperial forces must have suffered were a kind of foretaste to what would happen if the Mauryan military adventures would proceed to the far south. Without military conquest, the territories of the Colas, the Pāṇḍyas, Satyaputra and Keralaputra were subjects to Aśoka’s policy of Dhammavijaya, and his officers were carrying on public works and welfare activities there (R. E. II). However, this deserves to be emphasised that while Aśoka renounced the policy of military conquest (Yuddha Vijaya), he did not renounce use of force for defensive purposes even. There is no evidence that he disbanded the Mauryan army, rather he made it plain to the forest-dwellers of the might of the Sacred Majesty, even in his repentance (anutā), so that they might be ashamed (of their crimes—of trying to defy His Majesty’s orders) and may not be killed” (R. E. XIII). Earlier Aśoka has clearly said that he has not renounced the use of force in all circumstances and only that will be forgiven, ‘What can be considered fit to be forgiven by his Sacred Majesty’ (R. E. XIII). The decision when to forgive and when to punish lay with the king, who retained the means (military of course) to punish them if their mischief was in his opinion too severe to be ignored. According to Barua’s summarisation of SRE, Aśoka long after Kaliṅga war first punished the forest peoples (āṭavikās) and then subsequently tried to conciliate them.

Aśoka and Buddhism

The Kaliṅga war ‘transformed his (Aśoka’s) entire personality and perspective’. Caṇḍāśoka became Dharmā-
śoka. From the Buddhist sources we learn that in the beginning Aśokas was not a Buddhist, and for three years he paid honour to Pāshaṇḍā infidels. He was paying attention to the Nirgrathas (Jainas), Accekes (Ājivikas), Brāhmaṇas, other ascetics and sects and used to make gifts to them. Aśoka maintained 60,000 Brāhmaṇas for three years as his father had done. (M. V, V.) According to the Dipavamśa, Aśoka was converted to Buddhism three years after coronation. The story is told that Aśoka was anxious to know the true path, and he invited members of all the religious orders to Pātaliputra, gave them costly presents, and put questions to them. None could answer satisfactorily and so all were killed by Aśoka, who began to search for an arhat. He came across Nigrodha (who was the son of his eldest brother Sumana) who explained to him eldest brother Sumana) who explained to him the principles of Buddhism and established the sovereign and the people in those tenets. Aśoka announced that he became a lay disciple, together with his wives and children; he declared to take refuge in Nigrodha (Upasakatham) in Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. In the Mahāvamśa it is said that when Nigrodha had been served by the king with his own hands and he had preached the doctrine to the ruler, he confirmed him with many of his train in the refuge and precepts of duty. Geiger has pointed out that the expression taking refuge into three ratnas (Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha), and the precepts of duty is the expression for the adherence of the laity. Aśoka called a congregation of Buddhist monks and nuns, and announced that he built 84,000 monasteries.

Notwithstanding clear statements in the Ceylonese Chronicles many scholars hold that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism sometime after the Kalinga war fought in the 8th year of his coronation. According to F. W. Thomas
"the slaughter and sufferings which attended the conquest (of Kaliṅga) produced upon his mind such an impression that it proved the turning in his career. He joined the Buddhist order as a lay disciples, and thus subjected himself to the influence of ideas of which he was destined to be one of the greatest propagators." According to Bhandarkar Aśoka became a Buddhist, a year after his conquest of Kaliṅga. Dr. Raychaudhuri is also of the same view: "The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in him great feelings of (anusocanit) remorse, profound sorrow and regret." About this time he came under the influence of the Buddhist teaching. He rejected the view that Aśoka’s conversion to Buddhism is to be placed before the Kaliṅga war, and held that this conversion took place a little less than 9½ years after his abhisheka, i.e. little less than 1½ years after the Kalinga war. According to him the supporters of the theory that Aśoka became a convert to Buddhism before the war have to explain "Why a recent convert to Buddhism should engage in a sanguinary conflict involving the death of countless śramanas? A recent writer expresses the same idea; "The obvious doubt as regards the latter theory in whether as a recent convert to nonviolent Buddhism, Aśoka could have engaged in such a large scale war." Bhandarkar clearly states, "Aśoka became a Buddhist in the 9th year of his reign, that is, a year after his conquest of Kaliṅga." In Sastri's view "in the 11th year on account of his remorse at the thought of the incidents of the Kaliṅga war he adopted Buddhism as his creed." According to Hultzsch Aśoka became an Upāsaka in the 10th year of his reign. No serious consideration can be given to the view of H. C. Seth that Aśoka became an ardent Buddhist during the last ten years of his reign. Fleet's view that
Aśoka was converted to Buddhism in the 30th year of his reign is in clear contradiction to R. E. VIII.

However, the other view that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism before the Kaliṅga war in 265 B.C. has been held by Mookerji and strongly defended by Eggermont who on the basis of the critical study of the MRE and R. E. XIII concludes that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism as an Upāsaka a few months before the Kaliṅga war at the end of the vassa of the 7th year of the reign. In our opinion the Edicts of Aśoka do not prove that he was converted to Buddhism after the Kaliṅga war. The R. E. XIII clearly states that in the 8th year of his coronation, Kaliṅga was conquered, and thereafter Aśoka's observance of Dhamma, (Dhammapālana or Dhammaśīlana), love of Dhamma (Dharma-Kāmata), and his preaching of the Dhamma (Dhamma anusaste) became intense (tiṣṭa). It suggests that before this he was just an ordinary follower of Buddhism like others not zealous in the Faith, and his conversion to Buddhism may be taken to be in about 266-265 B.C., as suggested by the Ceylonese Chronicles. There is no incontrovertible evidence to reject the statement of the Ceylonese Chronicles that he was converted to Buddhism three years after his consecration by Nigrodha who was 7 years old. What might have happened is that Aśoka's search for an Arhat to show him the true path to which he would personally subscribe after he was disappointed by the Brāhmaṇas and other religious orders, might have made some Buddhist teacher to tutor Nigrodha a child of 7 years and a relative of Aśoka, in order to impress on Aśoka's mind the miraculous power Buddhist teaching had. It would also help, after 7 years of the murder of his elder brother by Aśoka, in establishing a reconciliation between the uncle and the nephew, who later might have proved his disinterestedness in any future claim on the throne by becoming
a monk. The Ceylonese Chronicles also specifically mention that Mogalliputra Tissa (Probably, identified with Upagupta of the Yuanchawang's accounts) gave Pārabījā to Mahendra and Samghamitra at the age of 20 and 18 respectively, after Aśoka was consecrated for 6 years, i.e. 263-2 B.C., and thus Aśoka became a relative of the Faith. In the 4th year of his reign his brother Uprāja Tissa was also given pabājā by Mahādhammaramakhiṭṭha. It is true that Aśoka waged the Kāliṅga war after he was converted to Buddhism. This may be indirectly supported by Tāranātha who says that on the advice of Yaśa at the palace of Aśoka, the latter paid honour to the Buddha and Samgha and then conquered the Nāgas, and through the power of his merit earned by honouring the Buddha and 60,000 Arhats in the palace he conquered the whole of Jambudīvīpa south of the Vindhyas. Being a flower of Buddhism or Jainism did not prevent any king before and after Aśoka in waging war. Mention may be made of Ajātaśatru, Prasenajit, Udayana, Khāravela, Dharmapāla, Devapāla, and many others who inspite of being followers of a religion of non-violence waged numerous bloody wars. Aśoka, who was every inch an imperialist till the Kāliṅga holocaust was no exception. The point to note is that the Kāliṅga war did not mean change in Aśoka's religion, but sensitive Aśoka struck by the carnage in the war, began to introspect deeply and was spurred to zealous religious activities including active consideration to sanctity of life of men and animals. It is not certain when the M.R.E. I was inscribed and the interpretations of 200, 50, 6, have not been unanimous. The M.R.E. I only states the stages in the growth of Aśoka's zeal towards religion. At first he was an indifferent Buddhist, a lay disciple, and then for the last more than one year had been zealously exerting for the promotion of the Dhamma. Now a question arises what event spurred him to exert for promotion of Dhamma?
Mere conversion to Buddhism did not act as the spur. The Kaliṅga War was an epoch-making event, which made him announce a new foreign policy and led him to think of promotion of Dhamma. In the opinion of Bhandarkar the empire of Magadha could have extended over whole of this country, making India one nation and afterwards also might have spread even beyond making Pāṭaliputra, like Rome, the capital of the world. "But in the consequence of the foreign policy of Dhamma-Vijaya inaugurated by Aśoka, India was lost to nationalism and political greatness. Nevertheless she has doubtless gained in cosmopolitanising and humanity". The first important result of this might have been to go on a pilgrimage to Sambodhi in the 10th year of his conversion. Sambodhi means the Bo-Tree of Bodh Gaya. This pilgrimage may be connected with the tour for 256 nights mentioned by Aśoka in M.R.E (Rupanath and Sahasram). It was after obtaining Enlightenment at Bodh Gaya that the Buddha decided to preach his Dhamma and went to Sarnath. It may be that with the pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, Aśoka sent out on the propagation of his Dhamma.

There is no doubt that Aśoka’s personal religion was Buddhism to which he was converted from Brāhmanism. Doubts expressed by some scholars that Aśoka was not a Buddhist do not bear scrutiny. Heras and Dikshitar's arguments to show that Aśoka’s faith was not Buddhist but Brāhmanism has been ably refuted by Gokhale. The clear and emphatic testimony of the Ceylonese Chronicles and Indian Buddhist literature that Aśoka was a Buddhist, and contributed much to the progress of Buddhism cannot be questioned without pointing to any unassailable evidence. If the Buddhists only to exalt their position and religion adopted falsely Aśoka as a Buddhist emperor, then why did they not claim many other great emperors of India,
like Candragupta Maurya, Samudra Gupta or Candra Gupta II as Buddhists. Of course there are certainly many romantic, miraculous and exaggerated accounts in the early Buddhist literature about Aśoka and his role in the promotion of Buddhism and the change that it brought in him, but there is no reason to doubt that they contain the kernel of truth that Aśoka was a Buddhist, and Buddhism prospered much in his reign. The edicts of Aśoka prove this. In the MRE-I, in the Maski edition he calls himself Buddha Sake, and in the Rupanath edition, Prakāsa Sake i. e. he was a Buddhist or openly a follower of Sākya i. e. Buddha. In the same edict in Brahmagiri vision he declares that he had been a lay disciple (Upāsaka) for more than 2 years and a half and a year ago he has visited the Saṁgha which definitely means Buddhist Saṁgha. The Bhābru or Bāirat No. 2 Rock Edict contains the salutation of Aśoka to the Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha, and he wishes the Saṁgha—the Buddhist order all health and happiness. In this edict Aśoka cites passages from the Buddhist scriptures which have been shown to have been taken from the well known Buddhist sacred works. The phrase occurring in the edict, 'whatsoever has been said Reverend Sirs by the Lord Buddha, all that has been well said' has been identified with a passage in the Anguttara Nikāya by Poussin. It has been well pointed out that the code of conduct prescribed by the Buddha in the Ratha Vinīta Sutta, Nālakasutta, Mahā Aniyavaṁsa and Tavatāk-Sutta as stated by Buddhaghosha in his Viśuddhimagga may be in almost identical words be recognised in this edict of Aśoka 'What Buddhaghosha therefore selected as the most important and representative texts for a Bhikshu might well have been cited by Aśoka too.' Aśoka's anxiety for the prosperity of the Buddhist church, and for the proper religious conduct of monk according to Buddha's precepts certainly would be out of place if he was not a
Buddhist himself. From the R. E. VIII we learn that after 10 years of his coronation, he visited Sambodhi (Bodh Gaya). The Rummendei inscription informs us that he visited Lumbini after 20 years of his coronation, and here he offered worship, erected a stone pillar and reduced the land tax (Bhāga) from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$. He also in the same year revisited Nigliva where he had in the 15th year after his coronation enlarged the Stūpa of former Buddha Kanakamuni. This time (the second time he visited), he offered worship at the Stūpa of Kanakamuni. In Kalsi rock where a copy of the 14 Rock Edicts has been found, there is a picture of an elephant, below which ‘gajatame’ is inscribed. In Dhauli also the above inscription, is on a rock—cut figure of a large elephant and the work ‘Seto’ i.e. ‘Sweta’ is inscribed, suggesting white elephant. In the Girnar 13th Rock edicts also the words meaning white elephant giver of happiness to all (Śveto hasti sarvalokasukha Kārṇāma) are engraved. Elephant is also sculptured in the famous Lion Capital of Aśoka found at Sarnath. White elephant represents Buddha who is traditionally believed to have entered his mother’s womb in the form of a white elephant in the dream of Māyā. In the Pillar Edict-VII in which Aśoka says that the Dharmamahāmātrās are employed among all sects, he, immediately after, specifically mentions the Saṅgha (Buddhist Church), as distinguished from other sects or churches, in whose business also by his order the Dharmamahāmātrās were to be employed. The use of the word ‘Saṅghaḥathaśi’ (Interest of the Saṅgha) may suggest special interest in the Buddhist church as opposed to other sects by Aśoka. Abolition and/or restriction of killing of animals or birds, on particular pious dates, which are pious for the Buddhist (P. E. V.) may also betray his Buddhist faith. These authentic epigraphic evidences indicating that Aśoka was a Buddhist are strongly supplemented by
the Buddhist literatures Ceylonese, Indian, Chinese and Tibetan. Both the Mahāvamsa and the Dipavaṃśa speak of conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism and setting up of Stūpas and monasteries by him. The Divyavādāna and Aṣokāvadāna relate many incidents of Aśoka's career as a Buddhist. Huen Tsiang refers to Aśoka being a Buddhist and patronising Buddhism. Tibetan historian Tāranātha alludes to Aśoka's many activities as a Buddhist.

That Aśoka's personal religion was Buddhism may now be accept as certain. By the time Aśoka ascended the throne, there were many religions prevalent in Magadha. Brāhmaṇism, Jainism, Ajātvikism, Buddhism and many other sects (P. E. VII). According to the Buddhist literature Aśoka was converted to Buddhism from Brāhmaṇism by Nigrodha, and established in Theravāda by Moggaliputra Tissa. Without giving any credence to the role of miracles in convincing Aśoka of the superiority of Buddhism over other sects, or to the alleged unseemly behaviour of the Brāhmaṇa and other priests on the occasion of receiving gifts by Aśoka there must be some deeper reasons why Aśoka deliberately chose Buddhism as his personal religion. There is no doubt that the questioning spirit, which dominated religions and intellectual life in the 6th century B.C. and resulted in the rise of numerous non-Brāhmaṇical or anti-Brāhmaṇical religions, continued in the early Maurya period. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra speaks of Ajātvikas, Sākya (Buddhists) and other non-orthodox sects, and suggests measures to combat young men and women joining this religious and spiritual quest abandoning responsibilities of domestic life. Buddhism had not by his time become that great religion which it was certainly during the time of Aśoka and after his death. The Mauryan kings were not particularly wedded to orthodox Brāhmaṇism. Though Candragupta was very much guided by Kautilya, the champion of orthodox Brāhmaṇism, he appears to have in later
years embraced Jainism\textsuperscript{93}. Bindusāra’s queen was very much influenced by the Ājīvika monk\textsuperscript{96}, and Aśoka himself and his grandson Daśarathā made gifts including rock-cut caves to them in Barabar-Nagarjuni hills in Magadha\textsuperscript{97}. Therefore it is quite reasonable to presume that Aśoka was very much acquainted with the currents of religious thoughts and propaganda. His edicts breathe his sensitiveness, his introspective habit, his practical approach to do good to the people, and above all his anxiety to follow a righteous path. This must have made him to study and discuss various religious doctrines and practices, their mutual differences and varying emphasis, and to make an attempt to find out which of these would answer most satisfactorily the craving of his soul and provide him with the best psychological and spiritual base to win the hearts of his people and help him in realising his practical ambition to promote, welfare of the whole world (Sarvālokahitāya). From the Ceylonese Chronicles\textsuperscript{98} we learn that he had called an assembly of monks or priests of various religions orders, and when he was disappointed by them he found satisfaction in the principles of Buddhism, which was at that time a simple religion with emphasis on good conduct in words, thought and deed, and afforded the rational basis of its philosophy, and was intensely humane in spirit. Narrow sectarian beliefs, blind superstitions, worship of innumerable gods and goddesses, and practice of extensive asceticism being part and parcel of many other prevalent religions with numerous rituals and practices, some very unseemly and grossly irrational, could not be accepted by Aśoka who, as we know, viewed religion as an integral number, a powerful force in maintaining stability, and promoting all-round progress in the far flung empire inhabited by peoples of differing social, intellectual, spiritual, and moral standards. Buddhism with its emphasis on ethical principles, proper social norms, rational philo-
sophy, humane principles and confidence in capacity of any individual to reach highest state of Arhatship very much appealed not only to the sensitive and introspective Aśoka as a man but to Aśoka the emperor well alive to his sense of responsibility to give stability and to maintain peace and progress in the far flung empire.

Though Aśoka became a Buddhist, and a zealous Buddhist, it would be wrong to suggest that he became a monk. In the MRE-I Aśoka uses the word Saṅgha Upayā (te) or Upetē or Upayate or Upagate. This is supposed to mean that he became a monk or joined the monkish order. It should really mean that for more than two years and a half he was a lay-disciple (Upāsaka) and had not exerted well but since more than a year he visited the Saṅgha, he exerted greatly. It does not suggest permanent monkhood for Aśoka. Little reliance can be placed on I-tsing’s account that he saw an image of Aśoka in the robe of a monk. Even if I-tsing’s statement be true, which is uncorroborated, no conclusion about an event can be arrived by a doubtful evidence of more than 900 years after the event. As a matter of fact all the edicts of Aśoka, breathe the spirit of an emperor very much alive to his regal sense of duty and responsibility and they certainly do not suggest at all the preaching of a high priest for converting non-believers to his Faith. It is impossible to describe his activity, as Smith has done, “as not so much that of a pious emperor as of a archbishop possessed of exceptional temporal power. Similarly there is no basis to substantiate the story in the Divyāvadāna that Aśoka towards the end of his life renounced the empire and turned a monk P. E. VII, was issued in the 27th year when Aśoka was very much a king, and so the statement in M.R.E-I Saṅgha-upate does not mean that Aśoka became a monk, and there is no evidence in early Indian Buddhism that a monk combined in himself the role and title of the king.
Though Aśoka did not take the monk’s robe, he certainly helped in the promotion of Buddhism and in strengthening the unity in the Buddhist church. We have already seen that he enlarged the stūpa of Kanakamuni, a former Buddha. He also enforced unity in the Church, and proclaimed punishment for such Buddhists who promoted schism in the Church. He declared, "No one is to cause dissension in the Order. The Order of monks and nuns has been united, and thus unity should last far as long as my sons and great grandsons and the moon and the sun. Whoever creates a schism in the Order, whether monk or nun, is to be dressed in white garments and to be put in a place not inhabited by monks or nuns." Aśoka was not only content with issuing the royal proclamation to the monks or nuns of the Saṅgha, but he asked the laymen to come on every Uposatha day and endorse this order. He directs the officers (Mahāmātratas) of the state to regularly attend the Uposatha and endorse this order and make it known (i.e. give wide publicity). Throughout their jurisdiction they had to circulate this exactly according to the text of the proclamation. Of course this edict is a clear proof of the Buddhist king Aśoka exercising royal authority to maintain unity in the Buddhist Church. This action of his might have been also influenced by political consideration. Aśoka, the king of Magadha, could not brook with impunity the risk to peace and progress which would be threatened by violent disputations amongst Buddhists who constituted a large population and wielded large and organised influence in Magadha, the nerve-centre of the empire. However, Aśoka’s interest in the unity and prosperity of the Buddhist Saṅgha cannot be ignored. It may be true that Aśoka’s proclamations about restriction or absolute prohibition of killing of animals, and his humanitarian programme of providing for hospitals for men and animals, for building of roads with trees and rest-houses on the road-sides,
and of promotion of ethical and rational values were somewhat inspired by his devotion to Buddhism, but nothing specifically Buddhist, such as the four noble truths, Nirvāṇa, the Middle Path and Buddha's other sayings are traceable in the general Edicts like the 14 Rock Edicts, 7 Pillar Edicts, and Kalinga Edicts.

But Buddhist literary traditions speak much more about Aśoka's activities towards the promotion of Buddhism. We are told that Devānampriya of Ceylon became a Buddhist on the advice and persuasion of Aśoka. Ceylonese Chronicles say that Aśoka's son Mahendra and daughter Saṅghamitrā born of Devi of Vidiśā went to Ceylon one after another to convert the king, the queen, the officers and servants and subjects of Ceylon R. E. II and R. E. XIII mention Tāmraparṇī i.e. Ceylon amongst other foreign and border kingdoms where Aśoka's welfare schemes and propagation of Dhamma were introduced, but of course as was natural, Aśoka does not specifically refer to Buddhism and its promotion in this as in other general edicts. It appears that Aśoka was careful in not mixing himself and his royal authority and public welfare programmes with actual Buddhist missionary activities.

The Buddhist literature refers to constructing of 84,000 monasteries and stūpas by Aśoka. We are told that Aśoka dug out the relics in the Relic Stūpa at Rājagṛha where it was raised by Ajātaśatru on the relics of the Buddha. Aśoka distributed the relics throughout the country and raised stūpas over them. There is some evidence that the Sanchi Stūpa was built by him in the first instance, and excavations have shown that the Relic Stūpa at Vaiśāli constructed by the Licchavis on the ashes of the Buddha was opened and enlarged in the Maurya period, most probably in the time of Aśoka. Raising of stūpas on the ashes of great kings and saints was prevalent in the time of
the Buddha, and in Aśoka's time the practice received more encouragement. It is not possible at the present state of knowledge to accept in toto Buddhist legends about it. 84,000 appears to be a fictitious number, and it is possible that the wealthy Saṁgha and its rich followers took the initiative in constructing these Buddhist monuments and Aśoka may have actually encouraged it. Aśoka as a pious Buddhist went on tour for more than 8 months and stayed for about 4 months in rainy season. In this connection one may refer to the mention of 256 at the end of MRE-I. There has been endless controversy on the meaning of this number in the inscription. Cunningham and Bühlert held that this signifies the Buddha Nirvāṇa era and means 256 years after the death of the Buddha. This would bring the date of the edict 486-256 = 230 B.C. which is impossible for Aśoka. If it meant 256 years after the Renunciation of the Buddha, even then Ceylonese Chronicles' version that Aśoka was consecrated 218 years after the death of Nirvāṇa falls to the ground. Newman imagined that 256 represented the number of times the proclamation of the Edict had been made. Thomas was the first to show that 256 represented 256 nights passed by Aśoka himself outside his residence indicating the length of the pious journey he had just ended. Fleet argued again that 256 is connected with Nirvāṇa year of the Buddha on which Aśoka abdicated the throne and spent 256 nights, commemorating 256 years of nibbāna of Buddha. And he died and the MRE-I is his last word. Barua thinks that 256 means either 256 missionaries or 256 copies of the Edict. Filliozat, who has recently discussed the problem threadbare, has come to the conclusion that as Aśoka probably wished to lead a life of a pious Buddhist, he divided his year into a period of travels and a period of retreat in the rainy season. Aśoka, though he had become a Buddhist, followed the astronomical calendar of the Brāhmaṇas which is clear from the V Pillar Edict.
in which he regulated killing or castration of animals on Tishaya and Punarvasu Nakshatra. So he must have wished
to regulate his time of retreat and pilgrimage according to
the astronomy current in his time which was in all proba-
bility that of Jyotishavedāṅga, and according to it the days
of pilgrimage in the year excluding the four months of
retreat (109 days; 24) would mean 256 days, 76. That
would mean exactly 256 nights passed in the tour, the
fraction of the remaining days being used on the one hand
for setting out on the journey, on the other for the return.

Aśoka was for both religious and political reasons
anxious to see that unity in the large and influential
Buddhist Chruch is maintained; while this was natural for a
Buddhist to hope, for a king over peoples of diverse
religious beliefs it was still more necessary to see that the
occasions for violent disputes are reduced. Ceylonese
Chronicles inform us that 236 years after Nirvāṇa of the
Buddha (486-236 i.e. 250 B.C.) many followers of other
sects such as Pāṇḍurangas, Jatilas, Nirgranthas,
Acelakas, and others had entered the Aśokārāma at
Pāṭaliputra with the Buddhists. Probably this was in
pursuance of Aśoka’s policy of members of different
religious sects discussing together their religious
principles, and thereby come to appreciate each
other’s religious views. But according to the
Buddhist sources, this was not relished by orthodox
Buddhists of the Vinaya School, who found many rules of
discipline and procedure neglected or relaxed. It is declared
that “Ājñikas and sectarians of different descriptions
ruined the Doctrine. We are informed that as the income
of the Saṅgha went on increasing with new converts,
many heretics became monks (put on yellow robe) and they
proclaimed their own doctrines as that of the Buddha. This
made the orthodox monks suspend the practice of Upasatha
and Pavāraṇā ceremonies for as many as seven years.
The M. V. informs us that a royal minister used to watch the interest of the Saṅgha. Probably he was to see that the king’s religious policy of Samavāya and mutual religious discussions in peace is followed. R. E. V probably refers to this special interest of the king in the Saṅgha, who deputed Mahāmātras to look after the Saṅgha; and it appears that in the Aśokārāma in the capital, Aśoka’s policy of members of different sects discussing mutual religious principles was being experimented. The orthodox Buddhist monks did not like that the rigid rules of discipline be not followed by others. It is certain that among the Buddhist monks themselves there were many who did not subscribe to rigid Vinaya rules as insisted upon by the orthodox priests, they thereupon did not perform the Uposatha ceremony. This was very serious, and the minister informed the king and asked his instruction. The king appears to be anxious to maintain both peace and mixed assemblage of monks in the monastery, and ordered his officer to see that Uposatha is performed in the Aśokārāma. The minister tactlessly while proclaiming the orders of the king, wanted the recalcitrant orthodox priests to perform Uposatha under the threat of physical force. Fanatic priests refused and many were killed. Priest Tissa, a younger brother of the king, took their side and was ready to die for the maintenance of the orthodox rules. The unnerved minister reported the serious situation to the king, who came, repented and wanted to know if there was some wise monk who would show the right path and end controversies. While the details of the story may be rightly doubted, there is no doubt that there were schisms in the Buddhist Church, and that Aśoka’s policy of promotion of religious peace by encouraging monks of different religious or sectarian views to live together, discuss, mutually respond to each other’s religion, and develop a spirit of religious toleration was not an undi-
luted success. In the *Divyavadana* there is a reference to riots in Pundravardhana and Paṭaliputra instigated by Brahmans and Aśoka’s brother Vitasoka was killed by mistake. Many Brāhmaṇas also were killed. In the Chinese translation of the *Aśokavadana* the riot led to massacre of the Nirgranthas and Aśoka’s brother also mistaken to be a Nirgrantha was killed.\(^{108}\)

However, Moggaliputra Tissa was invited, and he purged the heretics and accepted only such Buddhist monks as true Bhikshus who accepted the *Vibhajjā* doctrine\(^{109}\). That there was schism in the Buddhist Church and royal authority was invited to punish the non-conformists is clear from the Sārnath Pillar Edict.

After restoring the purity of the Buddhist Order in the Aśokārāma, the third Buddhist Council was held at Paṭaliputra under the presidency of Moggaliputra Tissa. The Council finally settled the rules of discipline and Moggaliputra composed the *Kathavatthu*. However, the 'historicity of the Council under the patronage of Aśoka remains doubtful', though the M.V. clearly states that under the auspices of king Aśoka in his 17th year of reign (252 B.C.) this convocation on religion was brought to a close in nine months.\(^{110}\) There is no reference to the Council in Aśoka’s inscriptions. The Mahāyānist texts do not refer to this. Eggermont\(^{111}\) has argued that even if the Council was held and schism in the Buddhist Church was purged and Schism Edicts were proclaimed, this should have happened after the 28th year of Aśoka’s reign. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles the third Council was held in the 17th year of Aśoka’s reign. The Schism Edict might have been issued after the purge in the Aśokārāma by Moggaliputra and Aśoka thereafter anxious to maintain peace in the Saṅgha particularly in Paṭaliputra, threatened punishment to the defaulters. That is why in this inscrip-
tion alone, he calls himself 'the king of Magadha', to emphasise his royal authority over the territories where the Saṅgha existed. According to Thapar the congregation at the Aṣokārāma where Moggaliputra carried out the purge and re-established the supremacy of the orthodox priests, later was exaggerated into the Third Buddhist Council, on the analogy of the Jain Council in the time of Candragupta Maurya.

One of the most important results of the Third Buddhist Council was the despatch of Buddhist missions to different parts of the country and abroad. It is said that Moggaliputra deputed monk Majjhantika to Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahādeva to Mahishamaṇḍala, Rakkita to Vanavāsa, Yona-Dharmmarakkhita to Aparāntaka, Māhā-Dharmmarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha, Mahārakkhita to Yona country (Yonaloka), Majjhima to Himālaya country, and Soṇa and Uttara to, Suvarṇabhūmi and Macinda (Mahendra) to Ceylon. It is not impossible to believe that the Council decided to take active measures to spread the religion and it is significant that these missions were sent to northern, north-western, and western borders of the empire. Laṅkā or Ceylon was the sphere of activity of Mahendra and later Saṅghamitrā. Tissa, the king of Ceylon was already in contact with Aṣoka. Aṣoka in the XIII Rock Edict states that Dhammavijaya has been achieved and people are following his religious injunctions in the royal territories, the Yonas, the Kambojas, among the Nābhakas and Nabhitis, among Pitinikas, among the Āndhras and Pulindas. Without going into the discussion about the identification or geographical location of these peoples, it is clear that they represent generally the Himalayan regions, the N.W. regions (West of Gandhāra), western regions, and central Indian territories; Āndhras and Pulindas may be located on the eastern coast, but it is possible that the Āndhras were in the time of Aṣoka in the Māharāṣṭra region. The
Andhras or the Satavahanas migrated to the east coast south of the Vindhyas in the 2nd century A.D. Tamraparni (Ceylon) to which dutas were sent and Dharmavijaya carried out has been referred to both in R.E. II. and R.E. XIII; R.E. V. refers to the employment of the Dharmamahamātras among the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Rāṣṭrīkas, Pitinkaśas, and other peoples of Aparānta (western borders). Connection between the Buddhist mission by the Great Council and Aśoka’s missions to border provinces and foreign kings is possible111b, but cannot be proved Aśoka may have encouraged or helped these missions. On the basis of the accepted chronology of Aśoka’s region, it is clear that Aśoka’s despatch of dutas or Mahāmātras for Dharmavijaya to territories within and to countries without happened before the Buddhist missions under venerable monks left for respective countries in their charge. It is possible that Aśoka’s missions ahead facilitated the later Buddhist missions: Yonaloka referred to in the M. V. where the mission under Mahārakṣita was sent, might refer to a more distant territory (Antiochus’s kingdom?)112e than to the Yonadeśas within the borders of the empire. However, ‘Yona’ has been taken to refer to the Indo-Greek settlement of the north-west, or in western India113. There are later Nepalese traditions which connect Cārūmitrā, said to be a daughter of Aśoka, with the Buddhist mission in Nepal and ascribe the foundation of the palace near Kathmandu and construction of some Caityas by Aśoka. Aśokan inscriptions, according to Regmi114, do not prove his suzerainty over Nepal and no reliance can be placed on the late Nepalese Chronicle. Dīpavaṁśa refers to the Buddhist mission under Majjhima, Durabhisāra, Sahadeva, Mulakadeva which successfully converted the multitude of the Yakkas in the Himavat115. Among the names in the relic casket found at Tope no. 2 of Sanchi, there is the inscription on the inner lid Sapurisa (sa) Majjhima;
on the upper lid is sā purisa(sa) Kassapagotha; Hemāvatācari-
yasā. Majjhima is named in the Mahāvamsa as the teacher
who converted the Himalayan region and Kassapagotha
appears as his companion in the Dipavamsa.18 In another
Uru-Inscription of Gotiputta i.e. Kotiputta Kassapagotha
gave the name of Dadabhasāra occurs. Dadabhasāra is the
same as Durabhisar of the Dipavamsa who won the
Himalayas Countries to Buddhism. These Buddhist
monks were thus very important, probably for their
part in spreading Buddhism and that the Hemavata
school had its origin in the Himalayan territories. It is
reasonable to assume Majjhima and Kassapagotha of the
Dipavamsa19 with those names are found in Sanchi relic
caskets. This may lead to a reasonable presumption that
other Buddhist missions under the teachers mentioned in
the Ceylonese Chronicle, may not be mere figments of
Buddhist imagination. The fact that one of the leaders
of such a mission was a Greek (Yona) is of significance.
Buddhism had begun by this time to attract non-Indians.

It is not possible to properly assess the success of
the Buddhist missions within and outside the country.
However it may be noted that Buddhism in the time of
Aśoka became the most largely-followed religion, which
evoked jealous reaction among her sects. In Kauṭilya's
Arthaśāstra there is no indication that it was such a power-
ful and extensively supported religion, and Kauṭilya even
tried to check the growth of monastic order from amongst
young house-holders.18 Classical writers19 refer to worshippers
of Boutta (Buddha) but not in a way which would
show that it was as popular as the worship of Heracles
(Vishnu) or Dinoysus (Siva). Thus the progress of
Buddhism in the country must have been considerable in
the time of Aśoka, who must have encouraged the spread
of Buddhism. The great emperor was himself a Buddhist
and this must have been a good trump card in the hands of
the Buddhists. That he made handsome donations to the Buddhist Church and erected stupas and monasteries may be accepted as true. That the members of the royal family donned Buddhist monk's robes may be possible. But we must remember that Aśoka in his public policy-announcements did not show himself to be an ardent Buddhist-missionary trying to spread the religion (Buddhism) by royal authority. It has been rightly pointed out that in his Edicts Aśoka presents himself much less as a Buddhist than as a devānāmpriya, beloved of the gods, his Buddhism being far from a complete turning of the back on Brāhmaṇism, and there are numerous instances to show that Aśoka persisted in the care of Brāhmaṇic things. As a matter of fact, as will be shown later, he followed a policy of religious toleration, and gave respects and gifts to other religious sects—the Brāhmaṇas and the Ājīvikas particularly to be noted. Of course, his general Edicts refer to conquest of Dhamma, means to spread the Dhamma, but the Dhamma that he promulgated cannot be identified with the sectarian Buddhism.

What was his Dhamma? What was its nature? What were the motives behind the promulgation of the Dhamma? What factors helped in the formulation of the principles of the Dhamma? Naturally, these and other questions that arise have to be answered in the background of the development in the country before Aśoka launched his religious policy and in the contents of the general Edicts issued by Aśoka. The Mauryan empire embraced almost the entire country barring the far south. It had thus under it peoples of diverse races, having varying moral standards, following different religions and philosophies, and differing traditions of loyalty to a central authority. Candragupta Maurya had tried to maintain unity and stability in the extensive empire by enforcing a uniform all India system of adminis-
tration, by seriously governing the vast dominions with a
network of civil servants, and by introducing direct central
control and guidance over the rural and urban peoples of
the empire. The ideal of promotion of welfare of the
people to be the duty of the king himself and the concrete
programmes of public welfare and concessions when needed
might have bound the peoples to the empire in which their
material welfare and maintenance of widely accepted
social norms were assured. But there are reasons to suspect
that the lofty ideas and welfare schemes mainly to be exe-
cuted by the provincial and district officers of the widely
scattered provinces sometimes went wrong, and oppression
of the subjects by government officers and not by the king
or the prince-governor caused revolts, as in Gandhāra in
the time of Bindusāra. Aśoka might have realised that
administrative centralisation and actual power transfer to
local officers on the spot were not enough to keep the ex-
tensive dominion intact, and something more than good and
even benevolent administration was necessary to win over
the peoples of distantly situated provinces to the empire
and the emperor. He must have seen the value of religion
in this country as a motivating force for the common
people. Strong differences of different religions, their
theologies and philosophies could actually become not a
binding but disintegrating force. Kauṭilya’s regulations
against householders embracing monastic orders must have
been disliked by Buddhists or Jain orders. This under-
current of dissatisfaction and competing religious propagandas
among the many religions of the land must have often
threatened peace; and as there was no part of the empire
where the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas did not live, the
danger overtaking the entire empire was serious.

In the General Edicts the Dhamma of Aśoka is not
any sectarian Dhamma. It is not Buddhism as there
is no mention of the fundamental concepts of Buddhism, of the Ārya truths or the law of Causation, the Middle Path and Nirvāṇa. To understand the real nature of the Dhamma that Aśoka exhorted the people to follow and asked his officers to enforce or supervise can be studied only with the help of the contents of the Edicts and the background of socio-economic-administrative-religious conditions of the time.

We have seen that in the time of Bindusāra there were revolts in Gandhāra and sixteen kings had revolted in the Deccan. Besides this there were constant threat to political unity from regionalism, and serious religious differences leading to disputes. Religious propaganda by votaries of different sects, who to praise their religion or sect must have disparaged other sects, might have led to actual riots or riotous atmosphere. A riot in the Aśokārāma in Pāṭaliputra itself due to religious disputes is referred in the Buddhist literature. A critical study of the edicts of Aśoka certainly suggests that religious peace among the competing sects was still to be desired, and freedom of speech in abusing others’ religions was a grave potential danger to peace in the empire because there was no region where votaries of different sects Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, Pāśaṇḍas, and Nirgranthas—did not live. Aśoka also was sorry for the increase of such activities as sacrificial slaughter of animals, disrespect to elders, of belief in superstitions leading to both economic waste and irrationalism, deterioration in the maintenance of proper relation between the members of the family, between the economic groups—employer and the employee. That is, there was general air of indiscipline, undercurrent of dissatisfaction and smell of violence in the empire. Aśoka as a wise emperor could not ignore the inherent weakness of the situation and must have thought of removing the causes of religious
and social tension. He must have realised that with the empire extending to the seas on two sides, and to the important strategic point, Gandhāra in the North-West, economic progress could be accelerated, and the empire could become richer. But this prospect was somewhat dimmed due to religious and sectarian rivalry, lack of proper relations between family members and mutual antagonism between the socio-economic groups, as these were actual producers of wealth in one form or the other. Being once a viceroy asked to quell a rebellion in another province (Gandhāra) Aśoka as king must have realised that something more than bureaucratisation was required to maintain the provinces in the empire and secure their co-operation in its all-round development. It was not enough to be content with posting of salaried government servants in the remotest part of the empire and thereby assure good revenue and law-and-order. Aśoka wanted to broaden the base of the empire by attempting to win over voluntary popular consent or acquiescence by not only providing their internal welfare but also by psychologically so changing their outlook, attitude and thinking by clever public-relations and measures that social tension would lessen, religious feuds would diminish, and every individual would see the gains in his material and spiritual interests, in his religious and social life not as a result of conflict with the other, but as a result of mutual co-operation, understanding and toleration. Thus his Dhamma-Vijaya or religious policy proved to be a wise political experiment for imperial peace and stability. He knew that in India then, as before and to-day, religion was a great motive force, and he therefore was determined to use this for the benefit of the empire, and the people in general, for reducing rather than causing strifes and unrest among different religious groups, as every one belonged to one or the other religious group and was
deeply involved in the fortunes of his religion or sects. If his policy of direct approach to the people with due sense of humility but at the same time with clear demonstration of the strength of the administration to implement the new religious policy, succeeded, it would lessen the rigours of administration and relieve it of some tension, and bring about a sort of identity between the administrators and the people. This would help both the king and the people immensely.

While it would be quite correct to ascribe some deep political and administrative considerations in the formation and promulgation of the king’s religious policy, it would be unfair to explain the unique religious policy of Asoka due to political factors alone. There is no doubt that Asoka was a highly sensitive man guided by high ideals of service, sense of humility, and religious fervour. The Kalinga war enkindled his sensitive conscience. He was awakened to his high sense of duty to himself and the people. The resources of the large empire appeared to him to be just means to serve the people. As a king he felt that he owed a debt, more than any individual, to the community of human beings, and being a king he had to exert more than any one else to promote the material and spiritual welfare of the people. Early Buddhism based on principles of good conduct and bereft of dogmatism and ritualism, naturally attracted the sensitive and well-meaning king, and his conversion to Buddhism appears to have spurred him still more towards promotion of good conduct amongst the various sections of the people. Without mentioning the distinctive principles of Buddhism, Asoka’s Dhamma certainly incorporated most of the ethical principles propagated by the Buddha amongst his followers.

Asoka’s religious policy was, thus, a product of various factors. Every social or religious policy to be enforced
among a large number of people has to be a social product, caused and fashioned by a complexity of factors. It is therefore not possible or even desirable to give a particular label to Aśoka’s Dhamma. It was not sectarian Buddhism. It was never Brāhmaṇism, and there is nothing particularly Jain in it. It cannot be regarded as a mere rajadharma, as his edicts do not prescribe only duties of the king, but also of the officers and of the various social and religious groups. It was the work of Aśoka’s genius, alive to the needs of the time. But Aśoka did not raise the Dhamma to the status of any religious sect. There were enough religions in the country, and for that matter were giving enough trouble. Aśoka was not going to add one. He did not found a new religion, nor did he claim himself to be a prophet of a new or any existing religion. His Dhamma had no rituals and no sacred book. As we shall see, the Dhamma was a way of life for individuals and social groups for the all round development of the personality of the individual and good of the community. R. K. Nookerji rightly observes, “The dharma of the Edicts is not any particular dharma or religious system, but the Moral Law independent of any caste or creed, the sāra or essence of all religions.” Filliozat also aptly observes, “It is clear that it is a question of Dhamma, according to the direct sense of the expression; it is not made in any allusion to the Buddha and because everything is in relation to the installation of the Dhamma as the ethical norm and not in relation to the founder of the Buddhist Law.”

Dhamma according to Aśoka consists of respect to father and mother, respect for all life as an established principle, reverence to teacher by pupil, proper treatment towards relations, and speaking truth. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, moderation in saving and expenditure, abstaining from
slaughter of living beings. Proper treatment of slaves and employees, mutual respect for each other's sect, concord (samaṇḍa), restraint in speech, abundance of good deeds, liberality, purity, kindness, truth and least sin (apāsinave) (P.E. II), reverence to elders, and proper behaviour towards the poor and miserable, towards servants and dependents, self-introspection and meditation. Only when there was freedom from self-indulgence, ferocity, cruelty, anger, arrogance and jealousy, the positive elements of the Dhamma could prosper or increase.

If we analyse the principles of the Dhamma we find that there is nothing in it which could be objected to by any religion. Any religion worth its name would uphold the morals and ethical conduct which have been pronounced and propagated by Aśoka, and there can be no doubt that the Dhamma as constituted was in sum the essence of all religions. Bereft of distinct ritual practices and mythological beliefs, all religions in essence are the same, and have identical aims—promotion of spiritual welfare of the people. Aśoka's religion was essentially the real substance, common to all religions; and the promotion or propagation of this Dhamma meant therefore promotion of all religions in essence, and Aśoka rightly was anxious to see how there could be growth of essential elements (Sāra-ṣvddhi) of all religions. We have seen that Aśoka neither claimed to have founded any religion nor to be a prophet. As a matter of fact in the MRE-II Aśoka informs us that the Dhamma which includes proper respect for mother and father, reverence for preceptor by his pupils, speaking the truth, respect for all life, and proper attitude towards relations—is traditional one. 'Porāṇa-pakiti': In P.E. VII Aśoka refers to kings before him who wished progress of Dharma among the people, though without much success. As has been shown earlier, his Dhamma proclaimed to the people was not anti religion, neither equated with any religion.
He appears to suggest that ethical norm which should form the code of conduct of all men and which existed long before and had gone into disuse in the intervening centuries; and unethical conduct, violence etc. had increased, and that efforts by earlier kings to restore the Norm had met with little success. This Norm-order was not Buddhist was rather pre-Buddhist when the Norm had existed and had declined in succeeding centuries “Good Order (Dhamma) enforced by the king was not conceived as absolutely new but only as new in relation to a long period of many centuries during which it was lacking but before which it had flourished”\(^{1}\). All this may lead one to conclude that there was nothing original about Aśoka’s Dhamma. But this would be only partially true. Certainly many of the constituents of Aśoka’s Dhamma may be traced in earlier sacred and secular literature, in the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, sacred books of the Buddhists or Jains and even in Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra. But Aśoka’s credit for originality lay in organising many of these various ideas, and introducing or emphasizing some other ideas such as of religious toleration into almost a code to be enforced both by persuasion and legislation (P.E. VII) with a ring of sincerity and overpowering sense of duty towards the people as repayment of debt by him to his people. The systematic means which he adopted to preach Dhamma among the people is certainly cumulatively his own creation. Aśoka, therefore, richly deserves the credit for his Dhamma and the means that he conceived and executed.

Aśoka adopted various means to spread the Dhamma, taking into consideration the circumstances prevailing in the empire. He was sincere, wise and practical enough to practise what he preached among the people and to declare it, so that people may be more psychologically attuned to respond to his call for the growth of the Dhamma. Aśoka
showed proper behaviour and concern for the establishment of his brothers and sisters and other relations.\textsuperscript{113} He gave vihārayātras in which hunting and pleasures were main pursuits and started on Dharmayātras which began with his pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya and in the Dharmayātras he met Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and elders, and distributed gifts and held discussions on Dhamma and gave instructions in Dhamma himself to the country people\textsuperscript{114}. While he asked people not to kill animals for sacrifice and to show respect for all living beings, he himself at first restricted large scale killing of animals in his kitchen and later announced that even the killing of two peacocks and one deer would be stopped\textsuperscript{115}. If he asked the people to be energetic in fulfilment of duties, he himself so altered the prescribed time-table that he could be available to the 'reporters at all times'\textsuperscript{116}. If he preached religious concord he being a Buddhist, dedicated caves to the Ājvikas\textsuperscript{117} and honoured all sects with various kinds of reverence\textsuperscript{118}. If charity, or liberality was an element of the Dhamma, Aśoka, his sons, other princes and his princesses, also practised charities which were looked after by the Dharma mahāmātrās.

Example is better that precept, and Aśoka's personal and widely publicised example must have been a factor in persuading people to follow the Dhamma declared and preached by Aśoka and his officers. He endeavoured to promote the physical welfare of the people in this world by planting banyan trees on roads to give shade to men and beasts, by planting mango-groves, digging wells at every half krośa (2½ miles), by building resting places (raised seats) by providing many watering places for men and beasts.\textsuperscript{119} Aśoka clearly says that such public works were provided by kings before him but these have been provided by him with the objective that people will follow Dhamma in future as they are following now in his time. He also
provided for medical care and medicinal herbs for both men and beasts throughout his empire and in the kingdoms of his neighbours in India and outside. While this indirectly shows the growth of travel for commercial, religious and political reasons down the high roads, and that of the king’s interest in the development of communication, there is no doubt that the people concerned being well looked after, free from irritations, were expected to be psychologically more attuned to follow the principles of Dhamma. Aśoka declares that he has done these things in order that his people may conform to Dhamma. To encourage people to follow the Dhamma, Aśoka held out to them the prospect of attaining happiness in this world and in Svarga. This shows Aśoka’s awareness of the belief in Svarga among the people. It was a known and a valued symbol in the mind of average person reading the edict, and would induce many to follow the Dhamma which would lead to award of merits in the next world.

But Aśoka was not content with his pious exhortation, with offers of reward in the next world and even by showing his own example for the promotion of Dhamma. He issued royal decrees enjoining the people to preserve Dhamma and banned things which would run counter to Dhamma. He forbade the killing of many kinds of specified animals either totally or for some months or on some specific days. He declared that common people’s belief in superstitious practices and their performance of ceremonies on the occasions of illness, marriage of sons and daughters, at the birth of children, when going on a journey and on such other occasions, are trivial and useless, and instructed them to perform one ceremony i.e. practice of Dhamma which includes regard for slaves and servants, respect for teachers, restrained behaviour towards living beings and donations to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and others. To encourage religious concord and practice of toleration
among members of various sects Aśoka called upon the people not to publicly extol one’s own religion or disparage another’s on any occasion and should rather on such occasions show respect to other’s religion, which would lead to gain of one’s own religion. This would mean restraint on speech and Aśoka asked people to control one’s speech. Freedom of speech was curtailed in the interest of religious peace and harmony and to avoid actual or potential religious riots. In order to develop this attitude of religious toleration and mutual understanding of each other’s sect and to emphasize on the actual agreements among these religions and not on differences between them. Aśoka encouraged multi-religious conferences, gatherings of different religious groups for discussions and understanding. And to provide fullest opportunity to all religious sects. Aśoka modified earlier restrictions on the movement of ascetics and ordered that : ‘in all places should reside people of diverse sects.’ The Dhamma-Mahāmātrās were employed not only in the Buddhist Samgha but likewise were to be busy with the Brāhmaṇas and the Ajitvikas and also with the Nirganthas. It may be therefore right to say that the creation of the office of the Dhamma-mahāmātras was influenced by Aśoka’s desire to maintain religious concord, and it was the duty of the Dhammamahāmātras to see that there was good relations between the various religious communities in India. Aśoka forbade holding of such samājas or social gatherings in which for days meat-eating and wine drinking went on and declared that no animal will be killed for sacrifice. But he encouraged such social gatherings or samājas which were more innocent, and where instructions or discussions in Dhamma went on and Dhamma was practised. In such samājas or religious festivals Dhamma-ghosha was made and he caused to be shown heavenly scenes of chariots, elephants, balls of fire and other divine
forms to impress on the people the benefits of Dhamma. According to Bhandarkar, he took his cue from the Buddhist work Vimānavatthu. There is much controversy on the interpretation of this passage. It has been generally claimed that things shown to the people had been miraculous phenomena, divine manifestations. According to Poussin, the text of the edict shows that Aśoka shared the popular belief in divine manifestation. In his opinion in Magadha at the time of Aśoka there had been theo-pances, divine apparitions in the midst of celestial drums, i.e. the crash of the thunder. And this is how the men and the gods mingled as stated in MRE-I. Filliozat contests both the interpretations. He points out that the MRE-I was issued 10½ years after the coronation, while the R. E. IV was issued 12 years after the coronation, and MRE-I corresponds to Dhamayātā while R. E. IV to divine (?) manifestation. In his considered opinion the spectacles of the Vimāna, elephant, balls of fire and other divine forms were actually material objects exhibited to people in course of Brāhmānic religious festivals even today and in earlier days. Aśoka adopted these Brāhmānic practices and the only innovation he made, as he claims, is that these are associated with the proclamation and promotion of the Dhamma "What the IV Rock Edict enumerates are clearly the ordinary elements of the festivals and procession of a type still contemporary in the Hindu cult and it appears that the content of the edict constitutes a direct evidence of their usage in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. This evidence certainly does not hold true for the religious, ideas of the moment but only for the materiality of the public manifestations. Patanjali refers to images for worship (arca) and it is possible that such images in chariots in processions were shown to the people during religious festivals.
Aśoka vigorously utilised the imperial administrative machinery and introduced innovations in it for the propagation of the Dhamma. The Mauryan imperial administrative system designed for the maintenance of the unity and strength of the empire and for promoting the welfare and happiness (yogakshema) of the people in the interest of the State (king), was ideally tuned to this aim by Aśoka, as his Dhamma was also designed to serve still fully the same purpose (PRAJĀHITAM, SARVALOKAHITAM). Everywhere in the empire the Yuktas (Subordinate Officers) with the Rājukas (District Development Officers) and the Prādeśikās (all of whom existed before) were ordered to go on tour every five years to preach the Dhamma to the people. This special and additional work besides their usual duties, was imposed on them. The Parishad (the mantriparishad?) was directed to convey this instruction to the officers for record, and to make it clear that they have not only to announce the principles of Dhamma to the people but also to explain to them why they should follow these. These officers were thus to act also as missionaries for the propagation of the Dhamma. And in the 14th year his consecration (255 B.C.), Aśoka created a special class of high officers called the Dharmamahāmātras, for this special work. It appears that the increasing load of propagating and explaining the Dhamma to the people periodically by the other three classes of officers noted before was proving too much and therefore besides this a new department had to be created. These Dharmamahāmātras or High Officers of Dhamma were exclusively to be occupied with the propagation of the Dhamma amongst all sections of the people within the empire and the people of the western borders. They were engaged among various socially related groups like masters and servants, Brāhmaṇas and rich house-holders, poor and the aged and among all sects, in the harems of the king and his relations and even among prisoners. They were employed
for doing this work—promotion of Dhamma including the welfare of the people everywhere. Besides the Dhamma-mahāmātrās, the women’s officers (Strīyādhyakshamahāmātrās), managers of the state farms (Vrajaṁbhumikas) and other officers were specially engaged in preaching and maintaining religious concord—an essential constituent of Dhamma. The imperial embassies abroad in the capitals of the five Hellenic kingdoms and in the kingdoms of Cola, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon were instructed to promote Dhamma and in these lands, the medical care of both men and beasts, planting and importing of medicinal herbs, and digging of wells and planting of trees and such other acts in consonance with the Dhamma were carried out. He called upon the officers and city magistrates at Tosah/samapā to promote the welfare and happiness of the people and not to harm them in any way and the officers at all times were to attend to the conciliation of the people of the frontiers and to promoting Dhamma among them. The Rājukas who appear to be incharge of large rural areas were to instruct the people of the countryside in Dhamma and see that such people as elephant-trainers clerks, fortune-tellers and Brāhmaṇas, who appear to have large number of trainees under them, were to instruct their pupils in the principles of Dhamma. In the family, feuds for economic, personal, or religious reasons could be many, special emphasis was laid on maintenance of proper relations between the members, and the Rājukas were to see that this was practised. In judicial administration, as will be seen later, there was relaxation of stern justice, and even criminals sentenced to death were shown humane cosideration.

Aśoka realised that all attempt at legislation or persuasion by him and his officers would not lead to the desired result completely unless people were told that to promote Dhamma amongst themselves for their own material and
spiritual good, they had to give up cruelty, harshness, anger and envy which are productive of sin. To get rid of these is difficult, but every one must see that any of these does not cause his fall morally.\textsuperscript{184}

Officers of Aśoka for many reasons were to prove willing and active agents for promotion of the Dhamma. He told them that those who follow his orders and execute them will be rewarded by him, and he will not be pleased with them who will only try to flatter him. He also declared that he will be very much displeased with such officers who will not follow his instructions to practise and promote Dhamma. Besides this offer of reward or punishment, king’s favour or disfavour he held before them the reward of merit or merits in the next world if they, loyally and enthusiastically carried out his instructions and served the people. He declares: "For you are able to give the frontier people confidence, welfare and happiness in this world and the next. Doing this you will reach heaven and help me discharge my debt to the people".\textsuperscript{187}

Aśoka not only proclaimed Dhamma and asked officers to execute his religious policy, but to make it known to all people for all times he engraved the edicts on rocks and, later on monolithic pillars. Many of these have survived. Aśoka clearly says that these edicts exist in abridged, medium-length and extended versions because every thing in such a vast empire has not been fully engraved everywhere.\textsuperscript{189} There have been repetitions because they are good to be repeated for the people to conform to them. This is a new method that he devised to promote Dhamma. Earlier kings had not done this, though they desired Dhamma to increase.\textsuperscript{188} We know that the edicts of the Achaemenian emperor Darius are administrative and do not deal with promotion of Dhamma. So Aśoka declares "with this same idea (how to make people devoted to Dhamma) I have
made Pillars of Dhamma, appointed officers of Dhamma and made proclamations of Dhamma.....My officers of Dhamma.....are to concern themselves with the Buddhist order, with the Brahmans, and Ajivikas.....with the Jainas, and with various sects.\

The question arises as to how far Aśoka's religious policy succeeded. While mentioning loss or decrease in Dhamma before him, he claims that the many forms of practice of Dhamma have increased as never before many centuries and he is confident that they will continue to increase in future. He goes so far as to say that as a result of his efforts in promoting Dhamma, "the gods who in India upto this time did not associate with men, now mingle with them." This usual interpretation of the passage is vigorously challenged by Filliozat. He has supported Sylvain Levi, though on other grounds, that new devas in the edict meant kings and not gods. Filliozat points out that belief in gods on earth existed from very early times among the Indians, and so Aśoka's claim that he had made gods mingle with men on the earth meant no achievement to boast of "Equally well accepted was the possibility of the descent of celestial gods on earth." (Brahmā and Indra came to the Buddha from heaven). Near relations, when died and born among gods could descend on the earth to render advise to human beings. "In short belief in the participation of the gods in the affairs of men is so readily attested to in the texts of all schools, that it must be looked upon as organic in primitive Buddhism. It is impossible that Aśoka did not know and share in this belief. Under these conditions if in speaking about the devas co-mingling with men he meant gods, it is difficult to understand how he regarded this and specified it as not having, happened before in India. However it is
difficult to explain then the use of the word 'Kings' in plural, when Aśoka could really refer to himself only if by 'deva' he meant the king. Aśoka claims to have made men more pious and all things prosper (on the whole earth) throughout the world (Kandhār Bilingual Rock Inscription), and he is confident that in future they will live more agreeably and better than before. He declares, 'But through my instructions, care for Dhamma and love of Dhamma have grown from day to day, and will continue to grow.' He also praises his subordinate officers for practising and promoting Dhamma and for winning over to Dhamma people who were wavering. In the Kandhār bilingual inscription (Greek version), Aśoka claims that on the entire earth men have become more righteous and happy. Injury to life has been given up by the king and even hunters and fishermen have given up injury to living beings. Even those who were not restrained (saṃyama) were now restrained. The Aramaic version refers to the decrease in evil and end of misfortunes and the existence of peace and amity over the whole earth. Parents and old people are tended by all. This shows success of the public relation activities of the Mauryan officers. It is not possible to give a proper assessment of the success claimed by Aśoka for his religious policy. There are no other sources to confirm his activities in this direction and to indicate the actual reaction of the people. There is no doubt that Aśoka made gigantic efforts to implement his policy. He himself admits: 'It is hard to do good, and he who does good, does a difficult thing. And I have done much good, and he was quite conscious that hard work and the dispatch of business are the means of doing so—to promote the welfare of the whole world—a work than which no better work is there. To the people whom he wanted to practice religious toleration, he beckoned to exercise self-control, to possess purity of mind, sense of gratitude and firm faith.'
Of course, to get over evil-inclinations is not easy and Aśoka declares that this is difficult for men, whether humble or highly placed, without extreme efforts and without renouncing everything else, and it is particularly difficult for the highly placed, *without extreme efforts*. This call for deliberate hard work for the practice of Dhamma and for giving up evil intentions is a clear realisation on the part of Aśoka how difficult it is to be and to practise good. But Aśoka made Dhamma the bed-rock of all his actions and policies. He says: "For this is my principle: to protect through Dhamma, to administer affairs according to Dhamma, to please the people with Dhamma, to guard the empire with Dhamma." Aśoka is satisfied that ‘whatever good deeds I have done, the world has consented to them and followed them’. He claims that obedience to Śramaṇas, poor and even slaves and wage-earning servants have increased and will increase. This has been possible by regulation in Dhamma, and by meditation in Dhamma. Non-killing of living beings and non-violence towards living beings these twin consequences of the change in Aśoka’s policy were humanity in internal administration and abandonment of aggressive war.

However humbly but categorically Aśoka expressed his satisfaction over the implementation of his policy, we have to note that his successors, sons, grandsons and great grandsons, whom he asked to follow his religious policy for gains in this and the next world did not follow it, and the killing of animals for sacrifice which Aśoka had banned was revived soon after the end of the Maurya dynasty. Wars did not cease after Aśoka, and wars for successions went on as before. Aśoka’s religious policy thus may be said to have no sustained impact on the policy of the kings who followed him. But that should not lead one to belittle his policy. It was an ideal which Aśoka righteously attempted
to attain and he won remarkable success in his time. He left an inspiring legacy for all who want peace. Blessed are the peace-makers! Aśoka set a unique example of renouncing aggressive war as an element for imperial policy after winning a hard-won victory. He breathed a new spirit of humility of royal dedication to the service of the people, of highest sense of duty in the administration, and took concrete measures to improve the lot of the people, to make the state take up almost something like community development on a large scale with the active participation of the administration and willing partnership of the people. His public utility measures even transgressed the frontiers of his empire. Aśoka transformed Buddhism from a local religion to a world religion. He bequeathed to the posterity a real revolution in art and architecture and showed sincere concern and devised measures for the promotion of the spiritual well being of the lowliest of the lowly creatures. Through his Dhamma Aśoka extended his hand of fruitful cooperation not only to the refractory and undeveloped forest tribes, or to the people on the western frontiers, but also to the neighbouring foreign lands. Aśoka, as we have seen refers to promotion of Dhamma in Ceylon and in the five Hellenic Kingdoms comprising the continent of Asia, Africa and Europe. He also says that Dhamma was promoted even where the dātas of the Beloved of the Gods do not go (R.E.XIII). This may refer to the Buddhist missions abroad under the patronage of Aśoka. Or does it mean that the countries where Aśoka had no ambassadors, also practised his Dhamma following his example? Bhandarkar3 thinks that this may refer to Burma and China where his religious propaganda was not carried on. It is for this that Aśoka will ever remain an ideal to cherish for all those who seek people's good and international peace and co-operation not on the basis of power-politics but on the basis of service.
Aśoka is said to have ruled for thirty-six years according to the Purāṇas. So his reign must have come to an end in c 237-36 B.C. According to Dīpaṇaṁśa he reigned for 37 years, and if 4 years of interregnum is added then Aśoka's reign would have come to an end in 232 B.C. He had more than one wife. Devi or Vidiśāmahādevi was one, whom Aśoka left at Vidiśā when he came to occupy the throne at Pāṭaliputra. Probably Aśoka did not bring her to Pāṭaliputra because being the daughter of a merchant, her social status was not high in the court circle. From her, according to the Ceylonese chronicle, he had a son named Mahendra and a daughter Sarīghamitṛā who both took up monastic order and went to Ceylon. Doubts have been expressed on the authenticity of those traditions and Mahendra's relationship with Aśoka. Nothing definite can be said about this. We have seen that Aśoka had many brothers. According to the Ceylonese chronicles he put 99 of his brothers to death sparing only one Tishya. Tāranātha says that he killed only 6 of his brothers, defeated the people of Nepal and of Khasya and received Pāṭaliputra throne as his reward. However on a liberal interpretation of Aśoka's edicts, it is held that many of his brothers and sisters were living and were being well looked after. According to the Mahāvaṁśa, Aśoka's chief queen was Asandhimittā (MV. V. 85). Another of his queen was Tissarakhita (from Kallīṅga) who became chief queen after the death of Asandhimittā. Tishyaraksita, according to the Aśokāvadāna had great influence on Aśoka, and even used his seal, and got Kuṇāla blinded. The Avadānas also relate that in later years of his life, Aśoka had become weak and his large donations were opposed by his minister Rādhāgupta who had earlier helped Aśoka in capturing the throne. Another queen of Aśoka was Kārūvāki mentioned in the Queen's Edict inscribed on the Allahabad pillar. Some take
Kāruvāki to be another name of Tishyarakhitā. According to the Divyāvadāna (XXVII p. 405) Aśoka had another queen Padmāvatī by name.

Thus Aśoka had many queens and many sons. Last years of the old Emperor appear to be unhappy either due to ministerial opposition or intrigues in the family. Tivava, a son of Aśoka and Kāruvāki is mentioned in the Queen’s edict. Aśoka’s edicts refer to his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. Kunāla was a son of Aśoka by Padmāvatī and was the crown prince. He was also known as Dharmavivardhana and was appointed viceroy of Gandhāra. Jalauka according to Rājatarangini was another son of Aśoka.

According to Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, Purāṇas, Aśoka was succeeded by Kunāla (Kulāla) who reigned for 8 years. But according to the Matsya Purāṇa, Aśoka’s grandson Daśaratha succeeded him and he would rule for 8 years. Vishnu Purāṇa makes Suyaśa succeed Aśoka, and Suyaśa was succeeded by his son Daśaratha, while a Vāyu manuscript, according to Pargiter, makes Kunāla followed by Bandhupālita. According to the Divyāvadāna, Aśoka was followed by Sampadi (or Samprati) the 5th in order after Aśoka. According to Tāranātha, Aśoka was followed by his grandson Vigatāśoka who was followed by his son Virasena. Kalhaṇa mentions Jalauka king of Kashmir, as successor of Aśoka. Thus there is nothing definitely known as to who succeeded Aśoka, and the picture is still more confused thereafter.

It is difficult to reconcile the accounts at variance with one another. However, the total period of 137 years for the Mautyas as given in the Purāṇas may be accepted. It is possible that after the death of Aśoka the central authority became weak, and princes who were viceroys might have acted as independent kings such as Jalauka in Kashmir,
and Vigitaśoka and Vīrasena in Gandhāra. Most probably Aśoka was succeeded by Kuṇāla who is said to have been, blinded by Tissarakkhita and that may have accelerated the process of disintegration. Smith, after arbitrary emendation of the Purāṇic texts, makes Kuṇāla a grandson of Aśoka and assigns him a reign of 8 years under the protection of a Kursmen Bandhupālita, as Kuṇāla was only 17 at the time of Aśoka's death. Daśona of Vāyu is taken to be a mistake for Daśaiva sapta. According to the Viśnupurāṇa, Suyāśas succeeded Aśoka and the latter was succeeded by his son Daśaratha. If this account is believed, then Suyāśas might have been another name of Kuṇāla. According to the Matsya Purāṇa we have to place Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka as his successor, and it is important, to note that after Aśoka, we have an inscription of Daśaratha only among the Mauryas. He dedicated caves at the Nāgarjuni Hills to the Ājīvikas, as Aśoka had done. These caves were dedicated soon after his accession, and the script of the inscriptions shows no variation from the Aśokan. Daśaratha also was Devānāṃpiya. It is therefore possible that the Matsya Purāṇa is right in mentioning him as Aśoka's immediate successor, and Kuṇāla might have been disqualified for being a king because he was blind (if the Buddhist legends are to be believed). Daśaratha's dedication of caves to the Ājīvikas shows his special interest in the Ājīvika sect, but it does not prove his anti-Buddhist bias. According to the Matsya Purāṇa Daśaratha ruled for eight years.

Daśaratha appears to have been succeeded by his son Samprati, who is referred to as a son of Kuṇāla in the Buddhist and Jain literature, but the Matsya Purāṇa regards him as a son of Daśaratha, which is also the view of Vāyu Purāṇa, which however places Kuṇāla (Kunala), Bandhupālita, and Dasona (grandson of Aśoka) between Aśoka and Daśaratha. According to a Jain source Samprati
succeeded Aśoka and was converted to Jainism and he encouraged Jainism in his kingdom. He ruled from Pāṭaliputra and also from Ujjain, which might have been his headquarters when he was Viceroy of Malwa. The Buddhist work Diyaṇadāna relates a story of the last days of Aśoka. It is said that Aśoka selected Sampratī as his yuvāraja. Aśoka had given huge donations to the Buddhist Church which depleted the treasury. Sampratī aided by Rādhāgupta resisted the attempt to still further deplete the treasury and Aśoka had to donate all his personal possessions except a half mango. The story may be a Buddhist invention but there may be some truth behind it that the prince and the minister might have resisted over-generous donations from the state treasury by Aśoka. Sampratī is said to have redeemed the kingdom. Raychaudhury is inclined to identify Bandhupālīta with Daśaratha, and Indrapālīta with Sampratī. The Purāṇas assign him a reign of nine years. According to Bhandarkar, Bandhupālīta and Indrapālīta ruling for 8 and 10 years respectively represented a branch line of the Mauryan dynasty emanating from Kuṇāla.

The Mauryan empire was beginning to face serious troubles—financial, weak and short reigns, and probably trouble in the north and the north-west. From the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we learn that Jalauka, the son of Aśoka, drove the mleccas. If this account is to be even slightly believed, the mleccas may refer to the Bactrian Greeks who immediately after the death of Aśoka might have abrogated the policy of friendship. We know from Polybius that Antiochus III of Syria "crossed the Caucasus and descended into India, renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians, and received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether." Subhāgasena might have been the son of Virasena, nephew or grandson of Aśoka. It may
be that even in the time of Vīrasena the rumbling of the Greek advance might have been heard, and Antiochus and Subhāgasena are said to have renewed the friendship—that was concluded between Candragupta Maurya and Seleucus. Bhandarkar\(^{169a}\) identifies Subhagasena with Śāliśuka The Purāṇas do not mention his relationship with Samprati. According to Smith\(^{169b}\) he was another son of Kuṇāla. According to the Gārgī Śaṃhitā he was a wicked (duṣṭatma) king who oppressed the people, and furthered the cause of Jainism even by the use of force.\(^{169c}\)

He is assigned a reign of 13 years.\(^{169a}\) According to Bhandarkar\(^{169b}\) the reference in the Gārgī Śaṃhitā to his Dharmavijaya and abolition of sacrifices may suggest that he tried to follow Aśoka. It was during his time that Antiochus III in 206 B.C. attacked India. Then follow Devadharman for 7 year, Śatadhanu for 8 years and lastly Bṛhadratha, who reigned for 7 years\(^{169c}\) and who was overthrown by Pushyamitra Śunga, in c. 187 B.C., 137 years after 324 B.C. when Candragupta came to the throne. The Divyāvadāna is certainly wrong in making Pushyamitrā a member of the Mauryan dynasty.

**Causes of the Decline of the Mauryan Empire**

It appears that soon after the death of Aśoka, the gigantic Mauryan imperial unitary structure began to show cracks. According to one view, Aśoka in his life-time had divided the empire between Kuṇāla and Daśaratha, with the former in the west and the latter in the east; while some believe in the division of the empire between Samprati and Daśaratha. But this view is not proved by any positive evidence. The fact that Jain traditions refer to building activities of Samprati in Rajasthan and farther west, and Samprati is also known as king ruling from Pāṭaliputra, he appears to have ruled over the entire empire both in the east
and the west. Kalhaṇa’s account of Jalauka in Kashmir is not entirely trustworthy and at best it can be said that Jalauka, a Maurya prince after Āśoka, ruled in Kashmir. While it is possible to hold, in the absence of any positive evidence to the contrary, that the Mauryan empire by and large remained territorially intact, but the Viceregal princes in Gandhāra, Kashmir or in the Aparānta (Western provinces) were almost ruling independent of central control. The Buddhist traditions referring to the last days of Āśoka being unhappy due to activities of his queen Tishyarakshita and of his ministers and crown prince suggest that in his last years the aging emperor was losing control over the destinies of the empire. The dynasty which gave the greatest Indian emperors like Candragupta and Āśoka, which gave to the world the message of international peace and co-operation for the good of the people and which inspired the administration with the noble ideal of service to the people ultimately after 137 years ceased to reign.

The decline of the Mauryan empire is a very important fact which needs explanation. It is not necessary to examine fully again the much-discussed theory of the Brāhmaṇical reaction advanced by Mahāmahopādhāya Hara Prasad Shastri. However, his arguments may be summed up as follows—

(a) The Mauryas were Śūdras, and so the Brāhmaṇas could not tolerate their rule for long, (b) Āśoka’s patronage to Buddhism and his banning of animal sacrifices hurt the Brāhmaṇas vitally, (c) that Āśoka reduced their position is clear when he says that he reduced them, who claimed to be gods on earth, into false-gods, (d) Āśoka’s appointment of Dharmamahāmātras for propagation of Dharma was an infringement on the Brāhmaṇa’s sphere of activities, (e) the establishment of the principle of Daṇḍasamata and Vyavahārasamata deprived the Brāhmaṇas of the special
judicial privileges enjoyed by them according to the Law books, (f) the hand of the Brāhmaṇas is seen in the overthrow of the last Maurya by Brāhmaṇa Pushyamitra Śuṅga who carried out an anti-Buddhist policy and restored animal sacrifices, thus openly undoing what the Mauryans had done.

Dr. Raychaudhuri has very ably refuted the arguments of Pandit H. P. Sastri. Our replies to the charges may be summed up as follows—(a) the Mauryas were not Śūdras, rather they were Kshatriyas, otherwise an orthodox Brāhmaṇa like Kauṭṭiya would not depose the Śūdra Nanda to be replaced by another Śūdra. They were members of the Kshatriya clan known as the Moriyas of Pippalivana in the Nepal Tarai, (b) Aśoka was a Buddhist and he may have encouraged its spread, but there are positive epigraphic evidences of his own to show that he followed a policy of religious toleration, and showed respect to and showered gifts on the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Śramaṇas. Brāhmaṇa minister and commander-in-chief continued to be employed by later Mauryas, and Pushyamitra Śuṅga himself was a Maurya official. Condemnation of animal sacrifice is met with even in the religious literature of the Brāhmaṇas such as the Upanishads, (c) Pandit Sastri's translation and interpretation of the passage in the MRE I is proved to be wrong, and there is no disparagement to the Brāhmaṇas in the edict, (d) The Dharmamahāmātras were also employed from among the Brāhmaṇas who were not debarred from being appointed as Dharmamahāmātras. The Brāhmaṇa's right to propagate Dhamma was not denied, and it has nowhere been claimed in the Law books that non-Brāhmāṇa would not teach or propagate the righteous way. The Upanishads speak of many kings as participating in and imparting instruction in Dharma, (e) While the Brāhmaṇas claimed some vague judicial privileges there is no unanimity in the law books about the exact special judicial
privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. Daṇḍa-samatā and Vyavahāra-samatā might not actually mean the uniform law for every one, but it might suggest, that in the far-flung empire there were variations of punishment for the same crimes and difference in procedure in similar cases. The Mauryan empire which was based on centralised administration would not like this state to continue, and Aśoka, without changing the fundamental laws, only wanted the same procedure and the same punishment for the similar law to be enforced throughout the length and breadth of his empire, and thus there was no question of encroachment on Brāhmaṇical privileges if there were any, (f) It is true that Pushyamitra Śunga was a Brāhmaṇa who overthrew the Mauryan dynasty and assassinated the last Mauryan king. But it is to be remembered that he was the commander-in-chief, Senāpati, of the Maurya army and thus was in a more advantageous position to stage the coup than the accident of his being a Brāhmaṇa. His revival of the animal sacrifice was not the result of reaction against Aśoka’s religious policy, but it merely highlights the fact that Pushyamitra Śunga was a devotee of orthodox Brāhmaṇism, believing in animal sacrifices. The theory that Pushyamitra Śunga as a result of reaction persecuted Buddhism is based on uncorroborated later Buddhist traditions, and even if it was so, this might have been influenced more by political reasons than religious as it is possible that the Buddhists helped the Bactrian Greeks in the Punjab. It also must be remembered that the Sanchi, Bharhut, and Bodh-Gaya railings were the products of the Śunga period. There is no evidence that after the death of Aśoka the Brāhmaṇas began to organise an opposition against the Mauryas culminating in the coup by Pushyamitra Śunga.

Dr. Raychaudhuri himself has advanced the theory that Aśoka’s renunciation of the policy of military conquest
and adoption of the policy of Dhammavijaya after Kāliṅga War led to the weakening of the empire. He says, “After the Kāliṅga War ensued a period of stagnation at the end of which the process is reversed. The empire dwindled down to the extent till it sank to the position from which Bimbisāra and his successors had raised it.” Again he observes, “Dark clouds were looming in the north-western horizon. India needed men of the calibre of Puru and Candragupta to ensure her protection against the Yavana menace. She got a dreamer.” Magadha after the Kāliṅga War frittered away her conquering energy in attempting a religious revolution, as Egypt did under the guidance of Ikhnaton.”

This view of the learned scholar deserves consideration. It is true that Aśoka made no attempt to complete the territorial unity of the empire by annexing the Tamil independent states. But it may be stated that Aśoka might not have attempted to do it in view of the experience in the Kāliṅga War. Moreover, except for the formal satisfaction of administering the entire country down to the Kanyākumāri, these Tamil states were under the cultural empire of the Mauryas and were very friendly and co-operative. What was the necessity to purchase their ill-will by dubious military adventures? Secondly, if Aśoka had conquered them, would the empire have survived longer? How can one say that? That the empire dwindled because Aśoka eschewed the policy of territorial expansion by military force can hardly be defended. Why did the empire of Alexander, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, or Hitler break up? Certainly not because they renounced war as an instrument of policy, rather because they continued this policy to an extent not needed or desired. If Aśoka realised the limits of the success of military policy, he deserves credit, no blame. There is no evidence that as a result of giving up military aggression as a policy, he disbanded the army. On the contrary the Mauryan army
was intact and powerful and Aśoka could talk to the Ajīvikas and border peoples about values of conciliation and adoption of Dhamma with a position of strength, and he gave a stern warning that his policy of peace and persuasion should not be taken as born of weakness and timidity and that lest they misbehave, the emperor has the power to punish them, but as a stronger partner he would excuse their mistakes or bad behaviour as far as he could—but there was a limit to his forbearance, and he made it quite plain to them. He was preaching virtues of no-war policy not because he was weak, but because he was strong enough to follow this policy. He did not renounce use of force in all circumstances, only he would not use it for aggressive purposes. But when the defence of the empire was threatened or the Pax Mauryanica was disturbed there was no guarantee that Aśoka would not use force to protect the vital interests of the empire. The policy of peace in the country and abroad would improve economic and commercial interests, and so far as the territorial ambitions were concerned, to Aśoka the saturation point was reached. The Mauryan empire as a result of continuous military ventures had become a satiated state like Germany after victory of Sedan, and wanted peace, sulh-e-kul.

It may also be noted that Aśoka while advised his successors not to resort to military conquest, he did not prohibit it, even if he could, altogether, as he visualised territorial conquests by his sons or great grandsons and therefore advised them that “in whatever victories they may gain they should be satisfied with patience and light punishment”. He really wanted that minimum force necessary for any fresh conquest if resorted to should be used. Aśoka’s call was not of a diehard absolute pacifist but a realist inspired by a high ideal. He certainly deplored the destruction in the Kalinga War, but did not restore
independence to Kalinga. He did not give up ambitions of conquest, only that he changed its nature, and was satisfied to claim righteous victory over the Tamil kingdoms, Ceylon and the five Hellenic kingdoms by sending \textit{dātas} to them and getting opportunities to propagate the \textit{Dhamma}. As has been pointed out earlier, there was no compelling reason to make further territorial conquests. Ceylon\textsuperscript{108}, as the \textit{Mahāvaṁśa} suggests, was very much under his influence. The great Syrian empire of the Seleucids was friendly and any attempt to extend Indian imperial boundaries beyond the Hindukush would not have been only against the traditional policy of Indian kings not to conquer foreign lands but could have been more disastrous than later attempts by Muhammad Tughlāq to conquer the Himalayan tribes. Aśoka had assured himself of no danger from the north-west, and south of the imperial territories, and was quite ready to use force, if compelled, against the forest tribes and unconquered peoples on his borders (RE. XIII & SRE II). There is no reason to suspect that Aśoka's successors were so much influenced by the sound of the drums of \textit{Dhamma} that they avoided war at all cost, and could not brook shedding of blood. Aśoka's non-violence was not absolute, and, as Thapar has argued, meat-eating might have continued\textsuperscript{109}. Certainly Aśoka did not abolish death penalty though he tried to make it more humane\textsuperscript{110}. There is no evidence that his successors followed his policy of non-violence and peace, though even this policy by itself could not cause disintegration of the empire.

The comparison between Aśoka and Ikhnaton made by Ray Choudhuri is not fair. Ikhnaton really became the head of a religion, and persecuted other established religions. Moreover from the Tell-el-Amarna Letters it is clear that while Egypt's imperial frontiers were being violated in Asia, the emperor had shut himself in the city of Aton
engrossed in his zeal for the religion he thought best. Nothing like this happened in the time of Aśoka who appears to be conscious of his imperial might and interest in the integrity of the boundaries of the empire. And Aśoka certainly did not force his religion or persecute any other as Ikhnaton.

Thus Aśoka's religious policy or his policy of abandonment of territorial conquest by force did not or could not cause the decline of the empire. Of course the priestly Brāhmaṇas who found animal sacrifices prohibited might have incurred some economic loss and also loss in their status as in animal sacrifices they were considered indispensable, and by the decree these were prohibited, they might have suffered. But this was not enough to make them as a caste organise a revolt or reaction against the Maurya empire, when some of its princes like Jalauka, an ardent Śaiva, must have been very considerate to the Brāhmaṇas, who, as we have seen, continued to be employed in high offices down to the end of the Maurya rule. Similarly Aśoka's cry of sudden halt to the continuously rolling military machine of Magadha may have caused some jerks, and the army which had played a very dominant part in the rise and growth of the empire of Magadha might have lost some of its influence; and more importance appears to have been given to the administration, especially those in charge of propagation of *Dhamma*. The army leaders might not have liked this loss of influence or dominance, but it was bound to be one day when the process of territorial conquest came to logical end. That the later Mauryas appear to have lost touch with the sentiments of the army may be suggested by the fact that the last Mauryan king was assassinated at a military parade, Loyalty to the Senāpati was more intense than to the king by the army.
It may also be said that Aśoka’s discouragement of Samājas and other superstitious ceremonies (maṅgalas) may have irritated the common people against his authoritative edicts. But there is no reason to suspect that it could lead to any actual popular rising against the Mauryas. Aśoka had served the people much more than he could have irritated them.

Then why did the Maurya empire decline? The fundamental cause was the same that operates in all systems based on hereditary successions. There is no doubt that Aśoka’s successors were weak and inefficient. No dynasty could guarantee a continuous succession of able kings. On an average any royal dynasty after producing four or five generations of able successors exhausts itself. This can be seen in the case of the Pharaohs of Egypt, emperors of Rōme, the imperial Guptas, the Delhi Sultans and the Great Mughals in India. The Maurya dynasty was no exception.

And when so much depended on the king—his ability and personality—in a monarchical system of hereditary succession, weak rulers following a line of able predecessors, would set in forces of decline. This happened with the Maurya empire as well. Candragupta, Kauṭilya and Aśoka had built up the strength of the empire on the bedrock of king’s ability and personality. ‘The king is the state’—was almost the view of Kauṭilya, who centralised the administration under the hands of the king who selected high officers and decided issues that faced the empire. Aśoka even made the king extend his activities in the direction of setting, rather resetting, social and religious norms. The royal authority was complete and comprehensive. But the bow of Ulyssus could not be drawn by weaker men. The imperial system and administrative machinery directed by the king could not but founder in weaker hands. The
fact that so many conflicting names of Mauryan kings after Aśoka have come down to us suggests that succession was not always peaceful and royal princes might have worked at cross purposes and thus weakened the empire, and encouraged setting up of many units in place of one unitary empire.

The Maurya administrative system was highly centralised and the imperial officers under the king of course had vast powers over the people. In the widely extended empire the provincial officers might have oppressed the people, and revolts in provinces against local officers have been recorded for the period before Aśoka. We know that Aśoka took special measures to crush them and warned them publicly (SRE I & II). If in the time of Aśoka the Great, they could think of imprisoning citizens without due cause (SRE I); then certainly in the time of weaker rulers official mischief could be more serious and recurrent.

It may be suggested that the taxation under the Mauryas was oppressive. Megasthenes mentions ¼ as the land tax, which was rather too much. But we know that Kauṭilya prescribes ⅛th as the normal rate of land revenue, though in emergency or for lands watered by government help tax could be higher. A study of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra shows that almost everything and everybody was taxed. People not used to so much taxation might have felt it irksome, though Kauṭilya himself lays down very wise principles of taxation and recommends concession in times of difficulties. There is no doubt that the taxation was varied and heavy if the Arthaśāstra is to be relied upon; and some of the means of raising additional taxation in emergencies are certainly bad in law; they could have adverse effect on the people. Some suggest that the vast public work activities carried on by the Mauryan government and the expenditure bestowed upon the magnificent government monuments added to the donations to the
religious orders might have adversely affected the taxable community, which by far was large in the Mauryan period.

And the fact that both Candragupta and Asoka were very keen to know the reactions of the people, their general feelings about the king and his policies through a net-work of spies or reporters, as known from Megasthenes, Kautilya and REVI, show that favourable popular feeling was not taken as granted. The working of the espionage over the high officers must have had a demoralising effect on the sensitive, proud and even loyal officers. Too much espionage must have hurt the common people as well.

All these factors not important severally, but collectively contributed to the gradual and slow weakening of the giant structure. But the fundamental cause was that so much depended on the head—the king at the centre—that weakness of the king led to the weakening of the central control which helped the centrifugal forces to reassert as before, and cause breaking away of units or provinces from the empire, which, thus weakened, could not hold itself against foreign invaders, the Bactrian Greeks, in the midst of whose thundering invasion Pushyamitra staged the coup. He might have exploited even the minutest discontent among some sections of Brāhmaṇas, the soldiers and the common people. It may be pointed out, in all fairness, that the Bharhut and Sanchi monuments do not prove that these were erected in the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. ‘In the reign of the Śuṅgas’ cannot necessarily be equated with the reign of Pushyamitra.

The Mauryan empire certainly disappeared as any empire earlier or later. But its significance cannot be underrated. It was the first largest empire organised in India. It gave for the first time a highly centralised and
bureaucratic administration; and the prestige and influence of the officialdom acquired in the Mauryan imperial system continued to an extent later. "The dominant part played by officialdom in ancient Indian state administration thereafter down to the period of the later Guptas was due in part to the prestige it acquired under the rule of the Imperial Mauryas". Then for the first time and during the rule of Candragupta and Asoka the state directly assumed the role of a welfare state. A policy of religious toleration and of religious concordance (samavāya) was most effectively pursued, and it is a great thing that later ancient Indian governments irrespective of the personal religion of the ruler, followed the policy of patronage to all religions, and religious toleration became a constant feature of Indian political life. And last but not the least the Maurya contribution to the development of art, culture besides trade, commerce, industry and agriculture cannot be forgotten. According to Ghoshal, "the greatest gift of the Mauryas was that they demonstrated the capacity of the most talented of the race-group forming the composite population of Ancient India, to rule one of the largest empires of the ancient world for over a century and a quarter".

References

2. R. C. Majumdar, The Classical Accounts of India, pp. 128-29.
3. DKA. p. 25.
5. K. A. XV., 1.73.
5a. MV. Pt. I (Turnour) Ch. V. p. 16.
6. Mūdrārakshasa, 11.6. It is not clearly stated that he was the son of Nanda king—Wilson (Turnour) MV. Appendix—IV, p. LXXVII.
7. Mahāvamsa (Turnour), Appendix IV., p. LXXVII.
8. Ibid.
Maurya Dynasty

8a. 88.5
8c. Mahāvamsa, (Turnour), Intro. Appendix. pp. LXXIX, LXXX.
9. DKA. p. 25.
10a. Account of Rajasthan p. 53, qu. by Turnour in Intro. Mahāvamsa, p. LXXVII.
12. Ibid. p. 199. It was Sir William Jones who first established Sandrocottus=Candragupta Maurya.
13. Hemacandra—Pāriśīṣṭaparvan, VIII. 230. It is interesting to note that about 82 km. was on E. I. Railway from Patna jn. is a village named More, meaning peacock.
15b. Mahāvamsa (Turnour) Intro. p. XXI, XXXIX-XLI
16. DV. 6.18.
18. H. C. Seth; Baura. IC. X. p. 34.
19a. According to Hemacandra, Candragupta married a daughter of the Nanda king (Pāriśīṣṭaparvan, VIII. 320).
22. Ibid. pp. 381-382.
23. CHI, p. 383.
24. Ibid. p. 379.
25. CHI. p. 369.
26. Ibid. p. 369.
27. Ibid. p. 386.
29. qu. in Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 146.
30. Ibid.
32. K. A. V. 2.
33a. Pārīśiśṭaparvan (Jacobi’s tran.) 2nd ed. p. LXXIV.
33b. Mahāvamsa (Turnour), pp. XL-XLI.
34. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 193.
36. Mahāvamsa (Turnour), Intro. p. XLI.
37. Pārīśiśṭaparvan VIII. 291-318
38. Ibid.
40a. Appian; Roman History, Vol. II (Local library) — Syr. XI. 9. 55 qu. by in Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 151.
40c. Tarn. Greeks in Bactria and India. p. 100.
40d. Syr. 55. CHI. I. pp. 431.
40e. Mahāvamsa (Turnour), App. IV p. LXXVII.
41a. CHI. p. 432.
41b. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 198.
42. Sircar, D. C., Select Inscriptions Vol. I. p. 15.
44. Sashti — Age of the Nandas and Mauryas p. 18.
45. Mookerji, op. cit. pp. 39-42; S. K. Aiyanger Beginnings of South Indian History, pp. 69, 81, 103.
45a. Age of the Nanda and Mauryas, p. 155.
46a. K. A. IX. 1. 18.
47. Majumdar op. cit. p. 198.
49. DV. V. 73.
49a. Mahāvamsa (Turnour), Intro. p. XLII p. XLII.
54a. Ibid. pp. 242, 411. It is doubted whether Iamboulos ever visited India.
54b. Mahāvamsa (Turnour) p. XLII.
54c. MV. (Geiger) V. According to Jain tradition his mother was Durdhara (Pariśiṣṭaparvan), p. LXXIX, 234. (Text. VIII. 439).
55a. In Vāyu ms. he is named Nandasaras (DKA. p. 28, note 24). Smith thinks that it is because the editor of the Purāṇa knows of Bindusāra, father Candragupta’s marriage with a daughter of Dhanananda (JAOS, Vol. 77. No. 4, p. 277).
57. Ibid.
59. Mahābhāṣya, III 2.2.
60. Ait. Br. VIII. 17.
61. Mbh. II. 80; 19.
62. Divyāvadāna, XXVI.
63b. Mahāvamsa (Geiger) V. 34.
64. Mc Grindle Invasion of Alexander p. 370 Sastri, Age of Nandas and Mauryas, p. 169.
65. Sastri, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 169.
66. DKA. O. 28.
67. Sastri. op. cit. p. 166.
68. DV. VI. 21-22.
69. M. V. (Geiger), V. 189-90; Giles-Travels of Fabian p. 56. Walters-Yuan Chwang, II. p. 89.
69a. Mahāvamsa (Turnour), Intro. p. XLII.
69b. MV. (Geiger) V. 20.
69c. MV. (Geiger) V, 33.
70. DV. VI. 24-27.
70b. Eggermont, op. cit. p. 88.
70c. Schiefner, pp. 31-33 qo. Eggermont op. cit. p. 88-89
71c. c. 260 B.C. if Kandhar edict proves that all his edicts are dated in the expired years, Thapar op. cit. (260)
72. R.E. XIII.
74. Asoka, p. 49.
75. Thapar, op. cit. p. 41
76. Buddhist India, pp. 195-96.
77. D. V. XI. 25.
77b. Mahavamsa (Geigo) Intro. p XVIII.
77c. Barua-Asoka and his Inscription Pt. I. p. 162.
78. Diwakar, Bihar Through the Ages, p. 194.
79. DV. VI. 23.
80. M. V. (Turnour) V. p. 16.
81. DV. VI 18. But this is at variance with the date in MREI.
82. MV. V. 17-18.
83. DV. VI. 55 (Upasakattam).
83a. Mahavamsa (Geiger) V. 72.
83b. Mahavamsa (Geiger) I. 32, note 6.
84. Ibid. VI. 96.
85. G. H. I. pp. 495-96.
86. PHAI. 6th Ed. p. 324.
87. Ibid. p. 325, note 1.
87a. Thapar, op. cit. p. 33.
89. Sartel KBN-Age of the Nandas of Mauryas, p. 211.
89c. JRAS (NS) IX. pp 155 ff.
90. Mookerji, Asoka, p. 23.
91. Eggermont, Chronology of the reign of Asoka Maurya, p. 75.
91a. D. V. VI. 18. Three years after his coronation he was converted to Buddhism.
91b. Ibid.
92. Ibid. VII. p. 14-20; MV. (Geiger) V. 209.
92a. MV (Geiger) V, 160-172.
93. R. E. VIII. According to Thapar, relying on Basham's interpretation the Edicts are issued in the expired years as proved by the Kandhār inscription (Thapar op. cit. p. 32). However D. C. Sircar (Select Inscriptions, Vol. I. Appendix-I, pp. 527-28) in his Prakritised and Sanskritised versions of the Greek and Aramic texts uses the same expression 'dasa-vasabhisreta' as in other inscription of Ashoka. Mookerji's point that 25 deliveries were made in 26th year of his consecration prove that years are the current years not expired years (Ashoka p. 184) still holds the field.
93b. Q.JMS XVII pp. 235 ff.
93d. Buddhism and Ashoka, pp. 69-71.
94. Mookerji Ashoka, p. 119. note.
94a. K. A. III. 20. 16.
95. Parishataparvan, VIII, pp. 415 ff. LXXI.
97. Mookerji, op. cit. pp. 205-208
98. DV. VI. 27-99.
99. JRAS, 1908, p. 486.
100. Smith, V. A., Ashoka, p. 356.
101. JPFS. 1913, p. 637.
102. Sarnath Pillar Edict.
103. DV. XII. 1-7.
104. Ibid. VI. 15-17.
104a. W. Geiger is not sure that Tamraparnī means Ceylon (MV. pp. XVII-XVIII).
105. DV. VI, 96-99; VII, 11.
105a. A. S. Altekar.
105b. I. A. 1877.
105c. Newmann. Trans. of Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (Munio Edn)
105e. JRAS. 1909, p. 1012 ff.

106. DV. VII. 35-27.

106a. R. E. XII.


107a. MV. (Geiger) V. 228-235 (Turnour)

108. MV. p. 27.


108b. qu. in Eggermont. op. cit. p. 111, 113.


110. MV. Geiger. V. 280-281. In the 17th year of King's reigon 252 B.C.


110b. Mahāvamsa (Geiger), V. 280.

111. Thapar, op. cit. p. 45.

111a. DV. VIII. 4-13 and note; MV (Geiger) XII, 1-8.


111c. MV. (Tournor) XII, p. 46.


114. DV. VIII. 8.

115. MV (Geiger) page XIX; Sastri, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, pp. 316-17.

115a. DV. VIII. 10.


117. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 440.


118. R. E. VII, XII (Kalsi, Girner' Maysera).

119. M. V. Ch. V. p. 19; D. V.

120. R. E. XII.

121. R. E. XIII.

122. R. E. XI.

123. Mookerji, Aśoka, p. 69.


124. MRE. II.

125. R. E. II.

126. R. E. XI.

127. R. E. XII.

128. P. E. II.
129. P. E. VII.
130. P. E. IV.
131. R. E. XII.
132. P. E. VII.
133. R. E. V.
134. R. E. VIII.
135. R. E. I.
136. R. E. VI.
137. Barabar Cave Inscriptions, I, II.
138. P. E. VI.
139. P. E. VII.
140. Ibid.
141. R. E. M.
141a. P. E. VII.
142. R. E. III, VI, IX, XI, XIII.
143. P. E. V.
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145. R. E. XII.
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149. R. E. III.
150. R. E. V.
151. R. E. XIII.
152. Ibid.
153. R. E. II.
154. SRE. I.
155. SRE. II.
155a. PE IV; KRE. I.
156. PE. III.
157. SRE. II.
158. R. E. XIV.
159. PE. VII.
160. Ibid.
161. R. E. IV.
162. MRE. (Hultszch, C. L. I., I)
163. P. E. I.
164. Ibid.
165. R.E.V.
166. R.E.VI.
167. R.E. VII.
168. R. E. X.
169. PE.I.
170. P.E. VII.
171. PE. VII.
171b. DKA. p. 28.
171c. DV. V. 101.
172. Thapar, op. cit. p. 23.
172a. DV. VI 16-17.
174. Tarnath GDBI. p. 28.
175. MV. V.p. 18.
176. MV. XX. p. 78.
176a. Div. p. 430. ff. qu. by Jayaswal in Hindu Polity Pt. II, p. 120.
177a. Eggermont thinks that after his 28th year of reign, difficulties of Aśoka begin. Eggermont, op. cit. pp. 116-117.
181. Ibid. p. 27.
182. Ibid. p. 28. 28 fn. 30.
184. DKA. p. 29.
185. GDBI. IX, Vigatāśoka was son of Kunāla, Divyadāna, XXV. p. 370) makes Vigatāśoka younger brother of Aśoka.
186. Raj. I. 107-53
190. Parishistaparvan X, XI.
191. DKA. p. 28.
192. Ibid, p. 29.
193. Parishistaparvan IX. 54.
193b. DKA. p. 28-29.
195b. JAOS Vol. 77 No. 1, p. 278.
196. Sastri, Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, pp. 245-246.
196a. DKAP. 29. The Matsya Purana cites him (ibid p. 28).
196c. DKA. pp. 28-29.
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CHAPTER XVII

Mauryan Administration

The Mauryas not only established an all-India empire but very seriously made the earliest attempt in Indian history to devise a well-organised administrative structure on well defined principles and for avowed objectives. The account of Megasthenes as preserved in the writings of Strabo and Arrian is a contemporary commentary on the administration under Candragupta Maurya, in whose court Megasthenes was representing the Syrian emperor Selucus Nikator. Presuming that the Greek ambassador was foreign to Indian language and ignorant of special nuances of Indian administrative terms and practices, his account is to be judged critically, and often his statement such as 'no Indian uses slaves' is proved to be contrary to facts. But one should not forget that he was a political animal of the politically conscious and developed Greece. Therefore in his account of the administration of Candragupta we may often look here and there for a well-educated Greek's keen observation and assessment with a view to enlighten his people about an empire which had proved its mettle against the Greeks. The inscriptions of Asoka are again authentic contemporary documents which shed interesting light on the working of the administrative system in his time. We also have to rely on Kautilya's Arthashastra. There has been a long controversy about its authenticity and date. The use of the word 'Cinapatta' and also suggestion a large number of petty states clustering round the victory-desiring king (K. A. VI. 2) suggest to many a time earlier or later than the Mauryan period. But without vouchsafing for every word.
in the extant Arthaśāstra to be Kauṭilya's own and realising that interpretations and loss of a few pages here and there could be possible., there is a consensus among scholars to regard the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya as mirroring the administrative policy and structure of the Mauryan state.

The Mauryan empire did not arise out of vacuum. The empire of the Nandas preceded it. There is no evidence about the administrative organisation made by the Nandas for the empire they conquered; rather the traditional account of greedy Dhanananda would lead one to suspect that the Nanda empire was more of a predatory nature rather than of a constructive or productive character. Some informations gleaned from the early Buddhist sources about the administration under Bimbisāra are not only scanty but also could not serve as the basis for a far-flung empire of Candragupta. The failure of the Indian kingdoms against Alexander and the uprooting of the Nandas must have posed a challenge to the architects of the new empire—Candragupta and Cāṇakya. It is not unlikely, though no direct proof is available, that the example of the Achemenian imperial system, and developments taking place under the Selucids and Ptolemics might have provided the necessary inspiration and model, for a 'strong centralised monarchy'. Socio-economic conditions also posed new problems demanding solution. Iron had come into use near about 1000 B.C., and it had helped not only in use of improved weapons, but also of tools, which could clear the dense tropical forests; and iron-ploughshares yoked by hardy bullocks contributed to diversity of products and production of large surplus. Crafts had also multiplied. All this had promoted brisker trade and commerce, and rise of cities. This process had by 600 B.C., as revealed from the early Buddhist literature, advanced much ahead. And now
small independent political divisions must have appeared to be an unnecessary obstacle. Longer trade-routes, extensive highways, and their maintenance and protection from robbers and other anti-social elements demanded a larger political entity, a stronger and more economic-motivated political authority whose writ would pass over large areas. Contemporary political situation in West Asia and extension of money economy pointed to the same direction. The social scene was no less conducive to some kind of development. New protestant religions attracted a large number of people to a life of religious mendicancy. The Brâhmanic Āsrama system—the four-fold order—which reserved the religious life for old people, was being given up, and men and women of productive capacity, both as regards men and resources, were being lured away to monastic orders. This did not only transgress the Brâhmanic socio-economic order, but must have hindered production, and created a climate of anti-materialism even in villages. A large number of boys and girls, wives and mothers, unmarried daughters, widows were left uncared for when earning members became shaven-monks. It needed a strong restraining hand to counter this situation. Kauṭilya clearly envisaged appropriate action, and deterrent legal provisions to stem the tide and protect production being harassed. Military considerations also pointed to the same desired strong unified political state. As we have seen iron was very much in use, and it can be presumed was easily available. Iron-weapons and other iron-equipments were being manufactured. It was necessary that the use of key weapons or equipments be restricted to a responsible few to avoid raising of large people-militia under adventurers everywhere causing danger to peace necessary for socio-economic development. It, therefore, followed that the political authority should be so strong and unvulnerable as to exercise some kind of monopoly over arms. And we
know that in the time of Candragupta no private person could own a horse or an elephant, and no one could manufacture arms on wages except for the king. Actually it appears that there was a kind of ban on carrying arms by private citizens without license. "People shall move unarmed, except those permitted with a sealed license." It is clear that the need for a strong and powerful state was fulfilled with the Mauryas having the large standing army with monopoly over cavalry, elephantry and ship-bulding. According to Shastri, Hellenistic model also influenced the character of the Maurya polity. According to Smith, the little touches of foreign manners in the court and institutions of Candragupta are Persian, not Greek. Ghosal after discussing the subject regards the question as open one.

The Mauryan state and empire, thus came into being to maintain the Brâhmanic socio-economic order, to promote production, to encourage trade, and to seriously take up the task of governing the country in the real sense of the term. For this it was not only necessary for the state to maintain a large and well-equipped deterrent army which had to be maintained on high taxation and material resources of the state itself. It also necessitated extensive participation and control of the state in agriculture, trade, business and markets. But behind all these apparently rigorous measures to augment revenues, as we shall see in the following pages, the main ideal that was proclaimed was promotion of the welfare of the people, the satisfaction of people's desired rather of kings. Kautśilya declared: "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare his welfare. Whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as his good, but whatever pleases his subjects, he shall consider as his good." In no clearer and apter words can the ideals and nature of a welfare state be stated even to-day.
It is not possible to be definite about the theory on which the Mauryan state was established. Kauṭilya does not specially state the theory of the origin of the state that he believed in. But from the contents of the Arthaśāstra it is clear that at that time two important theories of the origin of the state—Original Compact theory and Divine origin of Kingship—were current. Manu, the son of Vaivasvata (Sun), is said to have been the first king chosen by the people sick of mātsyanyāya (anarchic state of nature) to afford them protection and in return people would pay him taxes and tolls. Further it is also said that the king was Yama and Indra on the earth, and those who show disrespect to him, suffer divine punishment as well (BK. 1.13-10-11). However these statements put in the mouths of royal secret agents were actually made to win the disaffected people to the king’s side or to threaten the unreconciliable with both kings and gods’ anger and displeasure. But there is no doubt that the Mauryan state’s main justification lay in providing protection to the people, and promote their Yogakshema—welfare. Only by ably discharging this duty he could hope for heaven after death (III.1.41). This obligation was rightly taken by Aśoka as a debt (ṛṇa) which he was righteously bound to repay. It is on this foundation—the promotion of welfare of the people—that the extensive and even rigorous application of law and extensive use of royal authority in all walks of the subjects’ lives are sought to be justified. The interests and the welfare of the people were as it were inextricably mixed with those of the state. Only a strong state could ensure happiness and welfare of the people.

It is, therefore, why the king was the lever of administration, as the success or the failure of the government depended on the character and ability of the king. While Kauṭilya recognised seven constituent elements of sovereignty, the king not only heads the list, but is responsible
for the progress or downfall of the other elements (Prakṛtis). The king is as it were the aggregate of the Prakṛtis. So much depended on the king that Kautilya held “A wise king can make even the poor and miserable elements of sovereignty happy and prosperous; but a wicked king will surely destroy the most prosperous and loyal elements of his kingdom.” At another place he observes: “What character he (the king) has, that character the constituents came to have, being dependent on him in the matter of energetic activity and remissions. For the king is in the place of their head.” Kautilya recommends succession of the eldest son of the king normally, though he advises the king to select his self-controlled son out of many sons.

It was therefore necessary that in a dynastic monarchical system great stress be laid upon the training of the princes—the would be kings. Kautilya prescribes comprehensive study of military science and history which comprised Purāṇa, stories, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra. He had every day to revise old lessons and receive new ones. Company makes the man, and so the prince was to keep constant company with aged and disciplined experts. As a student he was to study sciences under the authority of specialised teachers, Vārtā (Practical Economics) under government superintendents and Daṇḍaniti (Science of government) under academic teachers and active politicians, (Daṇḍanītim-Vāktīpryoktybhyah). A well-educated and disciplined prince was expected to devote himself “to good government of his subjects and bent on doing good to the people (The king) will enjoy the earth unopposed”11. Here also the assurance of a safe and long rule is dependent on contributing to the welfare of the people. It is therefore not surprising that Kautilya asks the king to be kind, to show favours to the people as a father” and Asoka proclaims that “subjects are as his children”11b.
Who is more interested in the welfare than a father in his children?

The rigorous training, education and association with the aged and wisemen from the childhood must have ordinarily contributed to such a conditioning of the mind of the prince as to make him play the role of a righteous king. On becoming a king he was to remember that control of senses was necessary and his reading of history informed him of kings ruining themselves and their kingdom by becoming a victim to even one of the six-fold vices (Vyasanas), and of kings who ruled successfully by exercising restraint on their senses. If later traditions are to be believed, Candragupta had received good education under expert teachers like Cāṇakya. It appears that royal princes were also given practical training and experience in administration. Aśoka served as Viceroy in Taxilā and Ujjain before he became emperor.

Candragupta had a busy time-table. Kauṭilya provides a daily routine for the king. Both day and night were divided into eight parts, and most of the time was engaged in looking after state business, though a part of it was reserved for private study, recreations and religious affairs. Urgent calls were to supersede the routine and were never to be put off. Aśoka asked his reporters to inform him about affairs of his kingdom whether he was eating or in the harem, or in the inner apartment, or even in the ranches, or in the place of religious instruction, or in the parks. The Mauryan king was to be 'energetic and ever-wakeful'. Example is better than precept, and so only energetic king could inspire his subjects to be energetic, necessary in the interest of production.

But the Mauryan king was wakeful also for his own safety. Bhāradvāja, quoted by Kauṭilya, holds: "Princes like crabs have a notorious tendency of eating up their
begetter. So the king had to take proper care against ambition of princes often backed by one or other party factions in the kingdom. The king had to see that the prince is trained under proper discipline and he was to be always watched, by king’s spies who should restrain him from unrighteous paths, and when found qualified, the prince was to be appointed commander-in-chief or Yuvarāja. A prince kept under restraint was a potential rebel. So the king had to wisely guard against it. The king could have more than one wife. Aśoka had many. A king had to be careful towards his wives in the harem, and Kauṭilya refers to kings having been murdered in their own harem. The harem was to be watched and administered by a large contingent of men and women, and meticulous care was taken for the personal safety of the king who was always protected by armed women body-guards, whether granting interviews to saints or ascetics or meeting ministers or foreign envoys or going out and coming into the capital. Megasthenes also says that the care of the king’s person is entrusted to women. Even hatred against the king is punishable, and death for sedition is prescribed.

Thus well-protected the king carried on state business. He was vested with supreme executive, judicial and military powers. He was the head of government. Among his extensive powers, appointment of ministers and other high officers, consultation with mantris or mantrīparishad, institutions of spies and exercise of financial and military powers particularly, may be mentioned. Giving personal attention to the business of gods, Brāhmaṇas and other heretical sects, to religious places, to interest of minors, orphans, afflicted, aged or helpless and women were his other duties. We know from Aśokan inscriptions that he constituted a special class of officers like the Dharma-mahāmātras and toured his empire to see the execution of his programme. He also gave orders to his officers to
tour periodically and to carry on duties as ordained by the emperor. He was particularly interested in execution of public welfare activities like the planting of trees, establishment of hospitals for men and animals and for the promotion of Dhamma which became part of the executive programme. The king looked into the revenues and the expenditure of the kingdom and undertook economic activities like agriculture, industry and trade. He was the highest court of appeal and he heard complaints in person. Kauṭilya observes: 'When in the court, he shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people......he may cause thereby public disaffection'. He was to award just punishment, neither mild nor excessive. There is some uncertainty about the law-making powers of the king. According to Hindu legal texts, Śruti, Smṛti, Nyāya and Sadācāra are the four sources of law. The king does not appear as the source of law in early Dharmaśāstras. The king administered law, moved the wheel of law, was Dharmpravartaka but was not the creator of the law. But Kauṭilya includes Rājaśāsana, edicts of the king, as one of the four legs of law, the others being, Dharma, Vyavahāra and Caritra, and if in conflict, the royal edict supersedes the rest. It has been argued that this means that royal edict was the dominant law. But it is to be pointed out that the verse in the context is liable to another interpretation. However, it has to be conceded that both Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and Aśokan inscriptions show that a large number of royal edicts were issued regulating trade, commerce, agriculture, market, socio-religious life, and these were justifiable i.e. the person affected could go to the court against the government or the government could prosecute citizens for defying the royal edicts, and adequate punishments were provided and meted out. Thus royal edicts were for all practical purposes regulatory laws, if not
substantive or positive law. The King was the head of the military and often led the army in the battle-field.  

Mantri and Mantriparishad  

However active and powerful the king could have been, it was impossible to carry on the heavy load all by himself. He had to take assistance from many. A single wheel can never move; hence he shall employ ministers (Sacivas) and hear their opinions. Kauṭilya uses the word mantriparishad as distinct. Parishad is referred to in the Rock Edict VI of Aśoka, but the word mantriparishad is not known to Aśokan sources. Kauṭilya used the word Saciva as adviser of the king. He also refers to the amātyas and their creation, and distinguishes them from mantrins. But at another place, the distinction is blurred and while the chapter deals with the creation of Mantriparishad and Purohita, the qualifications of amātya-sam-pat are mentioned, and he also speaks of action by amātyas. The three words amātya, saciva and mantri have the same sense, a councillor or a minister, but Kauṭilya must have used these words in technical sense, meaning different rank and work of the three. In his chapter on creation of amātyas he clearly says that they are to be employed not as mantrins but as amātyas. He also refers to the construction of the office of the Mahāmātras (mahāmātrīya). It is not easy to distinguish these officers from one another. It may be said that the amātyas constituted the cadre of imperial senior civil service which was of three grades, high, middle and low. Out of these, those who successfully withstood all the rigorous tests, were appointed mantrins. Those who were successful in all respects but were not appointed as mantrins (whose number was limited) were probably designated as Mahāmātras and may have been members of the Mantriparishad. Mantrins were probably recruited from amongst those who
were experienced administrators. It is difficult to place Saciva exactly. By this probably advisers of the king in general were meant. Out of the cadre of the highest grade of the amāyas (amāyasampat), were appointed superintendents of the departments.\(^{30}\)

The king heard the opinions of the amāyas and mantrins. Kautilya held that the number of mantrins should be three or four.\(^{36}\) These appear to be the king's most confidential advisers. He could consult all the ministers together or with two or one, as time, place and work demanded. One of the constant advisers of the king was Purohita, who was expected to be well-versed in Vedic literature and in the science of government, and was also capable of reading portents. Kautilya advises the king to follow his high priest as a pupil his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master.\(^{37}\) The consultation with mantrin or mantriparishad was to be absolutely in secrecy and any one responsible for divulging the secret consultations was punished severely. The council chamber was to be so constructed as to ensure strictest privacy.\(^{38}\) The king ordinarily was free to accept or reject the advice of the ministers. But he had to seek advice on all matters of State before taking a decision or starting a work.\(^{39}\) The mantrins advised the ministers in appointing certain classes of spies.\(^{40}\) The minister also accompanied him in the battle-field and encouraged the warriors.\(^{41}\) Among important matters of business over which the king sought the advice of his mantrins were, means to begin a project, marshalling men and resources for it, fixing the time and place for the project, considering the means to ward off possible dangers in the execution of the work and assuring the ultimate success of the project. In view of the fact that the king with the help of his mantri and high priest (Purohita) selected departments for the amāyas after putting them to severe tests aided by spies,
and that only those who had high intellectual qualifications, practical experience, good heredity and firm loyalty, all of which were well ascertained by responsible persons and an excellent intelligence system, were only eligible for the highest cadre of the amâtías from whose rank ministers were chosen, it is quite natural to presume that the king gave due weight to advice tendered by his mantrins. The mantrin played an important part during the illness or death of the king and helped in perpetrating succession in the royal line. The Mantri’s importance is obvious from the fact that he daily waited upon the king at the palace in the fourth hall in the morning. While the mantrin was appointed by the king and to hold office under his pleasure, and was at best an advisor. There is no doubt that the association of the mantris with the king helps at most to keep alive the principle that he must govern the kingdom under advice. But the king also consulted the mantrı-parishad (council of ministers), which could consist of as many members as was thought necessary and the deliberations were kept secret. Members of the mantrı-parishad were inferior in rank to mantrins. Members when out of station could give their advice in writing if required by royal orders. This explains the great importance of this council in the eyes of the king. This was more like an executive council whose main functions were to see that work decided upon is started in right earnest, work under progress is completed, and completed work is improved upon. It was this council which saw that orders were strictly obeyed (by subordinate officers) and the work decided upon went on as scheduled. To us it appears that while the Mantrins advised the king about the policy formulation and execution of the schemes, the Mantrı-parishad was like the Secretariat the body responsible for the execution of the work decided upon; the king and the members of the council supervised the works in progress and he often
consulted about their progress with members near him or with those at a distance by a message.

The Mantriparishad was active and important in the time of Aśoka also. In R.E.III Aśoka directs the yuktas, rājukas and prādeśikas that when they go on tour every five years for official business, they should also instruct people in the Dhamma, which included besides other meritorious deeds, to amass little and to spend little. The Council instructed the yuktas particularly for the purpose of inspection of the accounts of individual citizens and to see that the above principle of Dhamma is adhered to by the people. Aśoka was often issuing proclamation of donation by word of mouth or giving oral instructions to his officers in urgent situations. Those were executive orders and they could be debated in the Parishad, and Aśoka's only anxiety was that he should be informed of such debates in the Parishad over his order or proclamation of donation or urgent instruction to his officers by word of mouth, immediately in all places and at all homes. This shows that the Parishad was seized with all executive matters, and the king's oral orders on which there could arise some doubt in the Parishad had to be explained by the king. It also means that the king was not always present during the deliberations over executive matters in the council. K.P. Jayaswal's opinion that this means that the Parishad could reject the oral proclamation of the king without the council's prior approval is not easy to accept. What is certain is that the council had the right to debate over such oral orders of the king, and the latter considered it important enough to be informed of this immediately so that he may make facts and their context known to the Parishad to enable it to come to an agreement with the king. Ultimate decision appears to rest with the king. By and large it is clear that the Parishad played a very
important part in the administration in the time of Aśoka. While the binding nature of the decision in the mantri-parishad in the ordinary times may be in doubt, there is no doubt that in any emergency the king called the mantrins and mantri-parishad jointly and explained to them the situation. It is clear from Kautilya that the advice of the majority or the course of action suggested by them for obtaining success in the emergency was binding on the king.6

Civil-Service

The government was administered by a large number of officials of many ranks. We have already seen that amātyas constituted the superior imperial service, and on their advice much of the success of the government depended. According to Kautilya, all undertakings have their origins in the amātyas, viz. successful execution of works in the country bringing about its well-being and security from one's own and from the enemy's people etc.676 The main criteria on which the amātyas were to be selected were noble birth, possession of wisdom, purity of purpose, boldness and loyalty. He was to have not theoretical knowledge but also practical experience. He was to be endowed with excellent character, health, dignity and was to be free from fickleness and procrastination. The degree in which these qualifications were proved to be possessed by the amātyas decided their rank, the highest, the middle and the lowest. These qualifications were tested by reports from reliable persons or professors and practical tests as the case may be. It appears that the candidates in mind were under careful watch and examination for some time before decisions could be taken about their appointment as amātyas.68 After they were selected as amātyas, the king with the help of mantrin and the purohita put these officers under different tests and observation by
royal spies. This was done to test their capacity and their weakness. As many as four main types of tests, religious allurement (dharmopadha), monetary allurement (arthopadha), love allurement (kamopadha) and fear allurement (bhavopadha), are known; officers who stood religious allurement were made judges, and who stood monetary allurement revenue collector-general or Treasury officer, and so on. Those who failed in all tests were made officers in charge of mines, timber and elephants, forests and manufactories. Those who passed the fear-test were appointed in immediate service (chief of royal body-guard?). We have already seen that those who passed all the tests could be appointed mantrins. The process of examinations is admittedly crude, and is criticised as such by Kauṭilya himself. The application of the tests however introduces us to a new phase in our ancient administrative history, namely that of the specialisation of offices. From this class of officers were selected superintendents of departments endowed with excellence of amātyasampat, revenue and treasury officers, district and city officers (nāgaraka) and judges. There were according to Aśoka, yuktas, prādesikas, rājukas, mahāmātras, dharmanamahāmātras, sryadhyakshamahāmātras, Nagaravyavahārika, antamahāmātra and nāgaraka (many of whom were of mahāmātra rank). It appears that while some mahāmātras were in charge of some particular departments, some were without any special department and some were in provinces or in city headquarters. Kauṭilya’s Arthasastra also gives a long list of officers under pay of the government. According to Megasthenes, who divides the population in to seven classes, the civil and military employees of the government constitute as many as three classes (5th, 6th and 7th). This gives us an idea of the large number of government servants, who included different types of spies ( overseers of Megasthenes). These officers and other employees of the govern-
ment received monthly salaries. On the basis of the civil list of the Arthaśāstra cataloguing the salary of the Government servants, (V. 2) Ghoshal\textsuperscript{69}\textsuperscript{a} classifies the officials in many grades: Grade I, the mantrin, yuvarāja, senāpati and purohita; Grade II-Samāharta and sannidhātā, praśāstā and second in command of the army; Grade III-Nāyaka, third in command of the army, pauravyavahārika, Karmāntika, (superintendent of state workshops), rāshtrapāla (district officer) antapāla (worden of the marches) and members of the mantriparishad with guards and princes of inferior rank, grade IV-the mukhya in charge of Śreṇī troops and the mukhyas in charge of state elephants, horses and chariots, pradeshta; Grade V-adhyakshas of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants and guards in charge of economic forests and elephant forests; Grade VI-a miscellaneous group of king's attendants; Grade VII comprised all civil adhyakshas and five categories of stationary spies; Grade VIII consisted of sankhyāyaka (accountant) and lekhaka (scribe) trained infantry-men and four categories of itinerant spies; Grades IX, X and XI consisted of similar groups of lower grades of Government employees. Kauṭilya (I. 12.20) groups eighteen top-ranking officials under Tirthaśas. The list comprises with a few unimportant variants, the names included in grades I-III already mentioned. Some of the minor officers were assigned lands, in lieu or in addition to cash salary, only in the newly set up villages which needed their guidance and timely expert service\textsuperscript{69}. Government servants appear to have been given quarters. Kauṭilya refers to quarters for the officials like the Prime Minister and the purohita\textsuperscript{69}\textsuperscript{a}. This also proves that there was centralisation of high offices in the capital. Low-paid government employees appear to have been paid partly in kind. It was also provided that government servants who died while on duty had the satisfaction that not only their children and wives would receive wages and subsistence
from the state-treasury, but their relatives who were infants, aged or ill and dependent on them would also be shown concession by the king. The government servants on occasions of funerals, sickness, childbirth in the family which involved heavy expenditure, received presents from the king. In times of acute need, the government servants would receive monetary help together with assistance in kinds such as forest-produce, cattle, or land. In consideration of their knowledge and efficiency, their salaries could also be raised (advance increments). One of the privileges of the officer was not to be arrested for non-payment of debt while on duty. The conditions of service were laid down to avoid confusion and hardship. Superior officers like the superintendents bossing over one hundred or thousand groups of a class of employees were entrusted with the disbursement of wages and subsistence, postings and transfers of his subordinates. This facilitated smooth administration, quick despatch of state business, and prevented delay and red-tapism in disbursement of salary and other allowances. This was certainly in the interest of the subordinate government employees. While government servants' security and material interests were looked after, at the sametime strict vigilance over them was maintained to assure proper discharge of duties. Government servants' negligence or selfishness could put government to great loss. Therefore, an officer responsible for the loss was suitably fined. The superintendent was rewarded or punished by eight times the amount he caused to the gain or loss to the state exchequer. Kauṭilya had no high idea about the financial integrity of the officers dealing with money. He enumerates as many as forty ways of embezzlement. Indulging in trade with government money or lending it were illegal practices indulged in by government servants. Defalcation and self-enjoyment and exchange of government articles for other (inferior) goods by government servants
were serious offences. The mere mention of such likely offences shows that some of the government servants at least were prone to such abuses. Heavy fines, confiscation of ill-gotten wealth, transfer from one work to another and dismissal were the punishments meted out to such guilty servants⁶⁷. Checks by superior officers of the work of subordinates was adopted to keep the officers in check. Commissioners (pradeshtārah) appointed by the Collector General checked the work of the Superintendent and other subordinates and thus kept them under restraint⁷⁸. An officer called Uttarādhyaksha or superior adhyaksha was charged with supervision of his subordinates. Gopa’s work was checked by his superior officers Sthānika and of latter by Prādeshtā appointed by the Collector General (Samāhartā)⁷⁹. Each head of the Department was also required to check excessive expenditure by such prodigal government servants who ate up the entire property left by his father. The Government servants who spent all that he earned was also in black book and was to be restrained but at the same time a niggardly employee who hoarded wealth was to be checked. The idea behind was that the government servants should live well but never show niggardliness nor be miserly⁸⁰.

To keep the government servants ever on tender hooks, it was recommended that in every department there should be many high officers enjoying temporary tenure. Such officers were to be on probation and only when it has been seen that they did not consume king’s wealth but rather increased it by just means, they were made permanent⁸¹. Kautilya realised how difficult it was for a government servant dealing with government money not to appropriate to himself a part of it; it was also difficult to detect misappropriation by such government servants. He says just as it is not possible not to taste honey or poison
placed on the surface of the tongue, even so it is not possible for one dealing with the money of the king not to taste the money in however small a quantity." He further observes, "just as fish moving inside water cannot be known when drinking water, even so officers appointed for carrying out works cannot be known when appropriating money." Again, "It is possible to know even the path of birds flying in the sky, but not the ways of officers moving with their intentions concealed." Rigorous auditing of accounts under the charge of government servants was provided as a deterrent to misappropriation. High officers were to render accounts in full in accordance with their activity without contradicting themselves. Those who made false statements were fined with highest amercement. The superintendent of any office was to check the accounts of each day, group of five days, fortnight, month, four months and a year. If in a government undertaking the accounts officer was not ready for audit or if he fabricates income or expenditure items, he was suitably fined. Twelve times the account misappropriated was the fine. "No branch of State finances in the Arthaśāstra system it so surprising for its modern aspect as that of audit and account" is aptly said by Ghoshal. Rājuka's work was inspected by the Prādeśikas and the former scrutinised the work of Yuktas. The pulishas and the prativedakas were reporters who acted as link between the king and the people, and between the central and local administrations. Another way to keep the officers in control was inspection tours by the king and the high officers. Aśoka states that he has started Dhammadharmās in place of Vihārayātras to meet the people. In his tour he must have acquainted himself of the activities of his officers. Yukta, Rājuka and Prādeśika also had to go on tour every five years on official business and now had to propagate Dhamma also. The king warned the officers that due
discharge of duties rather than attempt to flatter the king would win them king’s favour. Kauṭilya clearly states that the king should constantly hold an inspection of their (Superintendents having the qualifications of aṁāṭyasampat) works and should know them, their office, their nature of work etc. Then the citizens were invited to make their grievances to the king against any government servant, who had made them to suffer. This invitation was issued as a royal proclamation, and those whose grievances were proved to be genuine were compensated for the loss suffered. Asokan edicts are royal proclamations which make the people know the duties of the officers, and policies of the king. But the most important means to keep the government servant on tender hook was espionage. Government spies were to work amongst ministers, high officers and other government servants. Spies were under different guises, and every one must have been suspicious of the other who could be a spy. Besides these spies there were informants specially working among government officers concerned with finances. Such informants may even be government servants working in the same department. If the information about embezzlement of government money was found to be true, the informants were suitably rewarded. The government servants were to work without dissension and without concerted moves as in either case the government work would suffer. The work of the government servants was to be daily watched by his superior officers. Kauṭilya had no great faith in man’s natural virtue in doing his best. So he advised that the agency and tools which they make use of, the place and time of work they are engaged in, as well as the precise form of work, the outlay, and the results shall always be ascertained. There was always a fear of rebellion by high officers naturally as they enjoyed high powers and influence. So Kauṭilya advised the king to keep the power of the treasury and the
army under his strict control, as without their support the amāyas' opposition could be of no avail. A king like Asoka could also exhort them to do their duty for both spiritual and material benefits. By these various measures detailed above, the Mauryan Civil-service was expected to work hard.

With the advice of the mantrins, mantriparishad and the help of large carefully selected and tested and well-trained and supervised higher civil servants, the Mauryan emperor could administer the far-flung empire and regulate the socio-economic and even religious life of the people. The role of the high officers, amāyas or mahāmātras was so great and indispensable for exercise of sovereignty that among the seven constituent elements of services, the amāya is second only to the king in order of importance. Megasthenes states that though in less numbers than the other classes of Indian society, members of this class (councillors) are appointed to the highest post of government, tribunals of justice, the general administration of public affairs.

For facilitating administration, various departments under superintendents or equivalent officers of Mahāmātra status were organised. A critical study of the account of Megasthenes shows his acquaintance with many kinds of officers and departments. There were officers or boards of officers in charge of elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, and armoury. There was a department in charge of markets, another in charge of land measurement and a third in charge of irrigation. There was a revenue department which collected taxes. There was a department in charge of census, and department to supervise handicrafts and arts. There were king's body guards as well. There were revenue, judicial and military departments manned by many grades of officers. Special mention may be made of the State Record and Public Accounts office (akshapāṭala)
under akṣhapatalādhyaṇa. Among his duties was the preparation of the grand register relating to the selected items of king's internal and external administration.68a

The institution of Census furnishes the most convincing evidence of the ancient Indian creative spirit in the field of practical administration.68b The Gopa and Sthānika were in charge of rural Census comprising the number and boundary of villages, the number of tax-payers and non-tax-payers, the number of population caste-wise, sex-wise and age-wise, the area of cultivated, waste and forest land, number of houses in the village, the nature and number of occupations and professions. The Gopa and Sthānika under Nāgaraka carried out similar census of urban areas.68c Thus the census registers gave not only the number of men and women in the kingdom at a given time but also supplied the fullest informations about economic matters which would be beneficial both for fiscal and developmental purposes. There were judges in Dharmasthālya (III.1.1) and magistrates (Pradīṣṭāraḥ) in Kanṭa-kaśodhana courts (IV.1.1) of the amāṭya rank, and there were city judges of mahāmātras' status such as Paurāvyavahārika of the Arthaśāstra (I.12.6.1,V.3.7) or Nagara-vyavāhārika under Aśoka (KRE.II). The administrator of the borders or antapāla of the Arthaśāstra (I.12.6) may be equated with antamahāmātras of Aśoka (P.E.I). Dharma-mahāmātras, a special class of officers were created by Aśoka (R.E.V) for the special purpose of propagating Dhamma amongst various sections of the people, the royal family, the foresters and even in border lands. Rāṣṭrapāla (K.A.V.) or Rāṣṭrīya was the governor of a province. There were guḍhapurusha, satriṇs or secret agents of the king (I.12.1). Aśoka refers to prativedakas (R.E.VI), who are more reporters than secret agents. But Purushas are referred to as a distinct class of government officers. Kauṭilya refers to Purushas as minor government
servants (II.5.16). Purushas as government employees are referred to as divided into three grades—high, middle and low (P.E.I) and appear to have become more important in the time of Asoka. They were also engaged in the propagation of Dhamma; they were required to follow his instructions (P.E.IV). It is the highest rank of the Purushas who are meant when Asoka informs us that the Purushas were appointed incharge of many people to expound and expand Dhamma. The relative position of the Purushas and Rajukas is not clear. Both in P.E.IV and VI they are referred to with the Rajukas. Purushas appear to be the central government officers who carried king's orders to Rajukas who were the most important officers in the country-side. Asoka refers to Yuktas, Rajukas and Pradeśikas who were to go on tour by turns every five years to propagate Dhamma, besides on other (official) business. The Yuktas are also referred to as receiving instructions from the (mantri-) Parishad for the purpose of accounts and in accordance with the king's order (R.E.III). It is obvious that the reference to Yukta, Rajuka and Pradeśika in R.E.III suggests some order, probably in order of increasing importance. So Yukta would be in lower rank than Rajuka. Yukta and Upyukta are referred to as officers by Kautilya (II 5.16) in connection with the collection of resources by the Collector-general. They had opportunity for defalcation and were liable to fines on detection. They are again referred to in the chapter dealing with recovery of revenue misappropriated by government employees. Control over the Yuktas (Yuktapratishehta) was one of the means of increase in the treasury (II. 8.3), as the Yuktas employed in the government service could as easily misappropriate government money undetected as the fish in water could swallow water unknown; Yuktas' dishonest and hidden intentions (for misappropriation) was as untraceable as the path of flying birds (II. 9.33, 34). All these appear to
suggest that the Yuktas were ordinary government officers generally employed in the revenue and accounts department where chances for misappropriation were easier and numerous. The Rājuka is a very high officer in Aśoka's time. His status is higher than that of the Yukta. The Rājuka, as we have seen, also used to go on tours after the Yuktas, every five years in the king's dominion on official business and was instructed by Aśoka to do propagation of Dhamma also while on official tours. Aśoka's anxiety to give real relief to the countryfolk and provide effective and prompt administration and justice to them made him give ample powers to Rājukas. The Rājukas were made incharge of many hundred thousands of peoples and were given final authority in judicial administration by the king (Aśoka appears to have delegated all the judicial powers to the Rājukas in the country-side), so that they could dispense justice without any hindrance. But they were not only highest judicial officers; they were also entrusted with the welfare of the people and were to regard themselves as nurses to the people appointed by the king. They were to keep themselves in constant touch with the people in the countryside and were therefore most competent to know the difficulties and needs of the people as nurses know of their wards. They were given authority to bestow concessions or facilities in accordance with the needs of the common people (P. E. IV). They were thus the highest district officers combining in them duties of judicial, administrative and welfare officers. They were regularly in touch with the purushas who as king's confidential reporters would communicate to them royal orders and seek their compliance by them (Rājukas). In Candragupta's time the Rājukas do not appear to have been so important officers. Kauṭilya refers to rajju and corarajju as sources of revenue from the country-side (II.6.3). Corarajjuka is an officer responsible for
catching of thieves in regions without pastures. Because he tied the thief with rope, he was called Corarajjuka, and because the thief could be released by paying ransom or the corarajju had to pay a fine and make up the loss to traders if stolen articles in his area were not recovered by the Corarajjuka, so income from Corarajjuka came to the state also (IV.13.10). He appears to be a police officer. But raju is also a unit of measurement (of land); ten dandas made one raju (II.20.21). It appears that Rajjuka was a land and survey officer. Megasthenes also refers to officers who measure the land (Mc. Meg. & Arrian. p. 86). Aśoka appears to have raised the status of the Rajjuka (Rājuka) who were already stationed in the country-side and were assisting in maintenance of law and in land-survey and settlement work amongst the country-folk. It was quite natural for Aśoka who wanted to give special attention to the material and spiritual welfare of the vast masses of the country people and to relieve their distress promptly without involving bureaucratic delay to pick up this group of government employees and up-grade their status and rank immensely. According to Ghoshal, “Rājukas in their capacity of representative of central government exercised supreme control not only over the executive and the judicial, but also over the financial branches of the provincial administration. (Ghoshal, op. cit. p. 244). Pradeśika of Aśokan inscriptions can not be precisely defined. They may be considered to be more important than the Rājukas if they are mentioned in the ascending order (R. E., III). Pradeśika as an officer is not mentioned in the Arthaśāstra which mentions Pradeshtī at many places. Pradeshtī is one of the 18 tīrthas or high officials of the state over which the king set up spies (I. 12.6.20). He received 8000 paṇas as salary equal to that of heads of guilds or banded troops, commandant of elephants, horses and chariots etc. (V. 3.9). The Pradeśṭā was of amātya rank and was incharge of criminal justice (IV.
1.1), disputes between the state and the citizens, as juxtaposed to judges dealing with disputes between citizens. He also had police functions and with the assistance of Gopas and Sthānikas was to make search of thieves outside the fort (and arrest them on suspicion) (IV. 6.20). The Pradesṭā like the Samāhārtā was to keep in check the work of the heads (adhyakshas) and officers subordinate to them (IV. 9.1). Thus it is clear that the Pradesṭā of Kauṭilya was not only an ordinary magistrate but he was also a judge and a police officer and his status appears to be higher than that of Adhyakshas. So it is possible to identify Prādesika of Aśoka with Pradesṭā of the Arthaśāstra, and this explains his position being higher than that of Rājukas who appear to be District Officers enjoying the final powers in judicial matters as the city judge of Mahāmātra rank in the cities or nagaras. Stryadhyaksha-mahāmātras of Aśoka R. E. XII were in charge of women. It appears that Aśoka was very anxious for the care of women. So he employed such high officers. It is important to note that Aśoka does not claim to have created this kind of officers. They may be identified with antarvamśika (I. 12.6) meaning superintendent of the women’s apartments (Apte’s Students Dictionary p. 26). Special reference may be made of the lekhaka (Scriber) who is mentioned in the civil list (V 3). He was to be endowed with the excellence of an amātya-sampat (II. 10.3), and he received a salary of 500 paṇas (V. 3.14). He was to draw up royal edicts (rājasāvanas) of different types, eight in all. The king must have corresponded with the latter (drafted by the lekhaka) with the absent members of the mantriparishad (I. 19.13).

The above review makes it clear that the vast bureaucracy regulated and controlled the entire field of the nation’s social and economic activities and proved the best instrument for the centralisation of authority under the king.
Revenue

Kosha was another essential element of sovereignty. All undertakings are dependent first on treasury. In the absence of a treasury the army goes over to the enemy or kills the king. And the treasury ensuring the success of all endeavours is the means of deeds of piety and sensual pleasure. The Collector-general (Samāharta) was responsible for the collection of revenue. There were seven heads under which revenues collected were accounted for on the basis of area from which collection was made. These were forts (dūrga) which included towns (puras) also, rāṣṭra (country parts), Khani (mines), Setu (buildings, gardens, embankments etc.), Vana (forest), Vraja (ranches of cattle and like), Vanikpatha (roads).

Under the head 'dūrga', revenue from (tolls and customs dues) (śulka), fines (daṇḍa), superintendent of coinage (lakṣaṇādhīyaśa) Superintendent of seals and passports, liquor, slaughter of animals, weights and measures, threads, oils, ghee, sugar (kshāra) from the goldsmith, warehouse of merchandise, prostitutes, gambling, buildings sites (Vāstuka), from guilds of artisans and handicrafts men, from superintendent of gods, and taxes collected at the gates and from the nomadic people (Bāhirikas). Tolls were collected at the toll house near the large city-gate. All goods meant for sale whether coming from country parts (bāhya) or manufactured inside the forts (ābhyantarika) or from foreign countries (atithyam) had to pay tolls. They had to be duly stamped after paying stamping fee and lack of the seal would lead to doubling of the toll-due. Tampering with seal or changing it for other not required for the particular kind of merchandise was punished with fines. Fines were imposed also for persons substituting the merchandise by what it was not intended or indicated in the declaration. Import of
forbidden articles or smuggling a part of merchandise without payment of toll with merchandise on which toll has been paid were also punished with fines. One sixth was the toll due on flower, fruit, vegetable, roots, bulbous roots, pallikya, seeds, dried fish and dried meat; 1/10 or 1/15 was the toll on fibrous garments, superfine cloths, silk cloths, silk fibers, mail armour, vermilion, arsenic, metals, sandal, dress, wine, ivory, skins, carpets, curtains and wool and other products yielded by goats and sheep; 1/20 or 1/25 on textile, quadrupeds, bipeds, threads, cotton, scents, medicines, wood, bamboo, barks of trees for cloth, skin, clay pots, unhusked rice, oils, sugar, salt, liquor, and cooked food A gate-due amounting to 20 percent of toll dues could also be levied. It appears that toll dues were levied on both imports and exports at the same rate. Minerals and other commodities, flower or fruits, vegetables etc. or grass or grains had to be purchased in cities out of goods allowed to enter there after payment of toll and not directly from mines, farms or gardens. Traders who some how managed to earn more than the prescribed 5 p.c. profit on local commodities and 10 p.c. on foreign goods had to pay excess profits tax to the government as Pārśva. Many items were exempt from toll dues such as articles intended for marriage, presents to a bride for worship or for treatment of women at the time of delivery (II.21.18). Ghosal rightly observes that "the Kauṭilyan tariff policy is marked by moderation and good sense." Fines could be judicial fines imposed by courts of law, or punitive fines for defying government orders and regulations. There were numerous offences which were punished with fines. They were of three degrees, highest, middle and low amercement. Fines from cities or forts, imposed for various offences constituted an important source of revenue. Board administrating the city's affairs appears to deal with collection of tolls or 1/10 as sales tax.
on prices of articles sold. Another source of revenue was the 5 p. c. levied as commission or Vyāji in kind or cash realised by the government on account of difference between the royal market weights and measures. 8 p.c. was rupikum-examination fee by the superintendent of mint or coinage from persons who wanted to get their coins tested if doubts arose about their genuineness. As the state government was a conspicuous manufacturing, trading, and transporting agency, people used to pay in cash for their purchases or availing of state transport, the mint-master was collecting lot of commissions from the customers for the state treasury. Counterfeiting was known and when detected proved a source of revenue in the form of fines. It appears that private citizens could hand over bullion gold or silver to the state goldsmiths for manufacture of gold or silver coins which had to be properly stamped and a charge of one Kākaṇi (1 māsha) was charged for that. The superintendent of passports (Mudrādhyaaksha) would charge one māsha per pass for persons going out of the country or coming into it. Any citizen going out of the country or entering into it without a valid passport from outside was fined 12 paṇas. Passport was also forged or fabricated and any citizen producing a false pass was fined with the first emercent and a foreigner was fined with the highest emercent. Merchants paid a sulka 20 or 16½ p. c. ad valorem as harbour toll. Ships that touched the ports on the way also paid the sulka. Superintendent of liquor contributed to state revenue in many ways. The profits from liquor manufactures and public-bars went to the state. There appear to have distilleries and public bars in forts, cities and camps as also in the country-side. Some were given license on requisite fees to manufacture particular kinds of liquor for their own use on particular occasions. Severe fines were imposed on persons who manufactured, sold or purchased liquor unauthorised. Those who were authorised to make liquor had to pay
besides a license fee, 5 p.c. as toll duty on quantity of sale of foreign liquor manufacture. The Superintendent of slaughter-house would collect as tolls 1/6 of the beasts of prey, 1/10 or more of fish and birds, deer and other animals. The profits from weaving factory in the city under the management of the Superintendent of Weaving (Sutrādhyaśka) also added to the revenues of the state. The state revenues were augmented by sale of prescribed weights and the licensing fee for getting these stamped. A fee of 4 māshas was charged for stamping weights and measures, and 27 1/4 paṇas were levied as fines for using unstamped weights and measures. The state also got commission (tapta-Vyāji) for purchasing/clarified butter (ghee) and oil. Different rates of fines were imposed for using measures (tulā) having a difference more than allowed from prescribed measure. Revenues also acquired from fines imposed on traders for manipulating balances or weights fraudulently in his favour, or for adopting concerted measures to cover goods to bring about enhanced price. Profits of 5 p.c. on indigenous goods and 10 p.c. on imported goods were collected by Superintendent of Commerce (Panyasamsthā). From prostitutes in the cities also the state derived considerable income. A prostitute who wanted to give up the profession had to pay 24000 paṇas as ransom; and if she attended on a private person and ceased to attend the king's court, 1 1/4 paṇas per month were to be paid by her to the king. She was also fined for many offences. Every prostitute had to pay every month to the government twice the amount of her daily earnings and the Superintendent had to regularly check her income and expenditure. Actors, dancers, singers, mimic-players, rope-dancers, jugglers, wandering bards, or unchaste women from outside who had come to show their skill or give performances in the city had to pay 5 paṇas as licensing fee. The state also
obtained revenue from gambling. One of the items of revenue under this head is vāstuka, of which the exact meaning is not clear. While Kauṭilya at one place means by Vāstu, houses, fields, gardens, buildings of any kind, and at other places he means by it buildings or houses only, M. Gopal’s conclusion that Vāstu means site, and Vāstuka, house or building may be acceptable. Vāstuka was a kind of revenue accruing from the sale of government houses in the durga or it may mean income from hire of government houses by others. It is possible also that it was a kind of housetax or tax on sale of houses or buildings. The income from guilds of artisans and handicraftsmen could mean income from registration or licensing fees imposed by the state. Fishermen paid 1/6 of their haul to king again probably as fee for fishing in rivers or lakes which belonged to the king. Rāshṭra, included income from crown lands (Stā), king’s share in produce (bhāga), religious tax (? bali), taxes paid in money (kara), merchants, the superintendents of rivers, ferries, boats, and ships (Nāvadhyaksha), towns, pasture grounds, road-cess (vartanī), ropes (raju) and ropes to bind thieves (cora-raju). The crown lands were cultivated by governmental agency, and the income was credited to the state treasury. Some of these lands could also be cultivated on share-cropping basis; there were also water tax levied on cultivators who wanted to take use of irrigation facilities provided by the government. Bhāga was the state-share of the produce of the farmers. Megasthenes says that all land belonged to the king, but it appears that for all practical purposes land was also privately owned, and the state received usually 1/6 of the produce as its share from earlier times. It was assessed by one or the other methods of appraisement of the standing crops or of measurement of the field. We are told that the Gopa entered the different categories of land with their areas in the register;
and measured the land for revenue purposes. Megasthenes's reference to 1/4 of the produce as tribute to the king by the cultivators may only refer to the crown lands given to private cultivators to till or it may refer to the land revenue in emergencies, or to water-tax paid by the cultivator of this land. It is difficult to be precise about the exact term Bali. In the Vedic period Bali was paid to the king in the same way as Indra received bali from other gods. It was a kind of voluntary payment to the king by the subjects on certain occasions. Probably in later times it became a permanent tax payable by the citizens to the king for performing religious sacrifices which were considered essential for the safety and prosperity of the kingdom. Income from country towns and village markets also was enlisted as separate sub-head. Did they make contributions to the imperial budget? Kara appears to be a payment in cash, but for what the people paid to the state is not clear. The income from rajju appears to be the fee received by the state for land-survey of the private land-owners. Corarajjuka appears either to refer to any income that police acquired from arrested thieves (stolen goods or cash appropriated to the state) or it was a police tax paid by the people for the police officers which apprehended thieves. Pindâkara was an aggregate tax paid by the village as a whole. It must have varied according to the capacity of the village and we are told that the Samâhartâ in his register entered villages in three categories—best, middling and lowest. (II. 35.1). However some villages were free from taxes (II. 35.1). The Superintendent of ships collected the boarding-fee, hire-charge from passengers or hirers using the government boats or ships. Merchants paid for transporting commercial goods on royal boats. Megasthenes informs us that the admiral of the fleet sets out ships on hire both to those who undertake voyages and to merchants
(McCrdle, Meg. Arrian, p. 53 foot note etc.). Merchants had to pay necessary toll on touching port-towns, and villagers who lived on sea-shore or on banks of rivers or lakes paid a fixed amount of tax, presumably because of their constant dependence for protection, living, and transport on government or for their economic advantage on living near harbour ports. Fishermen had to give 1/6 of their haul to the government as fees for fishing license.\textsuperscript{3} Vartanl or road-cess of varying rates was imposed on traders or passengers with load of merchandise or carrying animals on king's high ways and was collected by antapālas who after examining the goods sealed it and sent it to customs house.

Mines constituted a very important source of revenue in the Mauryan empire. It appears that mines were exploited by the state directly or were given on lease to private persons on the basis of fixed share of the government on the excavated minerals or on a fixed rent. Fines were also collected from such labourers who stole a part of the mineral products. Carrying of mining operations without license was an offence. Centralised commerce in the mineral manufacturing products was also a source of profit to the government. The government detained its due share from the salt collected from oceans by authorised private agency on share basis, and by selling this salt (state-share) on 5 p. c. commission basis paid in royal measure the state added to its income. On imported salt 1/6 was imposed as customs duty in royal measure which was 5 p.c. larger than the market measure.\textsuperscript{30} It appears that consumers also paid salt tax.\textsuperscript{30} The government imposed regulations on builders of houses etc., and violation of the regulations added to revenues in the shape of fines.\textsuperscript{31} Forests were another important source of revenue. Different manufactories were set up for manufacture of articles based on forest produce. There were reserved forests for king's
Fines were imposed on those who caused any damage to the forests except in emergencies. The superintendent of cows earned revenues for the government in many ways. Private persons could keep their cattle under him for which they would pay cash or they may surrender the cows in lieu of fixed amount of dairy produce of butter and branded skin. The superintendent also maintained such cattle in whose dairy produce the owner had a share. Strayed and lost cattle were kept under the superintendent of cows in the royal cowpens. The superintendent also maintained such cattle that owners for their protection from cattle-lifting enemies left with him and in return the state got 1/10 of the dairy produce, as its price for protection. Then there were cattle such as sheep, goats, asses, camels, horses and mules owned by the government which was distinguished from private ones by its specific branding. Any one substituting a private one for a state one was punished with the first amercement. As much as 25 percent of the sale price of a cow kept in the government farm went to the government if any owner of such a cow sold it, probably because being well-fed and looked after the cattle was safe and healthy and so fetched the price. The state farms had a large quantity of milk, butter, cheese under its disposal for sale. Sheep and other animals which had wool over their body were shorn of it every six months in the farm. Abundance of fodder and water was supplied to the cattle. 1½ paṇa was imposed as road-cess on each load of merchandise on cart or ¼ or ½ paṇa on different kinds of animals. People’s contributions in kind towards meeting the cost of the provision of the army doing the march through the villages (Senābhakta), presents met to the king on the occasion of the birth of son to the king or on festive occasion (Utsāṅga may be mentioned as other sources of income). Strabo refers to presents to the king by his subjects when the king washes
his hair. Gopal, basing his contention on the account of Megasthenes, believes that the Mauryan state imposed tax on every child-birth. Compulsory labour (Vishiṭi) was also a kind of tax paid by poor people in the form of free service of their labour in lieu of tax to the king. Free labour was one of the advantages secured from the people according to Viśālakṣa quoted by Kauṭiliya. Vishiṭi is entered in the register of the gopa (II. 35.4). Free labourers or Vishiṭi (unpaid labourers) are referred to as being employed in the army. Free labourers were employed in state factories, mines and in state farms also. Kauṭiliya, however, disfavours unrestricted employment of Vishiṭi, detrimental to agriculture. Megasthenes also refers to gratuitous services rendered by handicraftmen and artisans and they had to pay tribute from the products of labour. Sweepers, watchmen, persons engaged for weighing and measuring raw materials and marketing of finished products, slaves and free labourers comprised most of the Vishiṭi (II. 15.63). It appears that some of these occupied some villages exclusively and such villages were entered as Vishiṭi villages in Samāhartā's register (II. 35.1).

From the sources mentioned above taxes were collected in a systematic manner. For purposes of revenue collection every Janapada (revenue province) was divided into four districts. Every district was under a sthānaka who supervised the work of gopas incharge of five or ten villages. The gopa used to maintain up-to-date record of the different kinds of lands in the village, the name, caste, number of members, the age of the head and members of each family. He would also keep a record of cattle, merchants, artisans, labourers, slaves, and birds so that he could fix the amount of cash or free labour, toll tax or fines to be collected from each house. He also kept an account of the number of young and old members that
resided in each house together with their personal history, occupation, income and expenditure. This work of maintaining an up-to-date census of human and other resources of every village was considered so important that the collector-general deputed high officers like pradeshtārah (Prādesikas) to inspect this work of the Gopas and Sthānikas, and spies in various guises were set upon to see if the Gopa or Sthānika were negligent, or corrupt. The Gopa was also to register gifts, sale, charities, and remission of taxes on fields. Similarly, in every town, Gopa and Sthānika posted in each ward or a quadrant of the city maintained similar records and watch over the human and other resources of the citizens with a view to have complete and accurate picture for revenue collection. While the priests, ācāryas, Brāhmaṇas and learned in the Vedas were granted Brahmadeya lands free from taxes in a village, it was provided that such land would be sold or mortgaged only to Brāhmaṇas who owned similar lands so that the government did not suffer loss of revenue from taxpayers.

There were some principles adopted for the guidance of tax collectors. The convenience, the time opportune and certainty of tax due or tax rate for the tax payers were always to be borne in mind. This was also in the interest of the government. We know that rates of land tax and duties on goods for trade were fixed and the convenience for the tax-payer to pay taxes was emphasised. Kauṭilya wisely observed: “Just as fruits are gathered from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or fruits, when unripe shall never be carried on lest their source may be injured causing immense trouble.” Variety of taxes equitably distributed the burden of taxation among different section of people. Officers who collected more than stipulated were punished. Kauṭilya again observes: “whoever doubles
the revenue (collects just as much as in excess as fixed) eats into the vitality of the country. Tax-collectors were always hated by the people and therefore such persons who depended on king's favours but refused to be conciliated towards him were appointed for collection of taxes and fines, and thereby they incurred odium of the people and then could be easily destroyed by the king. Taxation and expenditure were so stipulated that huge surpluses remained with the king. There was no scope of deficit budgets or even a balanced one.

Emergency Taxation

In emergency extra-ordinary measures for augmenting revenue and replenishing the empty treasury were resorted to. What is important to notice is that even in matter of emergency taxation the government have to follow the principles and rates of such taxation which were not to be resorted to more than once or made excuse of in ordinary time as happened regarding ship money in England in the Stuart period. In emergency the king could impose a levy of $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of produce from fields of highest quality. This was in addition to the usual Bhāga-$\frac{1}{6}$ of the total produce. Such a demand was not to be made on a region useful for building of fort or embankment or trade-routes or new settlements or mining or material forest or elephant forest or on a region small in size when it is on the frontier. Actually to augment production in an emergency, the colonisers of the waste land were not only not to pay a higher rate of revenue but were helped with grains and cattle in this useful works. The government also could purchase $\frac{1}{4}$ of the grains from cultivators after leaving what was necessary for their subsistence and seeds. The procurement was on payment in cash for the procured produce from the cultivators. Lands belonging to the Brāhmaṇas and Śrotiyas were exempted from procurement.
but if procured, prices favourable to such owners were paid. The peasantry was encouraged to raise summer crops to increase over-all production which would automatically increase revenues to the state as its share in the produce. Such cultivators who failed to respond were fined and government servants sowed seeds in their (guilty farmers') fields. It was then as now natural for the farmer to corner their produce to save it from procurement, and make false declaration, but such guilty farmers, if detected, were to pay fines in cash, which would be eight times the amount concealed. Concealment of grains of the farmers by others was fined 50 times the amount in each kind of grains. ¼ of the unhusked grains, ¼ of the forest produce such as cotton, wax, fabrics, barks of trees, hump, wool, silk, medicines, sandal, flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboos, flesh, and dried flesh; ¼ of ivory, animal skin, were claimed by the government. Half of all ivory and animal skin were appropriated by the state. During emergency trade in these articles was to be only on license from the government and contravention of this was fined with fresh amercement. Higher taxes were levied on merchants and traders also. Merchants dealing in gold, silver, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, coal, horses, and elephants were to pay 50 Karas (10 panas = 1 Kara?), while traders of cotton, threads, clothes, copper, brass, bronze, sandal, medicines and liquor were to pay 40 Karas, those trading in grains, liquids, metals and carts paid 30 Karas, and those who traded in glass and artisans of fireworkmanship paid 20 Karas, on articles of inferior workmanship, 10 Karas. Traders in firewood, bamboos, stones, earthen pots, cooked rice and vegetables had to pay 5 Karas. Dramatists and prostitutes had to surrender half of their wages, and the entire stock of goldsmiths was seized. Persons rearing cocks and pigs also had to surr-
ender ¼ of their stock of animals, and persons maintaining prostitutes were to collect money for the king. These measures are hard no doubt, and so it was made clear that these demands were to be made only once, never twice. So unless indispensable, no government even in emergencies would resort to these measures which would not be available to them in graver situations. Therefore, when these measures were not adopted, then to meet an emergency, the government called for subscriptions or donations from the people of cities and country side for specific purposes which may be on false pretence. Persons may be induced to subscribe heavily to government by showing them publicly that some (selected) individuals were making handsome donations. Those who paid less were ridiculed by spies. Such well-to-do citizens who voluntarily came forward to make rich donations were honoured with a rank in the court, or privilege of having a royal umbrella, a turban or some other decoration in return for their donations in gold. Dire emergency could force the government to adopt questionable means to deprive the citizens of their money. Under false pretence of keeping the money in safety, government spies would take away the money of the community of heretics (pāshaṇḍasaṁgha) and of temple (devadravyya), and even of a deadman and of a burnt house. The superintendent of Religious Institutions would collect the various kinds of the property of temples and then pass them on to the government treasury. Playing upon the superstitious beliefs of the common people, money might be collected from such persons in the form of votive offerings by showing them setting up an altar (caitya) a deity, or an ascetic establishment, and then transfer such income to the government treasury. Or the government could falsely proclaim appearance of a god or an evil spirit on a tree and make all types of noise by a hidden spy in a tree or manipulate a hidden serpent with many heads in a subterranean passage and collect by these
means money for the government to meet the emergency. Patanjali refers to making of images for earning money for the Mauryas. Spies were set to lure merchants to part with their money in good faith. Prostitute spies in the guise of chaste women would live with rich men and then cheat them of their money. All these ill-gotten money would go to the government treasury. Seditious persons were also in many ways duped by different kinds of shows, even killed and their properties confiscated.\textsuperscript{99a}

While one may deplore some of these questionable methods of replenishment of treasury, it is to be understood that different sections of people were shown many kinds of concessions. Learned Brahmanas were not to pay taxes on Brahmadeya kinds. Even government servants were often granted remission of taxes. When irrigation works like tanks, or lakes were constructed by private persons land below such work were exempted from revenue for 5 years. Remission of taxes, grant of loan, grains, seeds and cattle to needy cultivators were to be awarded.\textsuperscript{100} Government share in produce (bhāga) could be reduced. Asoka reduced the royal share in revenue in the Lumbini village and exempted it from payment of bali.\textsuperscript{101} Farmers who paid taxes regularly were shown favour with grant of loans etc. The king was to exempt from taxes a region laid waste by the army of an enemy or by forest tribes or afflicted by disease or famine.\textsuperscript{100a} Sometimes revenues were remitted due to fear of an uproar among the subjects.\textsuperscript{100b} When ruined or neglected waterworks were repaired, the remission of taxes was for four years. For improving, extending and restoring water works taxes were reduced for two years.

A large part of revenue in ordinary times was spent on public works like building of roads, clearing of wastelands, settlement of new villages, exploitation of mines
and timber and elephant forests, on hospitals and anything, providing irrigation facilities, maintaining the aged orphans and helpless, construction of temples, monasteries or stūpa and other skilled persons, in paying of scholars, religious men and communities. It was provided that half of the provisions in royal store-house was to be set apart for times of distress.\textsuperscript{101} We know from Sohagura inscription\textsuperscript{101a} that store-house of grains were kept at important crossings of high ways for distribution in time of distress. But certainly the large army and well equipped expanding army of government servants, and maintenance of luxurious court, palace and large harems must have cost considerably. As much as $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total revenue was charged for maintaining government servants.\textsuperscript{102} Taxes on the whole were various and on high side. And so many regulations and punishments prescribed against the evasion of taxes may point to the fact that irked by various demands on his income the well-to-do citizen had to resort to evasion of taxes or false declarations. One of the virtues to be practised was moderation in earning and spending, as is clear from Kautilya's views against prodigal, spend-thrifts and niggardly persons.\textsuperscript{103} Ashoka also in his inscription asked the officers to propagate the virtue of moderation in income and expenditure.\textsuperscript{104} It appears that while the Mauryan king and his royal palace were envy of contemporary world in grandeur and magnificence,\textsuperscript{105} citizens were to lead a moderate life, and the taxation policy appears to be designed to the same purpose. For the convenience of tax payers, taxes could be paid in gold, coins, cattle, grains, raw materials and personal service.\textsuperscript{105a}

**Military**

Military administration is another important subject which was given serious attention. The Mauryan army was large. According to Megasthenes, "the fifth caste
among the Indians consists of the warriors, who are second in point of numbers to the husbandmen. 106 According to Pliny the standing army of the Prasii, whose capital was Palibothra (Pātaliputra), had 60,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9000 elephants. 106 Plutarch also refers to the whole of India being overrun by Candragupta with an army of 60,000 men. 107 This may not be an exaggeration when Nanda king Agrammes, according to Curtius Rufus was said to have 20,000 cavalry, 2,00,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 3,000 elephants. 108 But according to Plutarch the kings of Praisai and Gandaritai had an army of 80,000 horse, 2,00,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots 108. According to Diodorus Siculus the king of the Praisai and Gandaritai (note one king over both people) had an army of 20,000 horse, 2,00,000 infantry, 2000 chariots and 4000 elephants 109. It is quite natural that Candragupta who had a larger empire had a much larger army. Aśoka's army must have been large enough when in the Kalinga war casualties in the field were so heavy 111. Entire army was a standing army paid and maintained by the state. According to Diodorus, the entire force-men-at arms, war-horses, war-elephants, are all maintained at the king's expenses 112. Artisans who made arms and weapons or ships were paid wages by the king, and were exempted from taxation 113 117. The army had nothing to do in peace time, when it gave itself up to relaxation and drinking bouts at the expense of state exchequer. Megasthenes informs us that much order and discipline prevailed in the army camps and even petty thefts were rare 114. According to Megasthenes the military affairs were administered by a board of 30 members divided into six division (committees). One division is appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet; another with superintendent of bullock trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for soldiers,
provender for cattle and other military requisites. They supply servants, who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for horses and mechanics and their assistants; the third division had charge of foot-soldiers; the fourth, of the horses, the fifth, of the war-chariots and the sixth, of the elephants... the war elephants carried four men including three archers, and the chariot carried two soldiers besides the charioteer. The Mauryas had a standing army with foot-men cavalry, elephantry, chariery, navy and commissariat as its wings. The army according to Kauṭilya consisted of mauvalaba (regulars), bhṛtakabala (those hired temporarily), sreṇībala (those contributed by guilds), mitrabala (allied forces), amitrabala (alien forces), aṭāvībala (forest troops). Kaunṭilya prefers army of Kṣatriya caste comming from generation to generation.

Kauṭilya does not speak of the board and committees for military administration. But he speaks of Superintendents of elephants, horses, ships, armoury, chariots and infantry assisted by many subordinate officers and men. The Superintendent of armoury shall employ experienced workmen of tried ability to manufacture military weapons, engines of war (Yantra), mail armour, and other instruments together with war materials for protecting forts or destroying enemy's fort. These workers were to get fixed wages. The weapons were carefully stored and periodically reviewed with regard to their quality and quantity. No one else except royal artisans could make weapons. The king had to see that only such weapons which had royal seal entered into the armoury. The Superintendent of horses was to maintain an up-to-date register of the horses and the manner in which they were acquired and he had to report to the king about the condition of the horses, good or crippled or diseased. The horse-attendants were supplied from the state treasury every month for meeting the provisions of the horses, kept in properly cons-
ducted stables. The rations of the different types of horses were fixed. The ration for the chariot-horse was the same as that of the best horse. There were trained instructors for horses who also gave directions for the manufacture of straps and other implements for horses, and charioteers did it for horse-chariots. Transgression of duties by different servants of the royal stables were punished with fines. The Superintendent of elephants was required to guard elephant-forests and look after the stables, stalls, places for lying down and the amount of work, food and fodder for male and female elephants and cubs. There was a regular provision for training of the elephants who were given good rations. Elephants were used in war and for riding. The war-elephants were used for standing in attendance, going round, marching together, killing and trampling, fighting with elephants, assaulting towns and fighting in battles. Elephants were very useful in war and in Indian army in those days they constituted the most important wing. The destruction of enemy’s forces principally depended on elephants. That is why on the border of the kingdom there were established elephant-forests under forest guards for their protection and any one slaying an elephant was put to death. Elephants were obtained from Kalinga (Orissa), Ànga (East Bihar) from the east (between the Lauhitya, Prayâga, Gangâ and Himvat), Cedi (Madhyapradesh), Kârusha (south-west Bihar), Daśārṇa (Madhyapradesh) and Saurâshṭra. The war-elephant carried three fighting men, of whom two shoot from the sides, while one shoots from behind, besides the driver with the goad. Kauṭilya preferred a larger number of elephants even dull to a few brave ones, because of their various uses in war and of becoming a source of threat to the enemy. The importance of horse and elephant for the king is clear from the statement of Megasthenes; a private person is not
allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king and persons are appointed to take care of them. 135 Megasthenes refers to royal stables for horses and elephants and also a royal magazine to which the soldiers return the horses, elephants or arms. 136 Special care was taken to treat the ill elephants and in every elephant-stable a physician was stationed. 137 The success of the army so much depended on horses and elephants that "no private person is permitted to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either is a royal privilege." 138 The duty of the Superintendent of chariots was to establish factories for the manufacture of chariots which could be temple chariots, festive chariots, war-chariots, travelling carriage, chariots for marching against an enemy's city and chariots for training. The Superintendent had to acquaint himself with bows, arrows, armours, and accoutrements, striking weapons. He had to arrange for charioteers, chariot attendants and chariot horses and look after their food and wages. 139 The infantry was to be looked after by the commandant of the army who would be responsible for selecting the ground for fighting and for preparing arrays or vyūhas. It was his duty to muster his array in the field or in marching by means of musical instruments, banners and flags. 138 While Kauṭilya refers to the Superintendent of shipping with elaborate regulations controlling use of royal boats or ferries, there is no suggestion in the chapter about any war fleet, though we have seen that there was an admiralty committee in the Board of Military administration according to Megasthenes. Kauṭilya refers to transport of food, fuel, fodder, water, equipment of the army during march, reminding us of the Board of Commissariat of Megasthenes. Though the king was in direct control over the army and even led it in the battle-fields, there were grades of army officers. The
Commander-in-chief (Senāpati) was annually paid 48,000 paṇas. So were the minister, priest, preceptor or the crown prince, the chief of the palace guards, the officer in charge of the inner appartments, Praśāstā, Samāhartā and Sān nidhātā received 24,000 paṇas each. Nāyaka or Commandant of a force received 12,000 paṇas. The officer in charge of the sappers, commanders of elephantry, cavalry and chariotry were paid 8000 paṇas each. The Superintendents of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants received 4000 paṇas. The three officers in over-all charge of the army were the senāpati, praśastā and the nāyaka. The chariot-fighter, the horse-tamer, the elephant-trainer got 2000 paṇas. Foot soldiers received 500 paṇas per year. The one commander of ten single units was the lieutenant, over ten lieutenants one general and over ten generals was the commandant. The king took personal interest in the army and he was expected to constantly attend the military exercise of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants which were to be held outside the city. Senāpati was entrusted with the average training of troops and qualified trainers (ācāryas) were there to train horses and elephants. When the decision about military expedition was made, the army was to be kept ready. The soldiers could be allowed to buy necessary provisions for their families during their absence in war on the promise to pay back double the quantity on return from the expedition. Senābhakta was, as we have seen, a tax imposed on villagers for supplying provisions to the army on march. A regular supply of ration was allowed to the officers and other regulars, (II. 33.6). Kauṭilya is very clear that the enemy must be destroyed even if it entails great losses and expenses, and he here disagrees with the previous preceptors that even a victorious king after military operation becomes weak and a loser due to the loss of prosperity because of war. That explains the large army of Candragupta and his large-
scale military operations. The army also was considered even more important than possession of an alliance. Kautilya says: "When one has an army one's ally remains friendly or even the enemy becomes friendly."

Kautilya believed in power and the army was the main instrument of power in inter-state or international politics.

It was therefore necessary to keep the army free from such calamities as being unpaid, sick, exhausted, deplated repulsed, despondent deserted, encircled and with supply of grains and men cut off. Insertion of fresh troops were to be resorted to overcome the calamities of the army. The army provisions were to be well-arranged during the march and encampment. The flow of equipment and men was to be maintained. Engineers to ford bridges or embankments, accompanied the army. Boats, pillar-bridges, rafts of wood and bamboos and by means of gourds, leather baskets, skins, tree-stems and ropes water was to be crossed. During the march the army was to be guarded against and treated of such calamities as outbreak of epidemics, diseases or want of fodder or water.

Physicians with surgical instruments, apparatus, medicines, oils and bandages, and women in charge of food and drink and capable of filling men with enthusiasm should be stationed in the rear of the army. With the army also marched a number of labourers to clear camps, roads, waterworks, wells and fords, to carry machines, weapons, armours, implements and food, and to remove from battlefields weapons, armours and wounded men.

The army was well-disciplined and during its march it was not allowed to resort to plunder and loot. According to Megasthenes soldiers while fighting were not allowed to molest the husbandmen or ravage their land; hence while the former are fighting and killing each other as
they can, the latter may be seen close at hand tranquilly pursuing their work, perhaps ploughing or gathering in their crops, pruning the trees or reaping the harvest.\textsuperscript{18}

**Law and Justice**

One of the important reasons why the king or the state came into being was for promulgation of Dharma (law) among the people, to keep them within the bounds of law that was declared for them and to punish those who violated this law, because otherwise the law of fishes (mātasyānyāya) would prevail. During the Mauryan days laws of Varna and Āśrama prevailed, and Kauṭilya held that the observance of one’s own duty (as prescribed according to his Varna and Āśrama) would lead one to heaven and infinite bliss and violation of this would lead to the end of the world due to the confusion created by an intermixture of different varṇas and their respective duties.\textsuperscript{141} It was therefore the duty of the king to see that people were allowed to follow their respective Dharma, and he should never allow any one to transgress it. “For the world when maintained in accordance with injunctions of the triple Vedas, will merely progress, never perish.”\textsuperscript{142} It is therefore quite obvious that it was the duty of the king to administer Dharma, which not only fixed the status of every citizen in the society but also laid down the norms of mutual behaviour between the members of the family, employer and employees, between religious groups, between the teacher and the pupil and the master and the servants. Over and above there were some basic principles of Dhamma—universal in character—such as non-violence (harmlessness), truthfulness, purity, freedom from spite, abstinence from cruelty and forgiveness.\textsuperscript{143} A highly conscientious king, Aśoka would therefore actively engage in promoting the Dhamma which enabled the individuals in different walks of life to follow their well-accepted mutual
obligations to one another and also to practice the basic universal principles of Dhamma. Asoka himself calls it Porana Pakiti (Purana Prakrti), the traditional course of conduct coming from long ago; and he wanted his officers to propagate amongst the people this Dhamma, which is the Dhamma of Asoka. It is in this comprehensive point of view only that the administration of land and justice, and the king's ever increasing regulations regulating the social and economic activities of the people can be properly understood and appreciated. Kautilya unequivocally observes that the king was to be constantly ready to exercise his power of punishment so that the people of the four varnas and ashramas will keep to their respective paths (their svadharma), ever devotedly adhering to their respective duties and occupations. While all the three out of four sciences depended on proper application of dandaniti, the king was to exercise it with moderation and under discipline, and neither to overdo it, nor use it lightly. "The king shall never allow people to avert from their duties, and whoever imposes severe punishment becomes repulsive to the people, while he who awards mild punishment becomes contemptible. But whoever imposes punishment as deserved becomes respectable." While it is not certain that all the rules of Varna-ashrama dharma were justifiable (we know that all citizens did not take to Vanaprastha or Sannyasa) there is no doubt that inter-caste marriage was prohibited and so also interchange of occupation among different castes; Kautilya provided for punishment of such householders who took to asceticism before passing the age of copulation, leaving their dependents helpless. From the Ramayana we learn that Rama killed a Sudra undergoing tapasya prohibited for the Sudras of Dvaparayuga. So violation of some of the rules of Varna-ashrama-dharma were certainly taken judicial cognisance.
According to Hindu legal texts, the main sources of law were Śruti, Smṛti, Nyāya and Sadācāra. Kautilya also says "the king who administers justice in accordance with Dharma (Dharmashastra), Vyavahāra (judicial precedents), Samstha (settled customs) and nyāya (equity) will be able to conquer the whole world bounded by the four quarters. Whenever there is disagreement between Samstha and Dharma, or between Vyavahāra and Dharma, the matter will be settled in accordance with Dharma. But whenever sacred law is in conflict with Dharma nyaya, then nyāya shall be held authoritatively for their original text (on which the sacred law has been based) is not available. Scholars have generally taken 'nyāya' here to mean the edict of the king. But it is important to note that Kautilya uses the word 'Rājaśāsana' earlier in the section as one of the four legs of law. We would take here nyāya meaning 'equity' and this could very well be a source of law together with Dharmashastra, judicial precedents (Vyavahāra), settled custom (Samstha). It is really a revolutionary idea that Kautilya holds that when judicial precedents, or customs are in conflict with Dharmashastra, the latter will prevail, but if Dharmashastra and 'equity' (nyāya) are in conflict, equity will prevail because the original text of the Dharmashastra was not available. As time changed and rigid application of laws made decisions assured or even unjust, the judge without denouncing the sacred law books no longer available could take reason or sense of equity in the given time as his guide in interpreting the law and making a decision. If our interpretation is accepted then we have to say that Kautilya does not include rājaśāsana as a source of positive law, and he is dealing here with 'positive law.' In this connection it may be noted that in the long list of (topics with which were royal edicts are concerned, there is no mention of law-making. Among the sources of law custom (samstha) in-
cluded Dharma of deśa, jāti, saṅgha grām and kula which to be entered into the register of Akshapātalādhyaksha. But the Maurya state regulated the various spheres of the citizens’ lives and the royal edicts governing these had quasi-judicial character, and the violators of them were to be punished though in special courts of law and not in civil courts. Disputes between private partners about any matter within civil law could be disposed of in either of the four ways—Dharma, Vyavahāra, Caritra, and Rājaśāsana. Here Dharma means what is truth. So if parties spoke the truth, the decision was obvious. The matter ended. But it was not usual for the parties to speak the truth, so the judicial procedure was to be gone through and the court verdict was to be accepted. But the dispute may be settled by witnesses who know about the disputed matter. This was the Caritra. Kauṭilya at other places says that disputes about boundaries could be settled by witnesses in the neighbourhood. But people could appeal to the king against the decision of the courts or evidence of witnesses and then the king heard the complaint and gave his decision, which was to supersede all the rest. Thus when Kauṭilya says “A matter in dispute has four feet—Dharma, Vyavahāra, Caritra and Rājaśāsana”, he is not referring to the sources of positive law but the methods by which a dispute could be settled.

Law, positive and regulatory, could be divided in to two main heads concerning matters arising between private partners and those concerning the king or the state and the individuals or groups of persons of various classes or occupations. It is why we find that Dharmashāliya courts deal not only with disputes concerning marriage, inheritance, property, debts, deposits, master and slaves or labourers, sale and purchase, gifts but also with theft, robbery, defamation, physical injury, gambling, betting
and other miscellaneous offences. Many of these today would be criminal cases tried in criminal courts. But so long as these did not constitute public danger, and were concerned between private parties, these would be under the jurisdiction of the Dharmasthāya courts dealing with positive law or Dharma in the technical sense of the term. But suppression of criminals or potential criminals, apprehension of suspects and violation of a large number of royal edicts issued for maintaining peace and security, were tried in Kanṭaka-śodhana courts. Such courts may be viewed as administrative courts which followed a mere summary procedure dealt with cases arising between citizens and the state. According to Śāstri, it was an innovation of Kauṭilya based on foreign model.

For the trial of the first kind of cases (which must have been numerous) arising out of disputes between persons, the Dharmastha judges of the rank of amātya were posted at the frontier posts in the Samgrahaṇas Dronamukhas, and Sthānīya. We have seen that from amongst the amātyas, who stood the religious test or test of piety, were appointed to the posts of judiciary. It is not clear whether all the three judges sat together as one bench or that there were three judges in each of these units to try cases separately, or in two or in three. It may be as today, that whether it was a single-judge bench, division bench (of two), or full bench depended on the type of the case and the points involved. There is neither any reference to appeals from one court to another in the larger unit, nor any indication of the different grades of judges. There were Pauravyavahārika or Nagara-vyavahārika in cities, while the Dharmasthāya courts worked in rural areas.

The judicial procedure was very simple. The plaintiff was to file his suit and the clerk of the court had to
register the case recording the time, place, date, month and year of the filing of the suit and would also record the full particulars of the plaintiff and the defendant. He was also to record fully the questions and answers of the plaintiffs and defendants, and this record was to be fully scrutinised by the judge. Both the plaintiff and the defendant had to deposit adequate sureties probably to pay for the individual expenditure involved in the case. If the party of the suit, plaintiff or defendant did not corroborate his previous statement, or changed grounds of dispute, or did not answer the questions of defendant or plaintiff or such a counter-reply as the case may be within stipulated times, he lost the suit. One who lost the suit had to pay a fine of 1/5 of the amount in dispute. Court peons who had to summon the partners and the witnesses, were paid 1/8 of a pañã and also daily allowance by the party who lost the suit. Disputes regarding immovable property were to be decided on the testimony of the neighboures (as witnesses). Similarly disputes regarding boundaries between two villages shall be decided by a group of (persons of) neighbouring five villages. In the case of disputes arising out of debt, when no admission is available from the part of the debtor, at least three witnesses, who are trustworthy, honest or approved were required. Wife's brother, an associate, a dependent, a creditor, a debtor, an enemy, a cripple, and convicted, and also those unfit for transactions, were not allowed as witnesses. The king, a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, a village servant, a leper and a wounded man, an outcaste, a caṇḍāla, a person following a despised profession, a blind, deaf, dumb or self-invited person, and a woman and a king's officer shall not be cited as witnesses except in the case of their own group. The judge was to exhort the witnesses in the presence of Brähmaṇas, water-jar, and, fire and then
different oaths were prescribed for witnesses belonging to Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra Varṇas. If the witnesses refused to take the oath they were fined after being given a fixed time, the idea being that the court should meet its charges of trying the case and calling the witnesses. When the witnesses gave divergent evidence, the judge would decide the case in favour of that party whose witnesses are in majority and are honest. But the judge could follow the middle course as well. But if witnesses gave contradictory replies to questions, or were found to have given false evidence they were punished with fine of 24 paṇas, and if they did not speak out at all, they were fined 12 paṇas. Thus we see that in very many cases disputes were settled on the testimony of witnesses. In the absence of witnesses the judge was to make personal enquiries at the place of occurrence.

According to Kaṭhila three pradeshṭrs of the rank of amātya were appointed to remove the thorns injuring the society. The main purpose was the safeguarding of the society and individuals against anti-social activities of officials, private individuals and corporations. These Pradeshṭrs were magistrates who not only punished anti-social elements but also carried on investigation for detecting the crime or anti-social activity and apprehending the actual or potential culprits. Thus he was both a police and a judicial officer—magistrate. He also helped in collecting the state dues, and in this sense he was under the Samāhartā, the collector-general of Revenue. He may be compared to the present magistrate and collector, combining magisterial and revenue functions. His duty was to keep a watch over artisans and their employers so that they stand guarantee on behalf of the guild for the material entrusted to them for manufacture of things. The wages were to be regulated, and reduced if the work took longer
time than contracted, and if the work was of inferior quality to that agreed upon before, the workmen were fined. The wages of workers were settled according to the material with which they worked; and the wage was reduced if baser material was applied. Besides, fine was imposed. Similar control was exercised upon washermen, dyers and goldsmiths dealing with spurious articles on mutually agreed basis. Any evidence of theft or misappropriation if detected was fined. Wages were fixed in their cases also. Even physicians treating cases involving danger to life were fined if such cases were not reported to the authorities. Strict watch was kept on actors, mendicants and wandering minstrels. It was in this way the traders, artisans, actors, mendicants, jugglers and others who, though not known as thieves, are actual thieves of the material interest of the common people who were thus to be saved from being injured or oppressed. Similarly the Superintendent of markets protected the interests of the common people and the government from malpractices of the unscrupulous traders (vaidehikas). Spies in various disguises such as of holy men, would be expected to entice criminals with their specific favourite lores, such as robbers by means of charms, etc., and line them into custody of guards. They should get them arrested while engaged in purchasing, selling, or pledging articles that are marked or when they are intoxicated with drugged liquor. After their arrest, they were searchingly questioned concerning their former offences and their associates. Some groups of persons were suspects in the eyes of the authority, viz., one with small wage, one whose family income was exhausted, one who declared falsely his country, family, name or occupation, one who is addicted to prostitution, meat, wine, one who spends lavishly, one who travels frequently, whose arrival and departures are unknown, one holding long consultations and meeting frequently in a secret place,
one who was getting secret treatment for his wounds etc.\textsuperscript{184} These could be arrested on suspicion. Persons found or associated in any way with a stolen article was punishable for crime of theft. Person dying suddenly could be thought of having been murdered, and a thorough post-mortem examination was held to establish the cause of the death, and investigations for detecting the poisoning of the person was to be started by interrogating the possible associated persons. A person who committed suicide under the influence of passion or anger or a sinful woman committing it was not allowed cremation and his or her dead body was to be dragged with a rope on the royal highway by a Cāṇḍāla.\textsuperscript{187} Persons accused of robbery were questioned before the robbed person and witnesses about his country, caste, gotra name, occupation, wealth, associates and residence. This should be compared with statements about him by others. He should then be questioned about his movement on the day of occurrence and the place of his stay during the night before arrest. In case his statement of denial of guilt was corroborated by witnesses, he could be set free otherwise he was put to torture.\textsuperscript{188} Dr. Jayaswal held that torture was one of the corporal punishments after guilt was proved, but it has been rightly shown that it really means torture to elicit confession of crime from the suspected accused.\textsuperscript{189}

It may be noted that often tortures were inflicted on innocent persons who confessed of guilt due to fear of torture. Kauṭilya refers to one Añi-Māṇḍava who though not a thief declared himself to be a thief because of the fear of pain of torture.\textsuperscript{190} Persons whose guilt was small, who were minor or aged or sick, or insane or overcome by hunger, thirst or travel who was weak or had indigestion was not put to torture, such a suspect was to be watched by appropriate secret agents of the government. A pregnant woman or a woman within one month of
delivery was not to be subjected to torture under any circumstances. For other women torture was only to be \( \frac{1}{2} \) of normal intensity, or only examination by interrogation was prescribed. The suspected Brāhmaṇa, if he was learned in Veda, could only be watched by secret agents, and any one giving him torture or advising him to be tortured was awarded highest fine.\(^{109}\) Tortures could be resorted to only against such suspected persons (with the exceptions mentioned above) when presumptions about guilt was strong, though no definite proof was available.

Ordinary tortures were of four kinds: (a) six strokes with a stick, (b) seven lashes with a whip, (c) two suspensions from above, (d) the water-tube (pouring salt water through nose). For very grave offenders (sinful persons), twelve strokes with a cane (nine cubits long) two thigh-encircling (tying the feet with rope and tying the head along with it), twenty strokes with a naktamāla-stick, thirty-two slaps, two scorpion-bindings, two hangings up, needle in head (pricking the finger nail with needle), burning one joint of a finger, application of gruel, heating in the sun for one day for one who has drunk fat, and a bed of balbaja-points on a winter night.\(^{110}\) In giving the particular type of torture the suitability of the person was to be taken into account.\(^{111}\) Only one torture was to be given on one day, and the others on alternate days. For habitual offender torture could be given collectively. Some could be tortured to death by king's order.\(^{112}\)

Punishment to persons proved to have committed crimes were very severe. Fines, mutilation of limbs and capital punishment with or without torture were usual in relation to the gravity of the crime. According to Megasthenes, "a person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities. He who maims any one not only suffers in return the loss of the same limb,
but his hand is also cut off. If he causes an artisan to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death."177 Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra corroborates the prevalence of severity of the punishments. According to Ghoshal178 the intensive programme of the security of the subjects and of the state in the advanced systems could not but lead to the issue of a stern penal code for its enforcement. Fines were most common sentences passed on the guilty. Government servants, traders, merchants, labourers, artisans, physicians and common people violating the laws and government regulations were fined. There were grades of fines imposed for committing violence highest, middle and low amercement. Even one renouncing home to become an ascetic without providing for his sons and wife, the lowest fine for violence was to be imposed.179 Fines were also imposed on a staff of the weaving factory, if he tried to look at the face of the women180 who came there to get work. Persons who resorted to binding, killing, or injuring fish and birds whose slaughter was not allowed had to pay a fine of 26½ paṇas181. If any one killed the calf, the bull and the milch cow, he was fined 50 paṇas.182 A prostitute who did not accept a man commanded by the king to do so could be fined 5000 paṇas.183 House-holders in city not keeping fire-fighting materials in their house as required had to pay ½ paṇa as fine184. A married woman, heavily intoxicated, had to pay a fine of 3 paṇas185. A fine of 54 paṇas was imposed on any house-owner who transgressed the land of constructing a deep-flowing water-course or one falling in a cascade, near the neighbour’s house wall186. In the case of forcible seizure of immovable property, the fine for theft shall be imposed187. We have already seen that witnesses who gave false evidence were fined 24 paṇas188. For keeping minor Arya (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya) or Śūdra as a pledge, suitable fines were imposed.189 One who employed a slave less than 8 years old in work not
liked by him or in foreign land, had to pay the lowest fine for violence. For a labourer not doing the work after receiving the wage, the fine is 12 paṇas. For giving a maiden in marriage without mentioning the maiden’s defect in connection with sex, the fine was 96 paṇas and the return of dowry and woman’s property. For defamation, vilification and threat, suitable fines were imposed. For menacing with the hand the minimum fine was 3 paṇas, maximum 6. Fines were increased as injury became more serious. For gambling with dice in another place (other than fixed by the Director of Gambling), a fine of 12 paṇas was imposed. Fines were imposed on weavers who shortened the measure of the cloth as agreed upon. For using measure or weight of more or less than allowed, deviation from prescribed measures and weights fines were imposed in varying degrees. Persons who did not go to rescue the victims being carried away by floods were fined 12 paṇas. Government officers found guilty of crimes were heavily fined. Any one stealing from places of production of articles of King’s commodity, a fine of 12 paṇas was imposed if the value of the articles was above one māsha and up to \( \frac{1}{2} \) of a paṇa. The fines increased with the increase in the money value of the articles. The officer was also fined for stealing the property of others with stealing grains from a field, a house or a shop etc. If high officers made divergent statements about accounts they had to pay highest fines (for violence); if the auditor was ready and the accounts to be audited were not ready, the account officer was to pay lowest fine (for violence). If reverse was the case, the auditor was to pay the double. Even the judge who threatened, upbraided or drove away the witnesses was fined the lowest fine for violence and double that if he verbally injured the witnesses. If a fine not deserved by the guilty was imposed, the judge
was to pay double the fine imposed\textsuperscript{188}. Similarly the jailor was fined for illegally releasing the prisoner from jail\textsuperscript{189}. For one binding or making another bind a man not deserving to be bound or for releasing a man from bondage causing any one to bind a minor child the fine was 1000 paṇas\textsuperscript{190}. So we find that fines ranged from \(\frac{1}{4}\) of a paṇa to 5000 paṇas and could be imposed on the highest government servants and the commonest citizens.

Another important form of punishment was mutilation of limbs. According to the interpretation in the commentary Bhāṣāvyākhyāna and commentary Pratipadapañcikā of Bhaṭṭasvāmin as suggested by Kangle, the two thumbs or their tip and the tip of the middle finger were to be cut off of a woman who after receiving the wage did not carry out the work (of spinning\textsuperscript{191}). Pick-pockets or thieves committing first offence at holy places were liable to get their middle fingers and thumbs cut off in tune of a fine of 54 paṇas; if it was second offence, five fingers were cut off or 100 paṇas fine, in case of the third, right hand or a fine of 400 paṇas. In case of theft of cocks, ichneumons, cats, dogs, or pigs less than 25 paṇas in value, or in case of killing any of these, a fine of 54 paṇas or cutting off of the tip of the nose; half of the fines for Caṇḍālas and forest-dwellers\textsuperscript{192}. Fine and mutilation were increased with the theft of more costly articles. Any one entering the city or going out of the fort without permission, the sinews of the feet could be cut off or a fine of 200 paṇas\textsuperscript{193}. In case of aiding a thief or an adulterer, and for a woman caught in adultery, the punishment shall be the cutting off of ears and nose or a fine of 500 paṇas, for a man double that.\textsuperscript{194} A Śūdra calling himself a Brāhmaṇa or one concealing temple property, or one aiding a treasonable act, the punishment was blindness by means of poisonous collyrium or fine of 800 paṇas.\textsuperscript{195} It is true that even for minor offences of theft
mutilation of limbs was provided. But it is to be noted that for most of the criminal offences, mutilation of limbs could be avoided by paying fines. Thus the strict penal code worked against the poor and destitute.

Capital punishment was another important form of punishment. A person who deliberately started outbreak of fire was to be thrown into the fire as punishment for the dastardly crime.²⁹³ Death penalty was awarded to any official or person who managed to insert a counterfeit coin into the royal treasury.²⁹⁴ Counterfeiting of royal document or seal was punishable with death.²⁹⁵ Selling human flesh was a capital offence.²⁹⁶ Similarly stealing of temple property or slaves was punishable with death in lieu of highest fine.²⁹⁷ If a person was found guilty of theft or pickpocketing for the fourth time he was liable to be sentenced to death if the magistrate so desired.²⁹⁸ Death sentence was the punishment for murder of a person; it could be death with torture if the victim died on the spot.²⁹⁹ Death penalty was awarded to those who stole an elephant, a horse or a chariot belonging to the king.³⁰⁰ He who caused rebellion in the king's army, or attacked the king's palace, who instigated forest tribes or enemies of the king, who caused rebellion in the fortified city or the country-side was to be slain by setting fire to hands and head.³⁰¹ One who caused death of his father, mother, son, brother or teacher was to be slain by setting fire to the skinless head.³⁰² One who broke a dam holding water was to be drowned to death as punishment.³⁰³ A woman who killed her husband was punished to death by being torn by bullocks.³¹ A non-soldier stealer of weapons or armours was to be slain with arrows.³¹² Painful deaths are prescribed for those who caused death with pain or who vitally harmed the society and had no social conscience. Simple death for murder was a normal form of punishment.
There is no specific reference in Kautilya's Arthashastra of punishment like imprisonment for a specific term for committing any offence. But a prince in disfavour was in fear of imprisonment or death. There is also reference to bandhanagara jail (separate for men and women). A prison-house (bandhanastha) is also referred to at another place, besides bandhanagara. It is presumed that persons were imprisoned, but the question is whether they were merely undertrial prisoners, suspects in temporary lockups or guilty undergoing a term of imprisonment. Nothing definite can be said about it. The rules that on the birth anniversary of the king, or on full moon days, the city-superintendent should release old persons, children, the sick and the helpless from the jail, and further that every day or every five days, prisoners were released from the jail in lieu of corporal punishment, manual work or ransom, which could be given by persons of pious disposition or those bound by agreement suggests that prisoners were actually serving a term of sentence in jail for some offence, may be minor. Ashoka refers to release of criminals from jail in his twenty-sixth year of consecration [PE V]. Kautilya also refers to the release of prisoners unconditionally on the occasion of conquest of a new kingdom, the consecration of the Crown Prince and the birth of a son to the king (II. 36. 47). Most probably as most crimes were compoundable with fines or ransom the convicted remained in bandhanagara or cakra (a lock-up) temporarily on the orders of the pradeshtrs and the dharmasthiyas respectively. Both the cakra and the bandhanagara were administered by the dharmasthiyas and mahamatras (pradeshtrs) respectively. The fact that a cakra was under the dharmasthiya-court proves that it was a mere lock up. In the bandhanagara, the convicted prisoners probably underwent sentences and there was danger of their escape. And so the jail was to be so constructed
that escape would be impossible (II. 5.1, 5). Persons helping the prisoners escape from cāraka or bandhanāgāra were suitably fined or convicted and prisoners misbehaving in the jail or lock-up were also punished suitably. Forced labour in state mines as punishment is referred to by Kaúṭilya.

The hard penal laws and strict control over the judicial officers must have had some effect on the actual rate of crimes in the country. We have already referred to the deterrent punishments. A judge not doing his duty properly, doing in course of trial what he should not do, showing partiality, and imposing a sentence not required was accordingly punished with fines. The court clerks who made improper or insufficient reading of the case and the trial were also punished. The persons in charge of court lock-up or jail for causing unnecessary trouble, mental or physical, was also fined. It is therefore very reasonable to presume that administration of law and justice in the time of Candragupta Maurya was given due importance and an order was maintained partly because of fear of punishment both by un-dutiful judges and other officers and the potential criminals. In view of the very severe punishments meted out to thieves of even small articles, it is not difficult to agree with Megasthenes that "Indians exercise greatest self-restraint to theft, and that in the camp of Candragupta where there were 40,000 men, Megasthenes did not see theft of articles worth more than 200 drachmae a day,"—a very extraordinary thing for the Greek ambassador. However with elaborate laws dealing with contract, pledges, deposits and debts, provided in the Arthaśāstra it is difficult to agree with the Greek ambassador that "they do not have law suits over either pledges or deposits, or have need of witnesses, but trust persons with whom they stake their interest." His remarks, that "their simplicity is also proven in their laws and
contract”, and that “they are not litigious” have to be taken with some reserve. Another redeeming feature of the judicial system to be noted is that the court had to be particularly careful in trying cases involving the affairs of gods (temples), Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, women, minors, the helpless and the sick. Unmindful of the laws and judicial procedure, such parties may not approach the court for justice, and it was the duty of the judge to look into the cases himself and not to pass ex-parte judgement against them on the ground of place, time, or adverse possession. The whole idea was that weaker sections of the people should be allowed special consideration in the law courts.

Aśoka emphasised the humane aspect of the judicial administration. He called upon the Nagara-Vyavahārikas (city-judges) to see that torture or imprisonment should not lead to accidental death of the accused. This is without due cause and leads to distress among many people. Aśoka did not like such actions and called upon the authorities concerned to exercise moderation, without being unduly lenient or excessively hard, and to see that citizens are not imprisoned or tortured without cause. The strict observance and compliance with this instruction would be possible only when the officers were free from natural abuses like envy, anger, cruelty, impatience and laziness, and were therefore to particularly try to be free from anger and impatience. One who was tired would not be able to dispense with law and punishment even-handed, so he should be always alert and active. It was also provided that this royal proclamation was to be announced to public on every tishya day and also if desired by commoner individuals, in intervals between tishya days and on other auspicious occasions. Aśoka impressed on these officers that if they followed these instructions fully they will attain heaven in
the next world and favours of the king in this world, as the latter could never be pleased if his instructions were not followed. In order to see that instructions were being followed by the city-magistrates or judges, Ashoka decided to send every five years Mahāmātras on tour who would not be harsh, cruel, rather will be kind and see if the royal orders in this regard are being followed strictly. Provin- cial viceroy from Ujjain was also to send every three years on tour officers for this purpose. And so also from Taxila. Mahāmātras when on tour besides doing their normal duties of inspection were also to see that the city-judges were following royal instructions in this respect. This liberal and humane policy towards the convicts is still further ela- borated and enforced. Dharma-mahāmātras, besides being engaged in other activities, were also instructed to hear appeals from such convicted prisoners who had a large number of children who were in distress or who were aged and grant them ransom money and secure their release from prison. Ashoka further provides for an appeal to the Rājukas to reconsider the sentence on appeal by relations of the accused sentenced to imprisonment or death. If there was no relation to appeal on behalf of these, they were to be given three days' grace in which they could offer alms etc. to better their lot in the next world. It is possible that one way to persuade the Rājukas successfully to revise the sentence passed was by paying a ransom, and for such unfortunate convicts for whom no ransom could be paid or Rājukas could not be persuaded, the grace of three days was given to them to try to better their lot in next world by pious gifts and expression of repen- tance for the past crimes or by observing fasts. Ashoka thus presented even beforehard criminals sentenced to death a chance to practise Dhamma and better his life in the next world. Kauṭilya had provided for amnesty of prisoners on the birth anniversary of the king and Ashoka followed
this, as he says that in the twentysix years of his reign, there had been twentyfive jail deliveries.\textsuperscript{276} Prisoners were also released on the occasion of the installation of the crown prince or on the occasion of the birth of a son to the king\textsuperscript{277}.

One of the features of judicial administration in the time of Candragupta was consideration of the Varṇa of the parties in dispute. And it was natural, when the entire socio-economic order was based on Varṇāśrama-dharma based on hierarchy of Varṇas and their occupations. We find that, “the wives of a Śūdra, a Vaiśya, a Kshatriya and a Brāhmaṇa, who are away on a short journey shall wait for a period of one year increased successively by one year if they have not borne children, for one year more, if they have borne children.”\textsuperscript{278} While the property of all heirless persons on their death lapsed to the king, the property of the dead Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas would not be taken by the king, but would be bestowed on those well-versed in the three Vedas.\textsuperscript{279} If a Brāhmaṇa had sons from a Brāhmaṇa wife, a Kshatriya wife, a Vaiśya wife and a Śūdra wife, the son of his Brāhmaṇa wife will get four shares, of Kshatriya wife three shares, of Vaiśya wife two shares and of Śūdra wife one share only. A Brāhmaṇa’s son born of a wife belonging to the immediately next varṇa is to have an equal share, and that a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya (born of wife of next varṇa) is to have half a share. The only son among two wives (of different varṇas) shall receive every thing in cases of all varṇas, but of a Brāhmaṇa born of a Śūdra wife would receive only one-third of the property of his share, and a Sapiṇḍa of the Brāhmaṇa will get the remaining two-thirds.\textsuperscript{280} Every one in a village had to contribute on festive occasion or in arranging a show or had to work in lieu thereof, but a Brāhmaṇa who did not do any work yet was to receive his share of benefit.\textsuperscript{281} The terms of exhortation of the
judge to the witnesses differed with the varṇas, while to a Brāhmaṇa witness, the judge exhorted him 'speak the truth', to a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, he would say something different carrying threat of misfortune if he spoke untruth. The case of libel concerning character among Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and the lowest born, the fines are three paṇas increased by three paṇas successively (if it is) of the earlier by the latter, decreasing by two paṇas successively if of the latter by the earlier. A Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas or an ascetic was not to undergo torture to elicit confession. In all offences, a Brāhmaṇa is not to be tormented. On his forehead shall be a branded mark of the guilty to exclude him from all dealings—(the mark of a dog in case of theft, a headless trunk in case of murder of a human being, the female organ in case of violation of an elder's bed, the vinters' flag in case of liquor drinking). Proclaiming a Brāhmaṇa of sinful deeds and making the scar or mark on him, the king should exile him from the country or settle him in mines. A Śūdra calling himself a Brāhmaṇa could be blinded, while any other person coveting the kingdom, attacking the king's place, rousing foresters or enemies against the king and causing rebellion in the fortified city was sentenced to death by setting fire to hands and head, but a Brāhmaṇa culprit was sentenced to be blinded. If one made a Brāhmaṇa consume drink or food which was unfit for human consumption, he was fined the highest fine the middle (fine) for making a Kshatriya, and the lowest rate for making a Vaiśya do so and only 54 paṇas for making a Śūdra take such food or drink. If a Kshatriya had illegal relations with a Brāhmaṇa woman not guarded, the fine was to be the highest, for a Vaiśya having this, confiscation of property was the punishment, and a Śūdra having such relation was sentenced to death by being burnt in a fire of straw.
These instances go to prove that there was inequality in law, procedure and punishment. But it is to be noted that the Brāhmaṇas who made such tall claims as being gods on earth (bhūdevāḥ), actually enjoyed minor judicial privileges. But Aśoka appears to have done away with these also by declaring that there should be uniformity in law and justice and punishment (Vyavahārasamata and daṇḍasamata). This was a revolutionary idea for the time if it sought to make all citizens equal in the eye of law and justice. Reference to bribery to judges has been made and to avoid it, judges were required not to have private interviews with litigants before the trial was concluded. Honesty of the judges was to be periodically tested by secret agents. On the whole, high standard of justice was maintained. While there is no separate police department the nāgaraks in the city, gopa and sthānika in rural areas apprehended criminals. The village headmen had also police functions. Corarajju appears to be a police official in charge of arresting thieves. The antapāla, the vivitādhyaksha and the mudrādhyaksha also exercised police functions in apprehending criminals or suspected criminals. Mudrādhyaksha issued the passports and vivitādhyaksha examined them and thus regulated entry and exit into the kingdom. A security force kept watch on hunters, outcasts, forest dwellers and thieves. Pradeshtṛs were required, as we have seen, to apprehend criminals and punish them in Kaṇṭakāsodhana courts. Antapālas were to recover stolen property and the nāvādhyaksha was to arrest a person covertly carrying weapons or explosives in boats.

Espionage

The most characteristic feature of the Mauryan administration was the extensive net work of intelligence service affecting all citizens and officers, and even members
of the royal family. The secret agents were appointed by the king and were to act in disguise of persons belonging to the section of the people among whom the secret agents were to work. Kauṭilya informs us the sharp pupil (Kāpairēka), the apostate monk (Udāsī), the householder (grhapaṭī), trader (Vaidehaka), ascetic (tāpasa), secret agents (Satrin), the bravo (tīkshana), the poisoner (rasada), and the nun (bhikshuki), were the main secret agents. A spy under the disguise of a student, a monk, a trader, an ascetic, a secret agent, a bravo, a poisoner, or a nun worked amongst the respective sections of the people and made reports immediately to the king and the minister who only were his authorities. Spies were provided with necessary money to work, to start a trade etc. to pose successfully as one of the active members of the class over which they were to spy. It was the duty of the minister to arrange for their livelihood and work. The secret agents of these five establishments (Kāpairēka, Udāsī, grhapaṭī, vaidehaka, tāpasa) were given due honour and satisfactory wages. Kauṭilya describes the methods to be adopted by the secret agents to get the desired information. Secret agents of the class of sharp pupils, monks, fallen from vow and appearing as householders, traders and ascetics received 1000 paṇas. Secret agents assassins, poison-givers and female mendicants got 500 paṇas. Roving spies got 250 paṇas, it may be raised according to their habits.

Secret agents were recruited from amongst such people as were orphans (and maintained by the state), who were reckless bravos and ready to fight for the sake of money, an elephant or a wild animal, who were cruel to their kinsmen and indolent, wandering nun seeking a secure livelihood or widowed-Brahmaṇa lady. These were employed with credible disguise as regards country, dress, profession, language and birth. Secret
agents from amongst women of the teachers of dancers or courtesans were appointed as spies because of their being conversant with various kinds of signs and languages. Secret agents were appointed independently and were assigned duties by the institutes of espionage. They did not know each other, and the informations they collected were transmitted to the institutes through the assistance who used sign-alphabets (Samjñālipis). The reports by one secret agent was compared with that of another about the same matter; and only when there was agreement in the reports of three spies, credence was to be given about the information. In case of continuous mistakes on the part of the spy he were silently dismissed. Some of the principle officers (Mukhyaputrag) were recruited as secret agents to spy on the prince in disfavour and even kill him if found incorrigible.

Secret agents, loyal to the king, were to spy on the minister (Mantrin), chaplain (Purohita), Commander-in-chief (Senāpati), Crown Prince (Yuvaraja), the chief palace usher (Kauvarika), the chief of the Palace Guard (Antarvāsika), Director (Praśāstī), Collector-general (Samāharta), Director of Stores (Sannidhatā), Magistrate (Pradeshṭr), commandant (Nāyaka) city-judge (Pauravyavahārika), Director of Factories (Karmāntika), council of Ministers (Mantriparishad), Superintendents (Adhyaksha), Daṇḍapāla (Chief of the Army Staff), Durgapāla (Chief of the Fort), Commandant of Frontiers (Antapāla), Forest Chieftain (Ātavika), to assess their loyalty to the king (government). The Samāharta stationed secret agents in the guise of holy ascetics, wandering monks, cart-drivers, jugglers; astrologers, physicians, artists, actors, brothel-keepers, vintners, to find out the integrity or otherwise of village officials. A spy could entrap judges under suspicion by offering bribe to influence his judgement; he would falsely inform village
officer of the wealth of a person and would get the officer punished for extortion if the person was actually deprived of his wealth by the officer. Similarly false witnesses were entrapped and thus persons having secret ways of income were to be found out by spies. Spies were also set on the citizens of the city and the country-side. Secret agent at the holy places, in assemblies, in communal gathering (Pūga), and other congregations (samavāya) of the people would start debates among themselves, one taking the side of the king and the other against him, one eulogising the king and justifying the taxes and fines imposed by the king as share to Manu for the protection of the people desired in the beginning of the origin of the government, and the other speaking ill of the king. Thus they will be able to impress on the people the wisdom and righteousness of obeying the king and will also come to know rumours current among the people against the king, and would also watch the interest of the people in the fake debates and assess the popularity or unpopularity of the king and come to know about men opposed or favourable to the king. Similarly ascetic spies who would wander throughout the kingdom and could visit any home and would come to know about the attitude of such people who had been helped by the king in many ways that is grant of grains or cattle or money. And on the reports of these spies the government will try to conciliate the discontented, and would try to wean their sympathies away from such hostile elements as forest chieftains, pretenders to the throne or unfriendly neighbouring kings. Secret agents were also sent to foreign countries with a view to win over the seducible and non-seducible parties in the enemy's territory to the king's side. They were to cause dissatisfaction among the subjects of the enemy king. It was the duty of the king's envoy in the other king's territory to regulate the work of the secret agents in the
disguise of traders, ascetics, pupils, disciples, physicians or heretics who should work among beggars, drunken persons, persons in sleep, and from pictures, writings or signs on holy places, should gather informations for the envoy; who could then make use of investigation.\textsuperscript{382}

The king received spies every day for keeping himself up-to-date with the informations gathered by the then about the exact state of affairs in his kingdom and in hostile kingdom during the 5th of the 8 parts in which a working day was divided.\textsuperscript{383} Then he would again see his secret agents during the first (eighth) part of the night\textsuperscript{384}; and during the seventh part of the night he would in consultation with minister (mantrim), despatch secret agents\textsuperscript{385} (to their work, or assigned places). The king was to be always watchful for his security in his harem, palace, court, or in journey, on in meeting the peoples, or in interviewing ascetics and even in getting his meal prepared. "And just as the king keeps a watch over others through secret agents, so he should being self-possessed, guard himself against danger from others."\textsuperscript{386}

The activity of the departments were to be watched by spies under the instruction of the superintendent of accounts so that the officer-in-charge of the department does not cause loss of revenue due to ignorance of rules, or due to addiction to pleasure of senses.\textsuperscript{387} The income and expenditure of the officers (on which depended the proof of his honesty or dishonesty in financial transactions), was to be ascertained by the spies.\textsuperscript{388} Similarly secret agents were to find out the conduct of revenue officers who are niggardly and send out royal money outside or store it in his own office; and then secret agents were to find out his addresses, kinsmen, friends and dependent who might be a party to the dishonest deals. The skilled and honest
assistants of the specially trained superintendent (uttarādhyaksha = deputy superintendent) or those trained in the army would work as spies over the accountants and others. Secret agents were employed to check evasion of duty on goods at the toll-house by the traders and also to send secret information to the government about the site of the caravan of the traders, and the collector of customs was accordingly informed, who would show his omniscience to the trader by discharging the high and low value of the goods. Secret agents also worked in public bars and were to ascertain the normal and occasional expenditure of the customes and get the informations about strangers. They also made an inventory of ornaments, clocks, and note the caste of the customers who were intoxicated or asleep, presumably to see that the vintners licensed to trade in liquor did not misappropriate some of these, and in the case of loss of these, they had to make good the loss. Secret agents in the guise of householders under the direction of the Samāhārty were to find out the number of fields, houses and families in those villages where they were stationed, size and total of field, the number of members of the family, their varna and occupation, income and expenditure, and were to try to find out reason of the coming and going of men and women from the house. Similarly spies in the guise of traders would find out the quantity and price of the king’s goods provided in his own country, obtained from mines, water-works, forests, factories and fields. They also had to find out the amount of various kinds of taxes. In the same manner agents in the guise of ascetics should ascertain the honesty or dishonesty of the farmers, cowherds, traders and of the departmental heads. Even spies of the collector-general spied over the working of other spies (enemy’s or king’s). Spies were to apprehend any one in suspicious
circumstances or condition of walking on the road in the city and should make search for undesirable persons in desert places, workshops, alm-homes, cooked-rice houses, cooked meat-houses, gambling, dens and assemblies of heretics (where they were expected to be). Suspected criminals were also enticed by secret agents. Secret agents of the king were considered most useful in finding out and destroying the principal officers (mukhyāh) of the king who were suspected of treason and being harmful to the kingdom, and could not be openly suppressed because of their power and unity among such mahāmātras. The secret agents could even cunningly secure the murder of such an officer by their own relatives estranged from him by secret agents, or later could cause their death in an enemy’s territory where the king would send him with a weak army. The secret agent in the disguise of a cook, physician, holy man would cause end of such officers. Secret agents also helped the king in getting more handsome contributions from the citizens for replacement of the treasury. Secret agents were of great help in diplomacy and war. We find espionage was used in general administration, for maintenance of law and order in inter state relations and for miscellaneous purposes.

It is clear that secret agents were to be met anywhere and in any disguise amongst the princes, ministers, high officers, amongst people of different occupations and amongst the citizens of the country and towns. Their number was bound to be large. It is therefore not surprising that Megasthenes includes ‘overseers’ (Spies) as constituting one of the seven castes in the society. He says: “the sixth caste consists of the overseers. It is their province to enquire into all that goes in India. and make report to the king.” Thus it was through the intelligence service that the king kept himself in touch with the people and it was also used to maintain his popularity.
Nevertheless this net work of espionage affecting the highest officer and the commonest citizen must have had a terrifying impact on the officers and the citizens, and the consequent risk to strength and stability of the empire and its administration.

**Divisions of the Empire**

The vast empire was divided into provinces called deśa or rāṣṭra. The governor of the province was Rāṣṭrapāla who was paid a salary of 12000 pañhas.\(^{168}\) Pushyagupta was one such rāṣṭrtya in the western province under Candragupta Maurya.\(^{389}\) Some provinces were ruled by royal prince as viceroy. Aśoka was one such viceroy at Takṣaśila and Ujjain. From inscriptions of Aśoka also we know that there were provinces which were governed by princes of royal family. Uttarāpatha (Gandhāra). Avanti, Dakṣiṇāpatha and Kalinga with Takṣaśila, Ujjayinī, Suvarṇagiri, and Toshali as capitals respectively\(^{576}\) were provinces. The home province with Pāṭaliputra as capital was under the king directly. There were good reasons for keeping some of these provinces under the governorship or viceroyalty of members of royal family: Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha were frontier provinces, Avantiratthha was economically most important to control, and Kalinga was a recent conquest after terrible carnage and needed a trustworthy governor to conciliate and hold it. There must have been some provinces ruled by non-royal governors. Tushāspa was one such in Saurāṣṭra.\(^{271}\) The Kumāra or provincial governor was assisted by Mahāmātras in administration and royal proclamations were addressed to both Mahāmātras and the Kumāra\(^{58}\) so that both of them could realise that their authority was derived from the emperor. This might have meant a check on the undesirable ambition of the prince-governor. The city-judge (Nagara-vyavahārika)
who was of Mahāmātra status, was to see that no citizen suffered without cause. The emperor decided to send to Toshali every five years a Mahāmātra to see that the city-judge carried out the royal instructions, and it was further proclaimed that the prince-viceroy at Ujjayini and Takshaśilā would send such officers every three years to see how royal orders are being given effect to by the city-judge-magistrates.\textsuperscript{72}

The province was divided into Sthāniyas of 800 villages, Droṇamukhas of 400 villages, Kharvaṭikas of 200 and Saṃgrahaṇas of 100 villages. On the frontiers were established fortresses under the command of frontier-chiefs (Antapāla).\textsuperscript{73} A Sthānyya may roughly correspond to a district. There were at least 4 Sthāniyas in a desa or province. It was both an administrative and revenue district, and the officer-in-charge of Sthānyya was Sthānika, who was, though an administrator, principally a revenue officer under Samāharta. It was the Sthānika's duty with the assistance of the Gopa to maintain a complete register of the number of villages, their inhabitants, latter's sex, caste, age, occupation, income and expenditure, and of the property of the gods, gift-lands of the Brāhmaṇas, cultivated and uncultivated lands, vegetable gardens, temples, water works, cremation grounds, rest-houses, roads, pasture lands, grant and sale of lands and favours and exemptions to cultivators. Under him the Gopa was to do the same for every five or ten villages.\textsuperscript{74} As we shall see, the Sthānikas and the Gopas in the cities also had the duty to maintain the census of all human and natural resources, assets and liabilities. Thus in the Mauryan period there was not a periodical census but a continuing census activity. We know that for ancient China we have records of annual enumerations of families and households. Unfortunately we have no such records of population of ancient India left to us, but it appears
that such records were maintained here also, naturally because of needs of proper assessment and collection of revenue, and also for letting the government know the actual state of affairs as regards human and natural resources throughout the empire. It may be that on the basis of informations thus obtained, welfare activities of various kinds could be planned and executed, such as building of roads, settlement of new villages, water-works, remission of taxes if necessary etc. We have already seen that courts were set up in the Sthānīya and Droṇamukha Samgrahaṇa headquarters.

Village

The smallest unit of administration was the village. The Grāmika or Grāmakūṭa, the village headman was the head of the village administration. It is not clear whether he was elected by the villagers or was appointed by the king. However, spies were employed to detect headman harassing the villagers (IV. 4). But we know that for helping him in the administration there were village servants—grāmabhṛtakas—who received 500 paṇas as salary. Disputes arose in a village between house-owners regarding boundaries of house, drains, placing of fireplace, cattle-shed, a grinding mill or the pounding mechanic or boundary wall or village road or lane. Rules were in operation regulating these activities, and transgression of rules by any house-owner was punished with varying fines. We have already referred to the complete inventory of the village prepared by a Gopa and checked by a Sthānīka.

The underlying principle governing the affairs of a village was that neighbours or village-elders were the best persons to help in the governance of the village and in the settlement of disputes between neighbours. Any owner who wanted to sell his house, park, field, tank etc.
had to proclaim his intention and the price he wanted for it in the presence of 40 neighbouring families, and the purchaser was given title to the house if he paid the price and no objection was made there. Villages were separated from each other by defined boundaries. A river, a mountain, a forest, a stretch of pebbles, sand, cavern, and embankment, a Śamī tree, a Śālmali tree, or a milk-tree (aśvattha, nyagrodha etc.,) could mark the boundary. Disputes regarding boundaries between two villages were decided by a group of neighbouring villagers. In case of dispute about boundaries between two villages, village-elders among the farmers, cowherds or even outsiders who had, previously, property in the villages, were best witnesses to point out the boundary-marks the boundary. And if their statement regarding boundary marks were found on examination to be contrary to the fact, they were heavily fined, 1000 pānas. The same fine was imposed on those who were proved to have removed the boundary marks pointed out (by the village-elders). Boundaries of fields were also well-defined, and any one breaking or removing these boundary marks was fined 24 pānas. The disputes regarding the boundary of the field, penance-groves, pasture-lands, high-ways, cremation grounds, temples, sacrificial grounds and holy places were to be decided by village-elders, who were neighbours, and if there was division among them, the opinion of the majority was decisive, or they could try to bring about compromise between the disputants. It is clearly laid down that all disputes shall be decided on the testimony of the neighbours. If there was no decision in favour of either party or the owner was not to be traced, the king could forfeit the property or allot it to some one else. The importance of village-elders is clear from the fact that Aśoka in his Dharmayātrās always met the vṛddhas.
The co-operative efforts in a village were encouraged. On festive occasions each villager was expected to contribute his share in cash or provisions or manual labour in the arrangement of public celebrations. A defaulter was to pay double the wage of work if he did not like to do the work. A non-contributor and his family (except Brāhmaṇa) were prevented from witnessing show and any attempt to see or listen to the performance was liable to a fine of double his stipulated share. If the villagers decided or any one of them wanted to carry out a project beneficial to all and if it was agreed upon, any one withholding his cooperation from it was fined 12 paṇas and any conspiracy against such a person who orders the execution of the beneficial work or any assault on him would make the conspirators liable to double the fine prescribed for such an offence. Villagers who built dykes which were beneficial to the country, or bridges or roads or executed works beautifying the village or defences of the village were favoured by the king. 388

The village headman had some police functions. He was to expel from the village a thief or an adulterer, but if he expelled one who was neither, he was liable to fine. The village also was fined. On official business, concerning the village, the headman had often to go out of village and it was the duty of villagers to accompany him by turn, and if one whose turn came but did not do so he was fined. 389

It appears that villagers enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. Rapson rightly observes: "We find already in operation that system of village autonomy under the headmen which has prevailed in India at all periods". 390a

City Administration:

Megasthenes has described the administration of Pāṭaliputra. According to him, "City Commissioners were
divided into six groups of five each. One group looked after the arts of handicraftsmen. Another group entertains strangers……the third group is that of those who scrutinise births and deaths, both for the sake of taxes and in order that births or deaths may not be unknown. The fourth is that which has to do with sales and barter, that looks after measures and the fruits of the season. The fifth group is that of those who have charge of the works made by artisans and sale these by stamp, the new apart from the old. The sixth and the last group is that of those who collect a tenth part of the price of the things sold. It is quite clear that most of the work of the town committees were distributed between collection of taxes from markets, and supervision or inspection of handicrafts, workshops and of weights and measures. Care of foreigners, when foreigners were quite a few at this time, was a special responsibility. Maintenance of up-to-date census register is to be noted. Kautilya, while not specifying the various groups into which city administrative personnel was divided, refers to the Nāgaraka and his subordinates chiefly responsible for the administration of the city. For administrative convenience, the city was divided into four quadrants each under a Sthānika and over every unit of twenty, thirty or forty families, a Gopa was appointed. It was the duty of the Gopa to maintain an up-to-date register of the names, caste, gotra, profession of total male and female members of every family, and also their income and expenditure. The Sthānika would be responsible for the same for the quadrant in his charge. For the security of the state and citizens, entry of outsiders was regulated. The Gopa or Sthānika was to be informed by charitable institution which allowed people to stay, about heretics and wayfarers coming to reside therein, and only such ascetics and men learned in the Vedas were allowed to stay who were known to be
reliable. Similarly marchants, vintners, artisans or handi-
craftsmen would allow such outsiders belonging to their
profession to stay with them who are reliable and they had
to furnish full particulars about such guests to the city
authorities. Even physicians undertaking to treat secretly
a patient suffering from ulcer or excess of unwholesome
food or drink had to report to the Gopa or Sthanika about
such patient, otherwise both the patient and the doctor
were liable to be punished. Even householders when
entertaining guests from outside had to report to the
city authorities about the full particulars of their guests
residing with them during the night, otherwise for any
theft committed during the night, both the host and the
guest could be declared guilty. Any person walking on
the road in a suspicious manner, suffering from wounds,
or carrying a heavy load, or possessing a destructive
weapon could be apprehended by any citizen under the
suspicion that he might be a criminal making his good
escape after committing the crime or is to commit a crime.
It was utmost regard for law and order that moving on the
road in a certain part of the night when the trumpet was
sounded was considered an offence. In this curfew time only
physicians, midwives, members of funeral procession, visitors
to city, official on business, or persons carrying a lamp
with them (proving that they are not undesirable potential
burglars or thieves) were allowed to move. However,
to reduce the abuse of this privilege to apprehend potential
mischief-makers by watchmen, the latter were punished if
they harassed bonafide persons moving on the road dur-
ing the curfew hours. Spies were appointed to work in
the city to search for suspicious persons especially in
deserted hours, in workshop, in houses of vintners and
sellers of cooked rice where undesirable persons were expected
to be present. The city officials were also to be watchful
about the outbreak of fire. Megasthenes informs us of
wooden architecture of Pātaliputra confirmed by excavations. Kautilya also speaks of houses built of wood etc., besides of stone. A small fire could engulf the entire city. Therefore, every houseowner was required to keep ready five pitchers of water, a water jar, a water-tub, a ladder, an axe, a winnowing basket, a hook, pincers, and a leather bag. Each householder had to be present (at night) at the door of his own house to be made responsible for the outbreak of fire or for fighting it. The city officials were to maintain a kind of fire brigade by providing for thousands of water pitchers in systematically arranged rows on crossroads and at places in big streets. Householders and renters were punished with fine if they did not help in fighting the fire. Kindling of fire was prohibited during the two middlemost parts of the day when it is very hot and windy (?) in the summer; violators of this prohibitory order were punished with fines. Blacksmiths who had constantly to work with fire were concentrated in a special locality; cooking under the roofs was restricted. Wilfully setting fire could result in the guilty being thrown into fire; and careless persons who unconsciously caused outbreak of fire were fined. The city-officials took measures to maintain sanitation in the city. Whoever threw dirt on the street was fined, and whoever caused collection of water on the road was also punished. Every houseowner had to provide for a dunghill (avaskara) (to collect rubbish etc.), a drain (to carry refuse water), and a well (to provide for drinking and bathing); every house was to be so constructed as not to encroach upon others. Drains, latrines and dunghill of one house were not to cause annoyance to others. It appears that scavenging and sweeping facilities were provided by the city authorities and persons could collect dirt either in dust bins or in specified places near the streets. Whoever committed nuisances in places of pilgrimage, reservoirs of water, temple and royal premises
was heavily fined and so were throwers of animal carcasses on
the roads. We have already referred to complete census
of men and the resources in a town by Gopa and Sthinika.

Public Welfare

The Mauryan administration was geared for public
welfare activities. It was not a laissez-faire state designed
for maintenance of law and order only. The administra-
tion, while fully alive to its police and judicial functions,
was actively interested in promoting the welfare of the
common people. It is true, as we have seen, that in the
interest of security of the king or the state intensive espio-
nage was practised and for augmenting the treasury
varieties of taxes were imposed. But the mutually dependent
interests of the king and the people made the administration
active in keeping the people happy and contented. Only
this guaranteed the loyalty of the citizens; a population
noted for its loyalty was one of the principal characteristics
of the Janapada, one of the seven essential elements of
sovereignty. Loyal subjects were of strength to the king,
"a king of considerable power because of estranging his
subjects by taking himself to evil ways becomes assailable."
Therefore, in his own interest the king had to do good to the
people as on this basis alone he could himself be happy and
prosperous. Possessed of subjects who are indifferent to
the king's interests, the king was easy to be overpowered by
his enemy. Therefore, Kautilya advised the king to
take prompt remedial measures to remove the causes of
disaffection among his subjects.

In numerous ways the administration carried out many
schemes of public welfare. Development of roads must
have contributed in many ways to welfare. The success of
any administration claiming to be interested in welfare of
people, is to be judged as to how it treated its weakest and
helpless citizens. Kautilya accepted the traditional joint
family system with wide responsibilities of the head of the family. The rule was enforced that any person with means who neglected to maintain his or her child, minor brothers or sisters, widowed girls and unmarried daughters was liable to fines. Similarly any person embracing asceticism without making provisions for his wife and sons was punished. But still there could be some helpless and orphans and it was the responsibility of the administration to maintain the children, aged, infirm, the afflicted and the helpless. The state also provided sustenance to helpless women who had no children and to the children they gave birth to.\textsuperscript{394} We have already seen that from amongst the dependent and helpless men, secret agents were recruited. The fact that in Asoka's kitchen many lakhs of animals were daily killed for soup or meals,\textsuperscript{394} indirectly corroborates the Arthaśāstra that numerous helpless people were dependent on king for food. But the state must have been aware of the fact that offer of free food or money alone is not desirable. It has been well said that idleness even on income corrupts, the feeling of not being wanted demoralises. Therefore work such as spinning of yarn was to be given to widows, retired devadāsis, crippled, girls, mendicant women, mothers of prostitutes and old women servants of the king and even women of good family who had no means of maintenance having regard to their honours and status.\textsuperscript{394}

Much care was taken to ensure health of the citizens. Sanitary measures were taken in the cities and villages. Wells, bathrooms, drains, and latrines were to be provided in houses. Every householder had to provide for a dunghill and outlet for refuse water.\textsuperscript{397} Throwing of refuse or dirt was an offence. Fines were also imposed for voiding faeces in a holy place, in a place for water, in a temple and in royal property. Throwing of a dead body of a cat, a dog,
an ichneumon or a serpent or of a donkey, camel, a mule, a horse, or cattle, or a human corpse was punishable with varying rates of fines. The Nāgaraka's daily duty was to inspect places supplying water, and also water courses. Adulterations of grains, oils, alkalis, salt, medicines and scents were punished with fines. Persons who dealt in drugs and foodstuffs suspected to be poisonous were entrapped by spies and punished. Those who sold swollen meat, or without head, feet, bones, or of foul smell or of dead animal presumably for eating were fined. All these measures were presumably taken with a view to prevent outbreak of diseases or epidemics among the people. But for those who fell ill there were physicians or surgeons in the city and the country side to treat. In case of epidemics physicians were to treat people, presumably free of charge. Unalienable lands were settled with physicians in the newly set up villages by the king. A physician was paid 2000 pañás as salary. Megasthenes informs us that when foreigners fell ill, physicians were called to attend on them. It is quite natural to presume then that at least similar facility was provided to the ordinary citizen of the empire. Physicians were to report about any patient suffering from serious sores and doctors were punished if because of their neglect patients suffered deaths or any loss of limb due to defective operation. Medicines of forest produce or intoxicants were manufactured. The arishṭas were manufactured as prescribed by the physicians for each separate malady. In the layout of the royal city room for strong medicines (bhaishajyāgrha) was provided. This was meant for the public. Separately there was king's private medical store (bhaishajyāgrha). While it is true that physicians (bhishaks) and experts skilled in detecting poisons (jāṅga-lavishas) were employed in royal service, there were physicians to treat common people. There appears to be
provision for midwifery and paediatrics at least in the royal palace. Even animals were treated for disease. Physicians of horses were to prescribe remedies against the decrease and increase in the weight of a horse, and they also had to prescribe proper diet according to seasons. Riding a horse reserved for treatment by physicians was an offence punishable with fines. Any neglect of the disease or improper withholding of treatment of the ill horse led to severe fines, and its death due to negligence might render the guilty to pay the full price of the animal. Physicians who received rations in the elephant stables were to treat elephants afflicted by long journey, illness, work, rent or old age. Intensely humane and solicitous for the welfare of all (sarvalokahitāya), Ashoka appears to have intensified the efforts for the care of the sick, men or beasts. Ashoka provided for medical care and treatment of men and beasts throughout his dominion, and in the independent kingdoms of south India and Ceylon, and also in the dominions of the king Antiochus II and his neighbours. He also provided for planting of medical herbs beneficial to both men and animals everywhere, and where these were not found, they were imported from outside and planted. Kauṭilya also requires the Superintendent of Crown to grow medicinal plants and duty on medicines was \( \frac{1}{10} \) or \( \frac{1}{10} \) . Ashoka also established at regular distances on roadways, resthouses and watering places for both animals and men. (R. E. II, P. E. VII). Kauṭilya refers to rest-houses and sheds for drinking water in the villages (II. 35.3. Satra, Prapā).

The Mauryan government also took effective and energetic measures to relieve the distress of the people. Elaborate precautions and remedial measures were enforced during famines, floods, drought, rat-menace, outbreak of fire, menace from serpents and wild animals and evil spirits. To prevent outbreak of fire in summer,
city and village people were required to cook outside, and never under the roof (as these were mainly made of wood and thatch). Every householder had to keep ready ten fire-fighting implements. People who worked with fire were to live in one locality. To avoid danger from floods, villages on the bank of the rivers or lakes were to be placed away from the level of the floods and boats, bamboos, and wooden planks were to be provided for the villagers to escape or rescue flood victims. During outbreak of diseases physicians with medicines were to treat those afflicted, and holy ascetics or magicians worked with charms to ward off diseases. Even epidemic among cattle was to be combated by taking resort to magic and prayers to gods. Droughts and famines were not unknown. Megasthenes says that famine has never visited India. But according to Jain tradition recorded in a latter inscription, a severe famine broke out in India in the time of Candragupta Maurya. Kauṭilya refers to famine relief measures. Indra, Gaṅgā, mountains and Mahākaccha were to be worshipped for rains. During famines the government distributed seeds and foodstuffs to people. The Sohagaura and Mahāsthāna inscriptions refer to royal granaries from which grains and other things reserved for use only in emergencies were distributed among the people. The king gave the famine stricken people work on construction of forts and water-works. These were the hard-manual schemes for those days. Intensive sowing of grains, vegetables, roots and fruits along the water works and hunting of animals, birds, or catching fish were some of the measures to fight the menace of famine. Rats as to-day constituted a real menace and the state encouraged killing of rats, and even taxes were instituted in rat, i.e., tax payers could pay in dead rats. Of course, large scale use of cats was made to kill rats. Magic rites and pacificatory rites by holy ascetics were also resorted to. Even rats were worshipped (to persuade
them not to harm the people by eating up the grains). In those days when much of the country was still not cleared of forests, wild animals could have often been a menace to regions bordering on forests. So hunters were encouraged to hunt these animals, and carcasses of cattle mixed with poison were left there to tempt the wild animals to death. Even soldiers were employed to kill these animals; and a killer of such an animal was rewarded. Of course, mountains were worshipped to restrain the activity of wild animals. Serpents were also similarly dealt with by use of magic charms, Atharvavedic mantras and even by worship of serpents. For the physical comforts of men and animals Asoka got shady trees planted on roads, watering places provided and rest-houses constructed. The government not only constructed water-works for irrigation such as the Sudarśana lake but also encouraged and gave concessions to villages to construct these, by themselves. And agriculturists in time of distress were granted remission of taxes, and grant of loans, grains and seeds.

Common people are often cheated, defrauded and instigated by traders and other professional communities whose services are essential for the people. The Mauryan government took measures to protect the people against the anti-social practices of these classes. Prices for sale of goods were fixed. Traders were not to charge enhanced price, and were fined for weighing more or less and using non-stamped weights and measures as their selfish interest demanded. Goods intended for marriage, for religious sacrifices, for confinement of women, and the like were exempt from toll. Seeds and medicines of immense good to the people were freely imported. The consumers were protected against the concerted hoarding or cornering of goods by merchants.
The labourers, wage-earners, and slaves or pledgees were granted legal rights and employers or masters were not free to treat them with impunity. It appears that often proper relations according to law (Dharma) did not exist, and that is why Āsoka had to emphasize the maintenance of proper relations between the employer and the employee (bhaṭamayeshu) as an article of the Dhamma, he propagated and held that proper treatment of the slaves and wage-earning servants was a dharmamaṅgala.

It would be proper here to refer to running of industries, agriculture and trade by the government. While this was a good source of revenue, it also has to be admitted that indirectly it served the interests of the people. Private traders, miners, landowners, factory-owners had to work under limitations and to that extent their exploitation of the people was checked. Moreover, the revenues thus augmented were partly spent over public utility and welfare projects mentioned above. Among the items of expenditure of revenues may be mentioned charity, royal kitchen, payment for remedial measures against sudden calamities, public works etc.

Mauryan administration under Āsoka was not only interested in the material welfare of his subjects but was equally if not more anxious for their spiritual upliftment. Āsoka claims that his efforts have borne fruits and men so far unassociated with gods have become associated with them. His endeavour was to make them happy here and help them in attaining happiness in the other world. He asked his people to perform dhamamaṅgals (righteous actions) which would win for them both this and the next world. We have already seen that Āsoka left no stone unturned and utilised the imperial and provincial civil services in propagating the Dhamma amongst the people and tried to regulate the socio-religious life of the citizens.
in a manner which he considered would ensure them happiness here and thereafter. It is quite another thing that this suited also imperial interests as it helped in maintaining unity among the subjects belonging to diverse religious sects and in harmonising various conflicting and even contradictory local, social and religious laws.

The Mauryan administration was almost an all-embracing one, affecting practically all aspects of national and individual life. With the king as the directing and controlling head, the administration was fairly centralised inspite of the fact that local laws and institutions were given some recognition. The government officer and the secret agents were active even in villages, and the civic administration was under complete government management. Agriculture, industry, trade and markets were regulated by state regulations and administered by government servants. In Asoka’s time even religious and socio-economic life of the individual citizens was directly brought under governmental ambit. It is therefore not possible to agree with Mookerji that the Mauryan administration was largely decentralised. The centralisation was primarily motivated by the desire to secure the safety and consideration of the king and the kingdom. It was therefore why adequate provisions were made for the personal safety of the king. Measures were provided for keeping the ministers and officers in check. It is why the search service was so thoroughly organised on a very large scale. Treason, crimes against the king and the kingdom by the enemies of the state (dushya) were severely punished.

Checks on absolutism

Was the Mauryan king with the vast powers and prestige and through the centralised administration
an autocrat, an absolute ruler? This question does not brook a simple answer. The Mauryan king could have been an autocrat as there was no direct constitutional check on his exercise of authority. But there were many ‘practical checks on his sovereignty’.

It has to be noted that mentrins and mantriparishad, though appointed by him, enjoyed considerable authority and influence. While ordinarily the king could override their advice in emergencies, the majority view of the mantriparishad appears to be binding upon the king. Moreover it was the constitutional obligation of the king to consult the mantrins on state affairs and councillors were to speak freely and openly. The advice of such a body composed of well-tried loyal confidants would be given weight by the king in forming a policy or implementing it. It was no more rubber stamping body.

The high-priest or Purohita was a constant advisor, and in the contemporary socio-religious set up, no king could easily ignore his advice. As a matter of fact, the Brāhmaṇa, ascetics or heretical mendicants who had retired from the worldly life but were learned and renowned for wisdom often advised the king on matters affecting the kingdom, and the king respected their advice and consulted them often. Their influence on the king’s policy and action is attested to by Megasthenes. It is argued that in the time of Aśoka the influence of the priest or Brāhmaṇas in general disappeared. The training and education of the prince with emphasis on righteous conduct and historical or legendary examples was designed to condition his mind, against giving free reins to his senses. The teaching that the king who keeps his senses in control will never be devoid of happiness impressed on the impressionable mind the virtue of just government and the tragedy of tyrannical rule.
There was no institutional device to get the people as a whole associated with the general formulation of the government policies and their implementation. Dr. Jayaswal's view (Hindu Polity II, p. 60ff) that Paura and Janapada were popular assemblies controlling the administration have been rightly refuted. But the Mauryan king gave importance to public opinion and Aśoka believed in mass contact between the king and the people. In those days there were no organised means to express public opinion for the benefit of the king. But the Mauryan king was always conscious of the value of public opinion. Kauṭilya wants the king not to make himself inaccessible to his people in judicial matter, causing thereby public disaffection. However it is clear from Kauṭilya and Megasthenes that the king did not freely mix with the people. He was always guided by armed bodyguards whenever he appeared before the public in the court or at the time of giving interview to even the ascetics or when on hunting tour or going to witness festivities. Probably it was because the king was considered a being superior to men and also because he was always suspicious of danger to his person from unsuspected quarters. Aśoka appears to have changed the system. He introduced a revolutionary idea of mixing with the people. In his Dharmayātras he did so—had mass contact. According to Filliozat the reference to mixing of devas and men (MRE I Brahmagiri) brought about by Aśoka actually means the meeting of kings with men not done before. In examples cited by Kauṭilya of kings who perished due to lack of control over their senses he indirect warns the king of the danger of popular fury. According to Kauṭilya, in majority of cases kings given to anger are said to have fallen prey to popular fury. In awarding punishment to the guilty the king, was particularly required to take the reaction of the public in this sensitive field to account. Kauṭilya therefore clearly
advises the king to award proper punishment, neither severe nor mild, as in either case the public opinion would be adverse to him. Rod (of punishment) used unjustly whether in passion or anger or in contempt enrages even the forest-anchorites and wandering ascetics, how much more then the householders? We have already seen that Aśoka was particularly emphatic that no citizen was imprisoned, tortured or harassed without due cause, understandably because such things would cause popular disaffection. The Mauryan state believed in full treasury and resorted to diverse ways for replenishing the treasury, but even here the threat of people's disaffection was one of the deterrents against the tyranny of heavy taxation according to Kauṭilya. A good king was to be a stranger to such tendencies as would lead him to oppress citizens and the country people by levying heavy fines and taxes. Fear of an uprising against unjust taxation made the king avoid unripe (fruit) that causes an uprising, for fear of his own destruction. Kauṭilya provides censure and punishments for the officer "who doubles the revenue because he eats into the vitality of the country." It was the fear of public resentment mainly which persuaded Kauṭilya to reject the opinion of Bhāradvāja that the minister should usurp the kingdom when the king is on deathbed and princes are inimical to one another. In Kauṭilya's view this was an unrighteous act 'which excites popular fury'. One of the means to fathom public opinion about the king or his policy was the employment of secret agents, who taking seemingly opposite views about the king at places where people assemble, tried to draw out men in discussion about the king and his policy, and thus know the way the wind was blowing in favour or against the king. Those who were discontented were sought to be conciliated by many means, and failing this dissensions would be created amongst these so that they could not organise rebellion or hatch a
conspiracy against the king. Disaffected citizens were a threat to the kingdom as they could join an enemy king against their own king. Loyal subjects were of great strength to the king who was easily assailable if his subjects were estranged from him. Popular discontent was so much suicidal to the king that Kautilya recommends even an inferior king to attack his ally if the latter's subjects are oppressed. It is therefore obvious that the popular fury was the worst of all furies—Prakrti-kopohi sarva kopabhyo gariian. The anxiety that not to make the public opinion hostile was strengthened by the realisation that 'forts, finance and the army depend on the people'. One of the best means to capture an enemy territory was to win over enemy's people. He advised the conquering king to follow such a policy and take such measures as to win the affection and trust of the newly conquered people. Asoka's anxiety to win the affection of the people of Kalinga is clear from the two Kalinga edicts.

It should be obvious now that regard for public opinion was always a positive guiding principle of Mauryan administration. The possibility of revolt by people against unrighteous acts of their king was very much in mind and to avoid this the administration was anxious to keep itself abreast of public opinion, to guide it in its favour, and to counter it if possible. Fear of public opinion was a real restraining factor on the coercive power of the king. No one more than Asoka, the most powerful king, by his policy and actions tried to win the love, affection and regard of the people. His tours of inspection of the people were meant to establish direct rapport between the king and his subjects. Ghoshal aptly observes that 'the great humanitarian propaganda of Asoka must have helped to cement his rule upon loyal sentiments of his subjects.
The prevalent theories of kingship and its high ideals also must have had some restraining influence on the king. According to one view, people tired of anarchy (mātsya-nyāya) chose Manu as their king and assigned 1/6th of the grain, 1/10 of the commodities and money as his share; maintained by that, kings bring about the well-being and security of the subjects. While this emphasised the inherent obligations of the people, bound by the original contract to pay taxes and duties to the king, the other side of the coin, the duty of the king to provide security for the taxes received by him could not have been missed. The theory is not much different from the theory, that a king who does not protect and maintain law, loses the right to rule, forfeits the right to receive taxes—a theory known to the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (I-10-I) and the Mahābhārata (SB. ch. 67). Seen from this light, taxes paid to the king in a way constituted the wages earned by the king for the service of providing protection. In the chapter dealing with the king marching against an enemy, Kautilya recommends the righteous king to call his army together and address them thus: I receive wage like yourself (X. 3. 27). Of course this was not a statement of fact, but a clever rule to win the whole-hearted support of the army for the war. But it cannot be overlooked that a king who could express like this publicly even for a moment could not embark on exercise in absolutism and tyranny. Aśoka's anxiety to pay off debt to his people, by giving them welfare and happiness is an extension of the same principle—inherent obligation of the king towards his subjects. Kautilya at many places referred to the king showing favours to his subjects as a father (to his children). Aśoka proclaimed this paternal theory in clearest terms: "all subjects are my children." Therefore, there is no reason to suspect that there was any theory of autocracy justifying king's tyranny in this period.
Moreover, the widely accepted principle that the king was not the legislator acted as a check on royal absolutism. Laws which governed the society were formulated long ago and had to be given effect to by the king. The king who did not strictly enforce the laws of Varna and Ashrama would cause destruction of the world. Rajaśāsana, as we have seen, does not falsify the situation. Varṇaśrama Dharma was not subject to the kings' edicts which really were orders referring to special cases. Even Aśoka swears by Porāṇa-Pakiti, ancient Dharma. Basham rightly observes, "Dharma and established custom were usually looked on as inviolable, and the king's commands were merely applications of the sacred law."

Conclusion

The Mauryan administration was largely benevolent. It provided unity to the vast country of diverse cultural and geographical complex unknown before and after. The inscriptions scattered from Kandhār to Kāliga, and from Dehradun to Mysore loudly speak of this unity buttressed not only by unity of administrative system but also by the use of one official language—Pāli—throughout the vast empire. The ideal of universal empire—cakravartitva—was almost realised. There is no doubt that the administration was largely bureaucratic in character and much depended on the ability and loyalty of the highest and lowest government servants, and there are epigraphic and literary references suggesting that the officers often oppressed the people. It was not against the prince or the king, but against the officers that the people of Takshaśila had revolted in the time of Bindusāra. Aśoka's strictures of the officers of Kāliga to restrain themselves from oppressing the citizens without due cause have to be evaluated from this angle.
Inspite of the fact that both Candragupta and Asoka worked hard to keep vigil over the administration, it was well nigh impossible to be omniscient or omnipresent during the times when the empire was so vast, and facilities of transport were so meagre. The Mauryan empire which had many modern principles to guide its administration and policy had to contend against the undeveloped technology and science of the time unable to cope with the problems of slow transport and vast distances. The result was inevitable. Inspite of bright prospect and shining accomplishments, the empire failed to survive for long. There were many causes for the failure, but Mauryan bureaucracy had a large share in the blame. The under current of suspicion against one and all and the employment of spies and secret agents amongst all cadres of government servants, and the disgusting prospect of one officer taking the other as a spy against him must have very largely affected the initiative, loyalty and efficiency of the services.

The Mauryan taxation was multiple and probably heavy too. Agriculture being the main profession was heavily taxed. Besides the usual 16\% p. c. as land revenue and \% or \% as irrigation tax, the agriculturists had to pay many other kinds of taxes as detailed earlier. Duties on goods for sale also were quite heavy. Even excluding emergency taxation, weight of taxation in ordinary days weighed heavily on the people and it is therefore quite natural that the people did not like the tax-collectors who often had to bear the brunt of popular fury and odium. The taxation policy must have generated an under current of resentment among the people inspite of the fact that it was the proclaimed duty of the king to protect agriculture from the molestation of oppressive fines, free labour and taxes.
Another feature of the administration was emphasis on propaganda. Government servants, particularly secret agents, were publicly to proclaim the qualities and good deeds of the king. While one spy would try to gain public opinion in favour of the king by such statement that the king as the successor of Manu has been given the duty of protection in lieu of taxes by the people, the other spy would try to impress on credulous god-fearing people the fact that the king was like Indra and Varuna and he who slighted him will be punished not only in this world but also in the next. Similarly, he would impress on the soldiers that he is a wage-earner like them. He would also with the assistance of his secret agents appear before the soldiers as enjoying the company of the gods. Thus different sections of the people influenced by different ideas and beliefs were made to support the king and his policy.

Aśoka employed the vast administrative machinery not only to propagate righteousness but also subtly to propagate his good character, intentions and achievements. His exercise of extensive powers was sought to be explained as paternal care and guidance by the king of the subjects who were just ‘children’ to be guided and taken care of.

The provision of careful watch over the strangers in the town or the country side, as attested to both by Kautilya and Megasthenes, and for the net-work of spies embracing all regions and sections of population certainly suggest that the Mauryan state was not a great believer in civil liberties. The Gopa in the village and the city had absolute comprehensive data about the inhabitants. The conditions atleast in the cities must have approximated to those of a modern police state, with powers to the Pradeśṭrs and their subordinates to arrest persons on suspicion. But taking into consideration the welfare measures carried out by the administration and the general
objective of promoting the Yogakshema of the people, it is safe to conclude that the people at time did not feel oppressed, as justice would lead us to believe. "The Indian king is not a Sultan with the sole obligation of satisfying his personal caprice." The rigours of espionage and administration as a whole were meant for the security of the state on which depended the existence of the citizens and their laws. Kausambi aptly observes, "Espionage and the constant use of agent provocateurs, is recommended on a massive scale by the Arthaśāstra. The sole purpose of every action was the safety and profit of the state. Abstract questions of ethics are never raised or discussed in the whole book." In a sense it showed how hollow was the foundation of the Mauryan centralised administration which depended largely on the efficiency and honesty of the administrative personnel of whom both Kauṭilya and Aśoka entertained no high hopes. And the fact that the people showed no interest in their rulers, because the villagers, who constituted the vast majority of the population went with their work undisturbed by wars or consequent change of government, in substance meant that atlantean load of administration of the vast empire sat uneasily on the head of the king alone.

And it was not therefore difficult for the king to stress his paternal benevolence towards his subjects. The welfare activities known from Kauṭilya and Aśoka's inscriptions while on the one hand transmit to the state the character of the welfare state, on the other hints at its totalititarian character as well. The 'paternal despotism' under Aśoka was clearly proclaimed in his famous Kaliṅga edicts. It was an honest attempt to temper the rigours of a centralised bureaucratic monarchy with doses of filial affection and compassion. "Then was first realised on a grand imperial scale the idea of a welfare state," says Ghoshal. We had
already suggested long before that the Kautilyan state partook of the nature of a welfare state.\textsuperscript{224} It is true even today that a welfare state has to move towards centralisation of power and totalitarianism.

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183. III. 13. 1.
184. Ibid. 20.
185. III. 14. 1.
188. III. 19. 2-16.
189. III. 20. 2.
190. IV. 1. 11.
191. IV. 2. 3-13.
192. IV. 3. 6.
193. IV. 9. 4-8.
193a. II. 7. 22-25.
195. Ibid. 18.
196. Ibid. 22.
196a. III. 20. 19.
199. Ibid. 7.
200. Ibid. 10.
201. Ibid. 13.
203. IV. 1. 48.
204. IV. 9. 12.
205. IV. 10. 15.
206. Ibid. 16.
207. Ibid. 10. 1.
208. IV. 11. 1.
209. Ibid. 7.
210. Ibid. 11.
210a. Ibid. 13.
211. Ibid. 17.
211a. Ibid. 19.
212. Ibid. 22.
213. Ibid. I. 18, 6.
214. Ibid. II. 5, 1, 5; IV. 9, 22.
215. Ibid. II. 36, 44, 46.
216. Ibid.
217. IV. 9, 13-21.
218. Majumdar, Classical Account of India, p. 270.
219. Ibid.
220. K. A. III. 20, 22.
221. KRE. II (Dhauili).
222. R.E.V.
223. P. E. V.
224. K.A. BK. II. 36, 46.
225. P.E.V.
226. K.A. II. 35, 47.
228. III. 5. 28.
230. III. 10. 43.
231. III. 11. 34-37.
232. III. 18. 7.
233. IV. 8. 19.
235. IV. 8. 29.
236. IV. 10. 13.
237. IV. 11. 11-12.
238. IV. 13. 1.
239. IV. 13. 32.
240. P.E. IV.
240a. Thapar, op. cit. p. 104 expresses doubt over this interpolation without giving good reasons.
242. Ibid. 20.
242a. Ibid. 22.
243. Ibid. 4-19.
244. II. 1. 26.
245a. II. 27. 30.
246. I. 12. 15.
247a. IV. 4. 6-11, 23.
249. I. 13. 2-14.
250. Ibid. 15-18.
254. Ibid. 18.
255. Ibid. 22.
256. I. 21. 29.
257. II. 7. 9-10.
258. II. 9. 10-12.
259. II. 9. 25-30.
261. II. 25. 12-14.
262. II. 35. 3-13.
263. II. 36. 13-14.
264. IV. 5. 1.
265. V. 1. 1-36.
266. V. 2. 32-33, 41, 46, 49.
267. McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 41.
268. K. A. V. 3. 7.
269. Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman; Sircar Select Inscriptions in Gujarat area. According to Ghoshal, Pushyagupta held charge of a single tract Vol. I. pp. 175ff. under the Maurya viceroy of western India and Tushashpa was an imperial officer under Aśoka entrusted with the improvement of the famous tank. (Ghoshal, op. cit. p. 266).
Mauryan Administration

270. KRE. I, KRE (Dhauli), II, MRE. I (Brahmagiri).
272. KRE. I, MRE. I.
273. KRE. II.
274. KA. II. 1, 4, 5.
275. II. 35, 2-6.
276. III. 7, 1.
277. V. 3, 23.
278. III. 8, 2, 12.
279. III. 9, 3, 4.
280. II. 1, 3.
281. III. 9, 10, 13.
282. III. 9, 15, 16.
283. III. 9, 24. There is no evidence that there was any corporate body of village elders or village council as such.
284. III. 9, 17, 18.
284a. R. E. VIII.
286. III. 10, 18, 16, 17.
288. K. A. II. 36, 3.
289. Ibid.
290. K. A. III. 4, 10, 22, 29.
291. II. 36, 42.
292. VI, I, 9.
293. VI. 2, 38.
293a. VI, I, 13.
293b. VII. 5, 28.
294. II. 1, 28, 29, 26.
295. R. E. I.
296. K. A. Bk. II. 23, 11, 12.
297. III. 8, 5, 9.
298. II. 36, 28, 13.
299. Ibid. II. 36, 43.
300. IV, II, 22.
300a. IV. 4, 17, 19.
300b. II. 26, 12.
300c. IV. 3. 12; Ghoshal op. cit. p. 61.
300d. II. 1. 7.
300e. V. 3. 12.
301. II. 36. 10; IV. 1. 57.
302. II. 25. 21.
302b. I. 21. 10.
302c. Ibid. 9.
302d. I. 20. 10; I. 17. 25.
303. II. 30. 43.
304. Ibid. 46-48.
305. II. 31. 17-18.
306. R. E. II.
306b. II. 20. 7.
308. IV. 3. 3; II. 36, 15-20.
309. IV. III. 13-16.
310. IV. 3. 17-20.
312. IV. 3. 28-35.
313. R. E. II.
314. K. A. II. 21. 22. 16.
315. III. 13; IV. 2.
316. R. E. V.; R. E. XI.
317. R. E. IX.
318. MRE. I.
319. RE. VI.
320. RE. IX.
321a. Basham, A. L., Wonder that was India, p. 2. 87.
321c. K. A. VIII. 3. 7.
321d. R. Thapar, Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, p. 96.
321e. Studies in Aśoka Inscriptions pp. 35 ft.
321f. K. A. I. 6. 4-10.
323. Kane, II. p. 199.
324. K. A. V. II. 70.
325. Ibid. II. 9. 15-16.
326. V. 6. 24-32.
326a. Ghoshal, op. cit. p. 275
327. K. A. I. 13. 5-7.
328. R. E. VI.
329. KRE. II.
332. CHI. I, p. 491.
334. JBRS.
CHAPTER XVIII

Social and Economic Condition

Society

The society was based on Varnāśrama Dharma divided into four castes and four orders: Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vāiśyas and Śūdras as castes, and Brāhmaṇacarya, Gārhatthya, Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa as the four stages of life. Kauṭilya clearly upholds the law laid down in the Vedic lore preserving the respective duties of the four varṇas and orders.¹ Megasthenes was clearly confusing between the exclusive castes and professional classes when he observed that the Indian society was divided into seven castes.² Special duties of the four castes and four orders are mentioned by Kauṭilya,³ and he is clear that these respective duties must be adhered to by the people and upheld by the king, because "the observance of one’s own special duty leads to heaven and to endless bliss. In case of transgression people would be exterminated through mixture of duties and castes."⁴ The caste system was hereditary and inter-marriage was frowned upon. Megasthenes informs us that the custom of the country prohibits inter-marriages between castes and changing from one caste to another.⁵ According to Kauṭilya, marrying into the families of the same caste but not of the same gotra was a bounden legal duty for a householder.⁶ However in actual practice intermarriages took place. Prevalence of Gāndharva marriage i.e. love marriage and that of marriage by capture could not reasonably be confined to the same caste. Kauṭilya himself refers to mixed marriages of anuloma and pratiloma kinds and Brāhmaṇas and others having wife or wives of different castes.⁷ We know that
Aśoka who was a Kshatriya had married a daughter of a Setthi (Vaiśya).

Brāhmaṇaṇaś

According to Kauṭilya, the special duties of the Brāhmaṇaṇas were studying, teaching, performing sacrifices, officiating at other people's sacrifices, making and receiving gifts. People including the king believed in sacrifices, divination and occult practices. And for these the Brāhmaṇa priests were necessary and the offerings and gifts at these sacrifices were good sources of income. Demand for priests for officiating at sacrifices was so great and the income so lucrative that the priests could form union or partnerships and enter into agreement with Tajamānas and the income would be divided between the priests of the union according to the previous agreement between them. The purohita, who was a Brāhmaṇa, was a constant counsellor of the king and followed him even in the battle-field. The king was to follow him as a pupil does his teacher, a son his father and a servant his master. Being well-versed in the Vedas, in divine signs, in reading of omens, and capable of countering divine and human calamities by means of Atharvan remedies, he commanded great influence on and respect from the king. The Brāhmaṇaṇas appear to have had a monopoly of attending the dinner at rites in honour of gods and manes. For feeding a Śākya, Ājīvika and other heretical monks at rites in honour of gods or manes, the host was fined. Megasthenes also states that the Brāhmaṇaṇaś (philosophers) enjoy monopoly as performers of sacrifices and as diviners. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall.10

It appears that the Brāhmaṇaṇaś, learned in the Vedas, teachers and priests received lands free from taxes and fines (brahmadeya lands), and with right
of inheritance to such heirs.\textsuperscript{11} His property was not touched even during emergencies.\textsuperscript{12} It is, therefore, clear that the Brāhmaṇas held landed property and paid no taxes or fines. The property of the learned Brāhmaṇa even without heir could not be forfeited by the state.\textsuperscript{13} It is not clear whether they were actual cultivators tilling the land themselves; probably they got the lands tilled by slaves and labourers. If Megasthenes is to be believed, they were under no necessity of doing any bodily labour at all or of contributing from the produce of their labour anything to the common stock.\textsuperscript{14} There appears to be some corroboration of this from Kauṭilya, who while requires every one in a village to take part in corporate activities on the point of being deprived of the benefit from such enterprises otherwise, provides that Brāhmaṇas who did not desire to take part personally in such activities could be exempted but still they would receive their share of benefit.\textsuperscript{15} Thus though non-producers or non-cooperators the Brāhmaṇas had claims on the produce and the benefit. Of course Brāhmaṇas constituting troops are envisaged by teachers previous to Kauṭilya and were considered better than troops constituted by the other varṇas on account of superiority of spirit. From other Greek accounts it is found that some Brāhmaṇas took active part in politics and were fighters.\textsuperscript{16} Kauṭilya, however, had a much poorer opinion of the Brāhmaṇa troops, and according to him, a Kshatriya, Vaiṣya, or Śūdra army was better than the Brāhmaṇa army which could be won over by prostration by enemies.\textsuperscript{17} We have seen that the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed some judicial privileges as regards punishment.\textsuperscript{18}

The Brāhmaṇa, particularly the learned Brāhmaṇa, the Purohitā and the ascetics were highly respected and influential. We have already seen that the king was expected to follow the Purohitā as a son his father or a disciple.
his teacher. The Purohita with the King and the Chief-
Minister (maitrin) constituted the public service commission
for testing the integrity of the officers and for assigning
suitable posts to them. The Purohita figures not only as
taking a conspicuous part in state affairs but also in affairs
relating to religious sacrifices. This double aspect of the
Purohita's office enabled him in guiding the king's policy.
The Brāhmaṇas were a great political force which, when
used in favour of the royal power, helped the latter
to triumph and be invincible. Kshatriya power made to
prosper by Brāhmaṇas...triumphs, remaining
ever unconquered. It is quite likely that many of the high
officers and certainly the judges of the Dharmasthīya courts
were recruited from amongst the Brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas
as ambassadors and in king's service are referred to by
Kauṭilya. A wandering nun of the Brāhmaṇa caste could
be employed as a government spy. The astrologers,
soothsayers, the fortune-tellers were generally Brāhmaṇas,
Of course, sacrificial priest, the preceptor, the Purohita and
the teachers and learned men were mostly Brāhmaṇas, and
they received subsistence and wages from the royal treasury.
Thus, the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed monopoly in religious rites
and in teaching.

After finishing his long educational career up to 37
years of age, he returned to the stage of household and
enjoyed life. According to Megasthenes, he lived now in
greater freedom and luxury wearing muslin robes and
some decent ornaments of gold on his hands and ears, eating
flesh to long as it is not the flesh of domestic animals,
but abstaining from pungent and highly seasoned food.
The common means of subsistence of the Brāhmaṇas was
offer of gifts to them. Brāhmaṇas could take salt
for their food without making any payment. Those learned
in the Vedas, and ascetics could take flowers and
fruits that had fallen on the ground for the worship
of gods; rice and barley for the ágrayaṇa sacrifice, without making any payment.\(b\) Ascetics were not only granted part of forest tracts but also every thing movable or immovable in them for Vedic study and Soma sacrifices.\(c\) Besides the endowments for study and sacrifices, the temple property was declared immune from taxation (K. A. V. 2), and temples were to be constructed in the metropolitan city. (II. 4. 15-16) Brāhmaṇas were allowed to cross river or lakes on royal boats without paying the ferry charge.\(d\) Brāhmaṇas enjoyed some judicial privileges in matters of punishment, and one injuring a Brāhmaṇa was more severely punished than for injuring persons of other castes. A Śūdra was deprived of the limb of his body with which he struck a Brāhmaṇa. He could not be tortured, and even for grave offences punishment was slight for him. But he could not be branded, or even exiled for heinous and seditious crimes.\(e\)

The Brāhmaṇas as a class enjoyed the highest position in the society. They were custodians of education and culture of the community etc. It was the king’s daily duty to receive their blessings on the 8th part of the day. According to Megasthenes, they held the supreme place of dignity and honour.\(f\) They paid no taxes.\(g\)

Kshatriyas

Duties of a Kshatriya were studying, performing sacrifices for self, making gifts, living by profession of arms, and protecting beings.\(h\) The Kshatriyas were second in point of numbers to the husbandmen and led a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment.\(i\) The Mauryan army was very large and it is reasonable to believe that a vast majority of soldiers were Kshatriyas. Kauṭilya was clear in his mind that the army composed mostly of the Kshatriyas was the best.\(j\) Many of the high or middle rank government servants must have been Kshatriyas.
There is no doubt that the Kshatriyas dominated the political life as king, chief administrators and army generals. Some of them also could be cultivators. However, they were second to the Brāhmaṇas in social gradation.

Vaiśyas

Duties of a Vaiśya were, studying, performing sacrifices for self, making gifts, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade (Vṛtta). They constituted the vast majority of cultivators and traders and herdsmen. Generally they had no military duties to perform, and even in times of war their cultivated fields were not to be trampled by soldiers. However, in bloody wars like the Kaliṅga War they could not escape being affected directly or indirectly. They had to pay large variety of taxes as cultivators and traders. By helping in clearing forests and making new fields ready for cultivation, they helped in the economic progress of the empire and were granted numerous concessions and favours on suitable occasions.

Śūdras

Kauṭilya included Śūdras in the Aryan society, and prohibits the sale of Śūdra minors as of the other three varṇas' minor members as a slave. This is a remarkable development towards the integration of hitherto neglected Śūdras into Aryan society. Their duties were service of the twice-born, engaging in economic calling, and joining the professions of artisans and actors. It is important to note that they were not given the right or duty to education. But they could be soldiers. Kauṭilya envisages an army of Śūdras also. Service to the three upper varṇas was not their only duty. They were encouraged to take to agriculture and handicrafts. The arts and crafts appear to be exclusively practised by the Śūdras alone. Hardy and serviceable Śūdras were preferred in the settlement of new villages by
the state. Handicrafts men constituted the fourth caste according to Megasthenes. Most of the hired labourers in agriculture and households came from the Śūdra caste and their rights and duties are detailed in the Arthasastra. The conditions of service of hired labourers were agreed to in the form of a contract or agreement between the employer and the employees. This concerned their wages or remuneration. Wages were fixed according to the agreement; or there was a standard wage of 1/10th of crops, butter and goods dealt in by the cultivator, cowherd or trader working as hired labourer. Any dispute regarding these terms of service between the two parties could be settled in the court on the testimony of witnesses, failing which the judge could decide after due local enquiry at the place of the work agreed upon. The employer could be fined for non-payment of wages. While labourers could individually offer themselves for work on wages or remuneration or on time or piece basis as in contract, they also could have unions, which as corporate bodies entered into agreement for supply of labourers to an employer. Labourers also could form something like partnership which took work under an employer on some agreed remuneration or lump sum basis, and the sum so obtained was divided among the members as agreed upon by themselves previously. Observance of proper relationship between the employer and the employees is stressed by Aśoka in his inscriptions. And this was quite natural and advantageous for a government interested in maintaining social peace and economic progress.

Labourers who were mostly Śūdras and who could not pay taxes to the state in the form of grains, or commodities or money could work without payment for the state in lieu of taxes. Among the kinds of work that they could do without wage for the state were pound-
ing, splitting pulses, frying, fermenting, grinding, pressing of oil from hand-press or round press and extracting and treating juice of sugarcane. It is important to note that *Vishṭi* or free labour is technically not forced labour but is a form of paying taxes to the king in the shape of his labour. *Vishṭi* was the claim of the state alone, and was based on the accepted principle that every man has to pay share to the king as agreed upon in the original compact between Manu and men. As we have seen, even the forest-dwellers and ascetics have to pay 1/6th of their virtues to the king as their share of tax. Megasthenes mentions that artisans worked for the state for a certain number of days (Strabo XV, I.46). Kauṭilya warns against the tyrannical use of *vishṭi* by government servants as it was not definite as to how much work the labourer could legitimately do for the king in lieu of the latter’s due from him; the risk of their exploitation was there. It should also be clear that the kinds of work mentioned above were some of the normal occupations of labourers for which they were paid as agreed upon. Labourers could even be assigned land and provided with equipment by the superintendent of Crown Lands and they received 1/4th or 1/5th of the produce as their share. Many of the artisan classes belonged to the Śūdra caste. Actors, dancers, acrobats also mostly came from this caste. Sweepers, watchmen, weighter, measurer, supervisor of measuring and delivering, receiver of tallies were the workers (belonging to Śūdra Caste).

**Slavery**

Megasthenes squarely observed that all Indians were free and not one of them was a slave. He goes further and says that while the Lakedaimonians use Helots as slaves who do servile labour, the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, much less a country-man of their own.
Siculus goes so far as to say that the law ordains that no one among them shall under any circumstances be a slave. But Megasthenes was wrong in this respect. Strabo points out that in saying this Megasthenes extended to the whole of India what Onesicrius noted as a custom peculiar to the country of the Musicans (Camb. Hist. of India, p. 67). Early Indian law books envisage the existence of slaves, and Kautilya also recognises its existence. The Gopa in his register was to enter the number of slaves in a village (K. A. II. 35). Strabo relying on Megasthenes informs us that king's person was attended to by women who were purchased (slaves) from their fathers.

Kautilya speaks of dhatr (wet nurse) who was appointed to nurse the child in a king's or well-to-do people's family. She was a slave woman. Similarly, there were female attendants (upacarika and paricarika) and female slaves who tilled the land on half-produce basis. Kautilya refers to the following kinds of slaves: (1) grhajata (born of slave's parents in the master's house), (2) dayagata, (received in inheritance from ancestors), (3) labdha (obtained as a present from others), (4) krita (purchased), (5) danda-pranita (one fined by a court of law and paying the fine by working as a slave), (6) dhvajahita (one captured in war by king's permission could be allowed to be a slave under a soldier or general), (7) udaradasa (slave for livelihood), (8) nitamavikraya (one who sells himself into slavery), (9) ahitaka (one who pledges himself or mortgages himself, or is so done by another person, probably his relation or guardian). Courtesans and bandhakati women were also a kind of slaves under the keeper. Bandhakati would earn for the keeper by entertaining lovers.

Kautilya declares that no Arya (minor) will be reduced to slavery, but there is an indirect hint that non-Aryas could be slaves, and mlecchas could sell an offspring into
slavery. Kautilya while banning sale of an Ārya minor of any of the four Varṇas into slavery, does not debar, under pressing circumstances, even a minor Ārya to be handed over (to the master) for maintenance. One could become a slave for livelihood (udaradāva). While Kautilya declared that there would be no slavery for an Ārya in any circumstances, he permits temporary slavery even of the entire family under distressing conditions. But such enslaved persons could be free on payment of ransom (by their relatives), and in such a case, the minor was to be made free before others. One who could not pay off his debt could instead work as a slave under the creditor. However, if such a mortgaged slave would run away (and be caught) or would escape to a foreign country (and be caught), he would become a slave for ever. Such Ārya slaves were not to be deprived of their Āryahood by the master even if they stole money. Thus the pledges remained Āryas, and that is why their son was completely a freeman. The persons who were fined because of some crime could also agree to work as slave in lieu of payment of fines. Any Ārya captured in war also could be reduced to slavery. One who has pledged himself in to slavery or has been pledged by another into slavery was not to desert his master unless the ransom was paid and mortgage was redeemed.

Slaves could be sold and also pledged or mortgaged by their masters to the creditors for a period and could be redeemed by paying ransom. They were not helots. They had certain rights which the masters had to accept. The slaves or pledges (āhitaka) could get justice from the courts against the master. The master was not allowed to engage them in such dirty works as picking up a corpse, dung, urine or leavings or food. Making women pledges give bath to naked men, or giving women pledges corporal
punishment or outraging their modesty were punishable offences leading to the loss of capital for the master. Committing the same offences against the wet nurse, a woman tenant tilling for half the produce (ardhastitkā) and female attendant (paricārikā and upacārikā) would make them free. Though female slaves often had to have sexual relations with their masters, there were certain restrictions imposed to protect the honour of such slaves. Any one approaching a pledged nurse who was unwilling, was fined with the lowest fines for violence if she was under his own control; the middle if she was under the control of another. If one himself or through another defiled a pledged maiden, he had to lose the capital, pay her dowry and a fine double that. Even slaves for life such as purchased, inherited, born at home or obtained as present had some rights. If any of these types of slaves was less than eight years old and was forced to do manual work against his will or was taken to a foreign country (for sale or mortgage), the master had to bear due punishment of fines for violence. Similarly a pregnant woman-slave could not be sold or purchased without due arrangement made for the foetus. Heavy fines and mutilation of limbs were imposed on any one abducting a man or woman slave. A slave woman became free when she gave birth to a son to her master. To avoid this contingency the master might use drugs to terminate the pregnancy. And in such a case he was sentenced to lowest fines for violence. A fine for 24 panas was imposed for any one violating the free daughter of a slave man or woman, and he was to meet the expenditure over the marriage of the girl. Slaves or pledges could win their freedom in many ways. We have seen that if a woman pledge was forced to do a work which should not be given to her, she would gain back her freedom. The son of an Ārya slave who sells himself was considered an Ārya. An Ārya slave (sold or mortgaged) earned in his
free time money without detriment to the service of his master and could then gain freedom by paying the price, (release money) equal to the sum obtained against mortgage. One who became slave due to imposition of fines on him which he could not pay would get back his freedom after doing work for a specific period under his master in lieu of fine. Similarly an Ārya captured in war and reduced to slavery could win freedom after doing service for a specified period or paying half of the price of a slave. Slaves were entitled to freedom if they paid the release money and if the master did not make a slave an Ārya after presentation of the due release money, he was fined 12 papas and a term of imprisonment.  If the female slave gave birth to a child by her master both the mother and the child became free. If such a woman desirous of looking after the family stayed in her master’s house (as his wife) her brother, her sister and her mother who were slaves in the house, were made free. Slaves or pledges who had regained their freedom could not be resold or re-pledged except with their consent. As the slaves could win their freedom after paying release money, it is obvious that they were not only maintained by the master but also were given some wages. We have seen that sons of slaves could earn by working, besides serving the master. Their economic condition was not helpless. Slaves could earn property, and leave it as inheritance to their relatives. Only when there were no kinsmen that the master inherited the slave’s property. Sons of slaves could inherit the property of their slave father. According to a learned scholar, these regulations mark the earliest great movement of emancipation among slaves and a systematic attempt on the part of a secular state to abolish slavery virtually for all. But this is going too far. We have seen that slavery was an established institution but rigours of slavery were being softened by humane approach. It is possible that the
Buddha’s teachings had something to do with the improvement in the condition of the slaves, and the attitude of the master towards them. Though Asoka did not abolish slavery, he exhorted the people to treat the slaves well, which incidentally suggests that maltreatment of slaves was not unknown. Men and women slaves and pledges were owned by the king, by individual Ārya citizens, and even by temples (devadāst, K. A. II. 23.2) There could be men and women slaves or pledges. Slaves of kings or landlords were used for building water-works, slaves were used in mines and on royal agricultural lands. Merchants and landlords had slaves. They were used as personal attendants of the king and well-to-do people. Armed women slaves constituted a security guard of the king. The general condition of slaves on the whole, compared to other countries was certainly much better. It was a remarkable thing. It was for the first time in the history of the world that rights and privileges of the slaves were secured under law and the master had no absolute rights over the person, time and earning of the slaves. Basham regards the humane regulations of the Arthaśāstra as probably unique in the records of any ancient civilization. Ghoshal rightly observes “the true significance of Kauṭilya’s laws in the history of Indian slavery lies in their imposing for the first time restrictions on slave traffic and providing for the humane treatment as well as easy emancipation of slaves.” It is further to be noted that slave population does not appear to be large and we find the state employing hired labourers, and labourers offering their labour for specific period in lieu of taxes, besides slaves in agriculture and mines. But even Vishti was paid unlike the unpaid forced labour in feudal Europe. Attendants like umbrella-bearers or bearers of shoes, water-vessels, fans, seats, carriage and riding animals, waters, and valets, waiters, servers, shampooers, bed-preparers and bath atten-
dants appear to have been paid besides being given food. It is quite clear that the Greek type of slavery did not exist in India and the slave population was much less in India than in Greek cities where they numbered much more than the citizens. Being much fewer in number as regards the population as a whole and being in much better conditions than the Greek helots, they could easily be missed by Megasthenes, and Rapson rightly observes:—"Indian slavery must have looked so different to a Greek observer from the slavery he knew at home that he did not recognise it for what it was" (CHI-I, p. 416); Was Megasthenes using this statement that slavery did not exist in India for propaganda purposes in Greece against slavery there? (R. Thapar, Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryan Empire p. 90).

Untouchability

Untouchability had made its appearance. Wells for the Cāṇḍālas were for Cāṇḍālas alone and not for others, meaning that the Cāṇḍālas (the untouchables) could not draw water from the well used by touchables. Residences of the Cāṇḍālas were to be on the outskirts of the cremation ground. They were allowed to settle between frontiers of newly established king's villages together with Vāgurikas, Šabaras and Pulindas, the forest-dwelling non-Āryan tribes. A Cāṇḍāla touching an Ārya lady was fined 100 paṇas. Śvapāka is referred to as a community outside the pale of Āryan society. It appears that the Cāṇḍālas, Śvapākas and other similar communities were outcaste and were referred to as 'antāvasāyin' who are mentioned besides the four Vāṇpas (K. A. III. 18.7).

Āśramas

Amongst the āśramas, Brahma-carya, Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa are referred to briefly. During the Brahma-
carya āśrama, the student lived with the preceptor or in his absence with the preceptor’s son or a fellow student. He studied the Veda, tended the sacred fire and took ceremonial bath and lived on alms only. This stage of life was meant only for the three Varna; the Sudras were not expected to study. We have no information about actual system of education and its curriculum. We can say that the gurukula system prevailed and by reference to subjects to be learnt by the prince one can say that proper education began after the upanayana ceremony. Alphabets and numerals were learnt prior to it when cūḍākaraṇa was over. Vedas, Philosophy, Economics and Politics were important subjects in the curriculum. Itihāsa including the Purāṇas, Itivṛttas, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharmasāstra, and Arthasastra were also considered useful subjects for study. Military science and practical use of weapons and conveyances in war were taught. Megasthenes is certainly wrong when he says that writing was not known to the Indians. Nearcillus refers to Indians writing on linen cloths. Kauṭilya clearly assumes much development in writing and chapters on King’s Edicts envisage trained scribes (lekhakas) writing many types of edicts. 63 letters in the alphabets are mentioned. Kauṭilya requires that edicts in which the king asks the princes and officers to ensure protection and comforts for travellers should be applicable everywhere and it should be known on the road, in the country side and everywhere else. This supposes a degree of literacy among common village-people who would read the proclamation fixed at suitable places. Aśoka's inscriptions not only prove that writing was developed in India from before his time but that there was also a fair degree of literacy among the people as the royal proclamations are inscribed on rocks and pillars at different places in the country. It shows that atleast two scripts
were in vogue, Kharoshthi and Brāhmi. Greek and Aramaic scripts are used in Kandhar inscriptions. It also shows that Aśokan Pāli had become the lingua franca in the empire. Prākrit or Aryan speech of the N. W., Prākrit of the East, and Prākrit of the S W. are distinguished in the edicts of Aśoka. The Eastern Prākrit had attained a certain literary position and in it the early Buddhist literature was composed. The language known as the Pāli shows some variations with the Māgadhī, a variant of the prācyā Prākrit. Achaemenian and Greek words also come into Indian languages. Sanskrit was well-developed. Pāṇini’s grammar was composed earlier. In the period of the Nandas and the Mauryas there was indeed a great deal of grammatical activities. Subandhu may have flourished in the Mauryan period. Many of the Jātakas may have been composed in this period. Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstrā is itself a masterpiece.48

Many Aryas retired from householder’s duties and took to Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa. Some like Prince Mahendra and Princess Saṅghamitrā took to monastic life without entering grhaṣṭhāsrama. Kauṭilya refers to wandering monks and nuns. Some of them might have belonged to heretical orders—pāshaṇḍas like the Buddhist (Śākyas), Ājivikas and others. Many appear to get tired of this kind of life and could be employed as spies by the state. It appears that probably in the wake of new religious movements like Buddhism many men and women, who were still of reproductive age, resorted to monastic orders or became wandering monks and nuns. Kauṭilya put a brake on this. It was required that no one could take to monastic orders or become ascetic without providing for his dependents like minor sons or unmarried daughters, widows and so on in the family. Inducing a woman who had child-bearing capacity to leave home for ascetic order was punished.49
The state believed in large and increasing population in the interest of production, clearance of wasteland and forests, and also in the interest of security—large population in a janapada was considered a strong point. Religion also recommended large progeny. By far a large number of elders did not take to Vānaprastha or Sannyāsa.

The order of the house-holders (gṛhausthāśrama) was the most important. The duties of a householder were, earning his living in accordance with his own svadharma, marrying into the families of the same caste but not of the same gotra, approaching the wife during the period, worship of the gods, manes and guests, making gifts to dependents and eating what is left after others have eaten. It is obvious that the householder in each of the first three Varṇas had his economic right of earning his livelihood limited by the duties prescribed for the Varṇa. This is a corroboration of Megasthenes’s statement that no one was allowed to change his profession or occupation which, as we find, was laid down broadly by Dharma.

Marriage

Marriage was the most important social institution sanctioned by religion. Kauṭilya refers to the traditional eight kinds of marriage—Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārsha, Daiva, Gāndharva, Āsura, Rākshasa and Paiśāca. The fact that he makes the last four (unapproved ones) lawful with the sanction of both the father and the mother, shows not only his liberal social outlook, but also his anxiety to integrate in the society hitherto downgraded married couples and their children. From the Greek sources it appears that at least in some cases, youngmen and maidens were inclined to marry one another and they did not marry according to the judgement of their parents but by mutual consent. Arrian also refers to some svayamvara—like practice held by the father of the girl who after showing
the girl and describing her qualities would call for a competition between suitors; in such contests as in wrestling or boxing or in other manly exercises, he who came out victorious got the right to marry the girl. In such a marriage the girl had no choice, and the father also had surrendered his choice to the successful competitor. There are numerous examples in the Epics, the Purāṇas and even in later Rajput history of marriage by Svayamvara. Kauṭilya following the legal texts restricts marriage within a caste and outside the gotra. But it is clear that many marriages must have been held outside the castes. Gāndharva and Paisāca or Rākshasa marriages could not be necessarily confined to the same caste. Kauṭilya himself refers to many jātis born of mixed marriages, like the ambashṭha, Nishāda, Pāraśava, Ugra, Āyogava, the Kshatta, Caṇḍāla, Māgadha, Vaidehaka, Sūta, Kukkuṭa, Pulkaśa, Śvapāka etc. All these except the Caṇḍālas were given the status of Śūdras. It was because of these permutations and combinations of such mixed marriages of both anuloma and pratiloma kinds between men and women of different Varṇas and their issues that a large number of jātis arose. It is quite possible that many of these were non-Āryan tribes and with the inevitable and may be clandestine contacts between Ārya and non-Ārya men and woman, their numbers grew, and Kauṭilya appears to have assimilated these into the Āryan society by admitting most of these into the Śūdra caste. But such marriages and their issues went on and the consequence was increase in the number of jātis in the Śūdra caste.

In the four approved or pious forms of marriage, the parents appear to be responsible for arranging the marriage. The girl was not even necessarily sufficiently known to the bridegroom’s party from before. It was therefore possible that brides or bridegrooms could be married
without their defects (even sexual) revealed to the other party. It appears that in arranging marriage, go-betweens (varayitu) were useful as today. The practice was that the girl to be married was shown beforehand to the bridegroom's family and their approval taken. It appears that in order to settle the marriage of his daughter having some physical defects, some father would show some other more presentable girl instead and get the approval. However, if the fraud was detected the father of the girl or one who arranged the marriage was fined 100 paniṣas for giving in marriage a girl other than the one shown before.⁹⁶ (Such frauds are committed even today in case of arranged marriages). It was possible that such a marriage was revoked. But a side result was that it was difficult for a father to get his girl married when she was not physically handsome. We learn from the Greek account that the law of Saubhūti, wives were selected only for their beauty.⁹⁷ It is therefore that Kautilya provides for a fine of 96 paniṣas, return of dowry and woman's property to the bridegroom's father, if the father of the bride gave her in marriage without disclosing the maiden's sexual defects. A suitor, and one who arranged the marriage without mentioning the bridegroom's defects was to pay double, that is 192 paniṣas, and the loss of dowry and woman's property⁹⁸ by the bridegroom's party. However, even after the marriage rite was in progress, the marriage could be revoked in the case of the first three Vāṇḍas up to the time of ceremony of clasping the hand (panigrāhabana) and up to the consummation in the case of the Śūdras. But in case of sexual defects being discovered even later, the marriage even after the panigrāhabana ceremony could be declared void. But under no circumstances the marriage could be revoked after the birth of a child.⁹⁹ The bride received dowry from the bridegroom's side and other presents, which became her property. Dowry was received
in the case of the Gāndharva, Āsura, and Rākshasa marriages as well as after the consent of the parents was received. In view of the fact that it was the girl or her parents who received dowry, it is difficult to agree with Aristobolus, unless it was a rare occasion in the Punjab, that a man unable to get his daughter married would sell her in market place.\footnote{a}

After the marriage, conjugal rights of both the husband and wife were guaranteed. The underlying principle was that the marriage was for begetting as many children as possible. A girl attained puberty at 12 and a boy at 16 respectively and such husband and wife were fined if they refused marital duties to the other at this or subsequent age\footnote{b}. So a girl could be married at the age of 12. She was not to wait after attaining puberty without the risk of having an unapproved relation with a man. The wife could re-marry if the husband was away for a stipulated number of years and there were no children or if the husband had left no provision for maintenance.\footnote{c} Even a wife in the case of her husband being away for more than a stipulated number of years was excused for having a child from a man of the same Varna during the long absence of her husband.\footnote{d} This was clearly a concession to reality. Even a maiden married according to any of the first four approved (pious) marriages, and whose marriage was not yet consummated and whose husband went away could, after waiting for a stipulated period under specific conditions, remarry with the permission of the judges. The fundamental principle behind this enabling provision was that chance of procreation should not be frustrated. Generally, the first choice of a wife whose husband has been away for a long or short period was a brother of the husband, or in his absence a sapinda or a member of the family.\footnote{e} A wife could
abandon a husband who had become degraded or gone to a foreign land (to settle), or had committed an offence against the king, or was dangerous to her life or had become an outcaste or impotent. And then she could re-marry.

There could also be a divorce between husband and wife, if both were dissatisfied to each other. But if the wife pressed for divorce against husband unwilling to agree, she would have to forgo whatever the husband might have received (from her). But if the husband sought divorce against the offence of the wife, he had to give her whatever he had taken from her (out of her dowry, ornaments and stridhana). The idea was to discourage divorce without mutual agreement so that one who is forced to seek divorce against the offence of the other partner, who does not want divorce, had actually to suffer financially. However, divorce was not allowed in the case of approved or pious marriages (Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Daiva and Ārsha).

In their cases, as we shall see, nivjoga and re-marrige in certain cases were considered legitimate.

Widows were allowed to re-marry under certain circumstances. Husband's brother was to be preferred. If the widow re-married with the consent of her father-in-law, she would keep at the time of re-marriage whatever was given to her by her late husband and father-in-law; if she marries without the consent of her father-in-law she would be deprived of what was given her by her father-in-law and her late husband. Ordinarily the widow was to prefer her late husband's brother. There could also be (judicial) separation between husband and wife. If she stayed in her father-in-law's family the husband might not be sued. Otherwise the husband had to pay her maintenance (an endowment of 2000 panas as the maximum), or provide for food and clothing for her and her dependents (her minor children). Even if he had not
received dowry, *stridhana*, and compensation for supersession, she was to be treated as provided earlier.\(^6\) System of levirate (*niyoga*), having a son begotten by one other than the husband for the purpose of begetting a child, was also approved, and such an issue was a *kshetraja* son and had rights over properties of his father.\(^6\) The person for the levirate (temporary marriage?) could belong to the same *gotra* or of a different *gotra*, though it appears that the husband’s brother was preferred. Kauṭilya further provides that if after marriage, husband’s potency is lost his kinsmen could beget son for him on his wife;\(^6\) and levirate is also allowed in cases when the husband was away for a very long time and the wife had no issue. Levi-rate was practised in royal family and in certain circum-
stances on the queen (K. A. I. 17.48). There is no reference to Satī system—widow-burning on the pyre of her hus-
band—in the Arthaśāstra nor do Aṣoka’s inscriptions refer to this. But Greek scholar Diodorus Siculus\(^6\) refers to this custom limited *among* the Kaṭhians in the Punjab.

Polygamy was prevalent. Kauṭilya refers to many wives even of different Varnaś of a Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra.\(^6\) Polygamy was even welcomed by Kauṭilya as wives are necessary for having sons. If a man could pay suitable dowry, *stridhana*, and compensation for supersedion of former wife, and gave suitable maintenance, there was no limit to his having a number of wives.\(^6\) If the wife was barren, or had not borne a son for 8 years, the husband was to marry again. Even if the wife gave birth to a dead child or only to daughters, he could re-marry after waiting for 10 or 12 years respectively. In such a case the unfortunate wife had no claim of compensation or even dowry. Only when the period of waiting as provided for was not adhered to by the husband, the unfortunate wife could claim her dowry, *stridhana*, and
half of that as compensation for supersession, and the husband had to pay a fine of 24 paṇas as maximum.\footnote{57} While in some cases obligation to pay compensation and return of dowry might have deterred unrestricted polygamy, it is obvious that there was no real obstacle in the way of a man having a number of wives living at the same time. As a matter of fact Kauṭilya envisages a person having wives married according to approved or pious marriages and according to unapproved ones like Gāndharva etc. without sacrament.\footnote{58}

The wife (at least of an upper class family) did not enjoy freedom of movement or company. Except in the case of ill-treatment, a woman was not allowed to leave the house of her husband. A neighbour, a bhikṣu or a trader who gave her shelter or food was fined. She was fined 6 paṇas for going to the neighbour’s house, 24 paṇas for going to a stranger’s house, and the stranger giving shelter to another man’s wife was fined 100 paṇas\footnote{59}. But if she was insulted and offended by her husband, she could go to the house of a kinsman of her husband or to the head of the village or a trustee, a guardian, a female mendicant or her own kinsmen. Of course she was absolutely free to visit kinsmen on the occasion of death or childbirth\footnote{60}. However if she went out of the village, she was fined 12 paṇas and loss of endowment (stāpya). Even going to a show or on a pleasure trip by women in company with women in day-time (without the consent of the husband) was an offence. Women meeting a man with carnal intention in secret was fined and any conversation in a suspicious place with a man could cost the woman subjection to whipping on the back by a caṇḍāla in the centre of a village. Even making gifts to a man who was not in the approved list for the woman was forbidden.\footnote{61}

It appears that women in high caste families were generally
kept in seclusion and could not be seen in public. Asoka also refers to separate inner apartments for women. Kauṭilya clearly refers to women, who did not stir out, but could get work in weaving factory. However, accompanying a man was no offence for women of dancers, wandering minstrels, fishermen, fowlers cowherds, vintners. It is just clear that the restrictions mentioned above were designed to maintain a high standard of chastity by women of high and respectable classes.

Women had certain property rights. It appears that at the time of marriage, dowry (Śulka) was given to her father, who ordinarily gave it to his daughter in part or in instalments. Presents at the time of the marriage and ornaments belonged to her. Maintenance and ornaments constituted woman’s property (śṛṭidhana), while there was no limit to ornaments, maintenance was limited to 2000 pānas under her control, excess of that sum rested with the husband as a trust. She could use these for maintenance of her sons and daughters-in-law or for meeting expenditure for taking steps against diseases, robbers, thieves and for religious acts. The husband and wife together could use these properties when both a daughter and a son were born to them. It appears that the account of the property was in the custody of the husband in the case of approved marriages. But the wife, in the case of Gāndharva, Āsura and Paiśāca marriages, had complete control over śṛṭidhana. However, in case of separation the wife of an approved marriage could claim what remained of her dowry and all her ornaments. So also a widow who did not marry had complete custody of her ornaments and what remained of the dowry. A widow could live independently and rich widows in apprehension of being robbed are alluded to. Rich widows could be won into confidence and then their wealth could
be robbed by a disaffected prince. In case of her remarriage, she forfeited the strīdhana which could be inherited later by her sons. She was allowed to keep and increase (her) woman’s property if she had re-married for the maintenance of her sons who were otherwise left helpless. On re-marrying again she was given dowry, maintenance and ornaments. She could bestow (her) woman’s property received from different husbands to her sons begotten by respective fathers. If a widow had no issue and did not marry, she had full control to use her strīdhana for herself but under the supervision of her elders till the end of her life. After her death her strīdhana would go to her legal heirs. On her death while her husband is living, strīdhana would be inherited by sons and daughters, and in their absence, her husband. According to Basham, “the property rights of women limited though, they were greater than in many other early civilizations.” It is to be noted that the wife, daughter and mother have no absolute right to the property. Daughter of pious marriages could inherit the property of the father when he had no sons. A daughter’s son was preferred to the daughter as he was equal to the legitimate son. Even the personal belongings of the father were to be divided among his sons alone. Sisters could get only a share of bell-metal dishes used for meals, and ornaments from the mother’s personal belongings. Women had ordinarily no respectable profession. She could in time of need, as we saw, be a spinner of yarn. Lower class women were grinders, pounders and labourers. Of course, women could be nuns or ascetics.

There is little information about education of women. As marriage was early for the girls, she could not receive much education. It is not clear that women of higher caste were trained and educated in dancing, singing or acting. We are told by Megasthenes that the Brāhmaṇa husbands
did not admit their wives to their philosophy because the wives after having been properly educated would not brook the control of their husbands.44a However it is to be noted that protection to women’s honours was fully extended. Even officials in workshops and prisons are punished for their attempts to dishonour women.

If we critically examine the position of women, it appears that women of the Āryan society, especially of the respectable three Varṇas, had limited rights to divorce, property and separation. But there were much more restrictions on their rights and freedom which discriminated against them in favour of men. The women of non-Āryan and Śūdra caste or those who had married according to any of the non-pious marriages enjoyed more freedom and more rights to property. It is quite likely the other four forms of marriage were originally limited to non-Āryan, later some Āryans took advantage of these.

Joint Family

Joint family was an established institution. In the house lived the father with his sons and daughters, grand children, adopted children, uncles, cousins nephews and even servants were included in the family. Family members were bound either by śrāddha, including three generations of the dead and three of the alive. But the father, though he owned the son, was not the complete master over the latter. According to Kauṭilya, a father had no right to sell or mortgage a minor son. A father killing his son was sentenced to death with torture43a. After the death of the father, the property could be divided amongst his sons48. However, partition among sons in the life of the father is also thought of43a. Kauṭilya speaks of many types of sons including adopted ones, and sons born of the mothers of different castes had accordingly different rates of shares
in the property to be partitioned. The individual share of the son differed with the Varna of his mother. But sons and grandsons up to the fourth generation lived in the same family. The Kartá or the manager of the family was the seniormost member in the family. Even if the father died without leaving any property, the eldest brother was to support the younger brothers. Over and above their regular share of father's property, the younger son's marriage expenditure is to be borne by the elder brothers. Expenditure over unmarried sisters' or daughters' marriages were also to be made by them likewise. If a man died leaving no son, his property was divided among his brothers and daughters. If the man died, then in the case of pious marriages the property was inherited by his sons, if no sons, then by his daughter, and if neither daughter nor son then father, if alive, and if father not alive then brothers and brother's sons. These rules prove the strength of the joint family system. In case of partition, shares of minor members of the family were deposited with the mother's kinsmen or with village elders till they came of age. The joint family and the mutual obligations between the members of the family were undergoing strain due to various socio-economic and religious factors. Men and women not only due to religious motive but other motives were relinquishing responsibilities of family life and adopting asceticism or monastic order. Even undesirable persons for selfish reasons took to asceticism and such ascetics are referred to in the Jātakas and the Arthasastra. Parents were being ill-treated and younger brothers and sisters were being neglected. Is is in this context that we have to explain the rise of a policy of state control over family life in the Dharmasūtras and Arthasastra works. But while the enforcement of family obligations was sought in the Dharmasūtras by social laws, it was attempted in the Arthasastra by clauses of the state law. We have already
seen that no householder, rather head of a family, could take to asceticism without making provisions for his wife and sons. Only superannuated men with permission of the judges could renounce the world. It was the duty of a person with means to maintain his children and wife, his father and mother, his minor brothers and his unmarried and widowed sisters, otherwise he was fined 12 paṇas. Mother was not to be cast off even though fallen from caste. Joint family served as an insurance company to the helpless and needy members of the family. The father and the son, husband and wife, brother and sister, maternal uncle and nephew, one abandoning the other (if not an outcaste) was suitably fined. Of course if relief did not come from this quarter, then those who had no relations were maintained by the state, such as children, aged persons, a persons in distress when helpless, as also the women who had no child, and the children of such helpless women. Aśoka’s inscriptions clearly emphasise the moral life of the people based on proper relations between the members of the family. Obedience to elders, parents and preceptors, proper conduct towards friends, companions, supporters, relatives, servants and dependents are enjoined as part of Dhamma on every member of the family (R. E. XIII). Mutual understanding and affectionate behaviour with one another as a part of religious duty served as the basis of the success of joint family.

Another noticeable feature of the Aryan society, as we have seen, was high regard for the chastity of women, because on that depended the purity of caste and relations between husband and wife. Megasthenes also refers to uncommon discretion of Indian women about virtue from which they would not stray for any reward. But a critical study of Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra would show that there were in society cases of deviations from the set standard, and it
is quite natural in any society to reckon with cases of abduction, adultery and clandestine love affairs unapproved by the society. The Mauryan society was no exception. It may be that the strict restriction imposed on the women over their freedom of movement and company, and an atmosphere of suspicion about their evil intentions to misbehave mirror the existence of such undesirable phenomena in a large or small degree. Prevalence of polygamy might have something to do with infidelity of the wives. Strabo observes, "They marry many wives. If the husband does not force them to be chaste they are permitted to prostitute themselves." It is certainly too sweeping a generalisation. It is impossible to agree with Megasthenes, as quoted by Arrian, that for the reward of an elephant, the lady let the giver enjoy her person and that Indians did not consider it any disgrace for a woman to grant her favours for an elephant. But at the same time one has to accept that there were cases of unapproved sexual behaviour which the law-givers and administrators had to take into account. Kautilya prescribes death for the lover and mutilation of nose and ears of the wife who misbehaved during the absence of her husband. Fine and mutilation were prescribed as punishment for those who outraged the modesty of a maiden who has not attained puberty and of a maiden who had attained puberty. At the same time maidens who had attained puberty but were not married could deviate from the righteous path pressed by natural desire. It was therefore impressed on the father or the guardian of the girl to give her in marriage as soon as she attained puberty; otherwise the girl after waiting unsuccessfully for three years after attaining puberty for marriage, was said to commit no offence if she approached a man of the same varṇa, and even a man of any other varṇa after another three years. It was really a concession to human psychology and beha-
viour by Kauṭilya. He envisages giving in marriage a maiden, who had already lost her virginity, by the father as he naturally would be anxious to get her unfortunate daughter married as soon as possible. But if the marriage was not consummated and the defect was detected, the girl had to pay a fine and her father had to return the Sulka and the marriage expenses. However such a non-virgin wife could continue to be regarded the legally married wife if the husband so willed; only her son for the question of inheritance was deemed inferior to the son born of a wife without blemish and according to approved form of marriage. It was likely that the paramour of the maiden who belonged to the same varna might marry her after loss of her virginity. Even a maiden with a son could be married and her son became the son of the man who married her. Similarly a maiden while in pregnancy could be married. These provisions suggest that Kauṭilya tried to accommodate such unfortunate maidens and their sons even in the Ārya marriage system and family. Even illegitimate sons and wives married without sacraments had legal rights to property and maintenance however limited. While these show cases of laxity in the society, they also exhibit sympathetic attitude towards them by the society. Even bestial practices were not unknown among women. Crimes of adultery and abduction are referred to by Kauṭilya. In certain special cases Kauṭilya as a realist permits unapproved sexual relations. Thus the Mauryan society was not puritan.

Food and Drink

In food and drink we find much variety. Many kinds of food-grains were grown, such as numerous varieties of rice, pulses, wheat and barley. Vegetables of many kinds grew. Among fats not only butter, oil, but animal fat and marrows were used. Both fried or cooked grains were eaten. Treacle, jaggery, unrefined and granulated
sugar were used in diet, and honey from bees or grape-juice must have been both healthy and delicious elements of diet of well-to-do people. Among dairy products, curd and sour gruel besides milk and butter were in general use. Sour fruit, juices of tamarind, mango, pomegranate, myrobalan, and other fruits may have increased the taste, appetite and vitamin-contents of the diet. India has been famous for spices and numerous kinds of spices like long pepper, black pepper, ginger, must have added to the taste of the dishes. Meat and fish also formed a part of the diet for many. Dried fish and dried meat are also referred to. Traders were required to sell meat without bones, of deer and beasts freshly killed. They were not allowed to sell swollen or foul smelling or dead animal's meat. There were separate hotels in cities where cooked meat and cooked rice were served to customers. Dealers in cooked food, meat and wine were to live in the southern quarter of the city. Meat-eating was therefore prevalent in the Mauryan times. Flesh of birds, deer and beasts were edible. Sellers of flesh appear to have had good business and some of them even in view of high demand for meat, could try to pass on human flesh as edible meat. If detected, such traders were punished with death. In Aśoka's kitchen many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered daily for purposes of curries. Even when Aśoka had become a Buddhist, he allowed two peacocks and one deer to be slaughtered for delicious dishes, and only after the promulgation of the first Rock Edict their slaughter also was stopped. There is no doubt that under the influence of Buddhism and Jainism vegetarian diet was becoming popular. The major part of food was rice porridge according to Megasthenes. When Kauṭilya prescribes the ration for men he speaks of rice grains and broth and salt only. Bread cakes (apūpa) were also cooked and
sold, and there were often competition among the vendors of cooked rice and cakes about the quality of these products. This would show that such shops must have been numerous. They in competition reduced the price and even agreed to serve on credit. However, non-vegetarian diet continued. Asoka’s order ‘here (hida) not a living creature be slaughtered and sacrificed’ was at least applicable to Patāliputra. His prohibition of samāja may have at least restricted public meat-eating. Pillar Edict-V which provides for ban on killing of certain kinds of birds and aquatic animals and for restricting the killing of animals or birds under certain condition, does not prove that under no circumstances some animals, birds or fish could be killed for food. As for drink we have already referred to fruit juices. Fermented drinks of sugarcane juice, jaggery, honey, juice of Jambu-fruit, panasa fruits infused with decoction of meshaśṛṅgā and long pepper kept for one month, six months or a year then mixed cidbhita, urvāraka, sugar-cane stalk, mango fruit and myrobalan were prepared. Liquors of many kinds were prepared. There were licensed liquor-manufacturers and sellers. There were comfortable public bars for the convenience of customers. On festive occasions and for medicinal purposes householders were allowed to manufacture liquor for their use. However, restrictions were imposed on the time and quantity of sale of liquors to customers, whose behaviour was to be strictly watched. Private manufacture of liquor was controlled and drinking was prohibited off the premises and was regarded almost a necessary evil which cannot be wholly forbidden but which must be strictly restricted. The sale and consumption of liquors are to be restricted in the interest of public morality and of law and order as well as of industrial production. In popular assemblies or Samājas, drinking was a common feature. Asoka’s prohibition for holding such
Samāja might have checked public drinking but could not have stopped it. Kauṭilya refers to a wife indulging haughtily in sport of drink.\textsuperscript{87} However, if one takes into account the statement of Megasthenes and Aśoka's inscriptions together, drinking on the whole was not a very popular habit. Megasthenes says that Indians do not drink wine except at sacrifices.\textsuperscript{88} Clemens Alexandrinus (a later writer who died in 220 A.D.) says that the Brāhmaṇas neither eat anything having life nor drink wine.\textsuperscript{88a} Megasthenes also refers to the eating manners of the Indians. They eat alone and there is no common hours for breakfast or dinner. He does not approve of this, and comments 'eating in the other way is more conducive to a social and civic life.'\textsuperscript{88b} How true even to-day ! At the time of dinner a tripod table is placed before them on which a golden bowl is kept in which first boiled rice is put and then other dainty dishes are added.\textsuperscript{89a}

\textbf{Amusement and Entertainments}

Gambling and prostitution were patronised by many Indians. The king, as we have seen, derived revenues from these institutions. Gambling with dice and cowrie-shells was regulated by the Superintendent of Gambling.\textsuperscript{90} These regulations while provided the players with proper accessions, also guaranteed them against dishonest practices but also served the interest of public morality and the state finance.\textsuperscript{90a} Ivory cubes were also used and were often played by clever gamblers. Ivory dices have been found from the Mauryan strata in excavations at Vaiśāli, Cirand and Sonepur in Bihar. Prostitutes were to receive their paramours who paid fees as regulated by the Superintendent of Prostitutes, who appears to have been appointed or approved by the state. The Prostitutes did not receive salary but paid taxes.\textsuperscript{91} The king also had a train of courtesans who followed him in golden palanquin in pleasure tours.\textsuperscript{92} Kauṭilya
enjoin the king to exploit extremely pretty women for increasing revenue by employing them in the service of the king. And persons who lived on the earning as bandhakt had to pay 10% of it as tax. Bandhakt means a woman of high family living like a prostitute. The courtesans live on their youth and beauty and were trained under competent teachers, maintained by the state in the art of dramas, singing, dancing, playing on musical instruments, painting, writing, act of entertaining, conversation and shampooing. Kauṭilya refers to king’s courtesans, who in accordance with their quality, youth and beauty were appointed as personal companions of the king and could play dice with him and were paid 1000 paṇas. These belonged to the highest rank. Those of the middle rank were allowed to hold parasol, golden vessel, fan or chowri over the king and the lowest rank courtesans washed feet of the king when he got on a seat, or on a palanquin or chariot. It may be that the beautiful full size female Chowri-bearer with characteristic Mauryan polish Didarganj near Pāṭaliputra represents the royal courtesan of the second rank. She is generally regarded as yakhiṇī. Besides these gaṇikās or royal courtesans, there were common prostitutes who lived by selling their youth and beauty (rūpājīvā). In Milindapañho there is a reference to Bindumati, a courtesan of Pāṭaliputra. She lived by the sale of her body in the time of Aśoka. A prostitute paid every month as tax double the normal fee charged by them on a day. In the metropolitan city (durga) prostitute-quarters were provided in the southern quarter. Prostitutes in the city could run lodging houses for only those whom they knew thoroughly. A prostitute could become exclusively engaged to one man. Prostitutes even accompanied the army, and together with traders they were encamped along the highways. There were temple-prostitutes also (devadāsi). Prostitutes were used
in spying. This fact was noted by Megasthenes who remarked that the spies did much of their work with the help of prostitutes.

Performing or witnessing acting, dancing, mimicry, magical feats, acrobatics (rope-dancing), singing and playing with instruments appear to have been popular forms of entertainment. The government provided maintenance to teachers who gave training in the art of singing, dancing, music, acting and painting to courtesans and female slaves. Courtesans' sons were trained to be actors and dancers. Making fun of the customs of countries, castes, families, schools and love affairs, was an art of entertainment. Comics and satires appear to have been popular. They went about the country giving performances and thus earning their livelihood. It might hamper production in the villages and the simple villagers also could be cheated by these clever troupes. Certainly in the newly set up royal villages the actors, dancers, singers, musicians, professional story-tellers or mimickers were not allowed to create distraction in the work of the people.

Among the musical instruments Greeks refer to cymbals, drums, and castanets. Kauṭilya refers to lute (vīṇā), flute (veṇu) and drum (mṛdaṅga). Numerous terracotta female figurines, some with drums, in dancing costumes like flapping skirts corroborate the popularity of dancing and music as means of entertainment in the Mauryan period. There was a general restriction on the actors and wandering minstrels not to move about during the rainy season, presumably because this was the main agricultural season in which cultivators were not to be distracted by them. Moreover, as in villages there were no permanent parks, recreation halls, the performing troupes would also have difficulty in finding shelter and in staging their shows. However villagers could by their own cooperative efforts
stage a show which could be a musical performance, or drama or dance. One who did not contribute in the staging of such a show was denied the right to witness or listen to it with the members of his family. Shows could be staged exclusively by men or women in day or night. These shows were so popular that a wife even without the consent of the husband took the risk of punishment by going to witness them. Among sports, wrestling and boxing were prevalent. Boating and swimming are also referred to as recreations for the king. These must have been enjoyed by the common people. Wrestling between men and fight between brute animals were arranged by the order of the king. Alexander had witnessed fight between dogs and lions in the land of Saubhuti. There were also ox-race, ox-drawn chariot-race mixed with horses yoked to chariots which must have given spectators a thrilling experiences and in which even the king took part. Aelian observes—"The great king of the Indians (Candragupta) appoints a day for fighting between men and also between brute animals that are horned. . . . . . " Now these combatants are brute animals—wild bulls, tame rams, unicorn asses, and hyaenas. Before the close of the spectacle elephants come forward to fight and with their tusks inflict death wounds on each other. . . . . . the Indians make much ado also about the oxen that run fast; and both the king himself and many of the greatest nobles, . . . . make bets in gold and silver (on their oxen running the race). They yoke them in chariots and incur hazard on chance of victory. The horses that are yoked to the car run in the middle with an ox on each side, and one of these wheels take a sharp round the turning-post and must run thirty stadia. The oxen run at a pace equal to that of horses. . . . . . And if the king had laid wager on his own oxen, he becomes so excited over the contest that he follows in his chariot to instigate the driver to speed faster.
There are in India oxen of another kind and these look like very big goats. These are yoked together and run very fast, being not inferior in speed to the horses of Getæ.\textsuperscript{310a} It must have been terribly exciting not only to the betters but also to the spectators. Driving a chariot round and round a ring was a part of chariot race and competition in chariot driving skill.\textsuperscript{109a} From the Jātakas we know that in the gatherings organised by the king there were archery contests, ram-fights, elephant-fights and horse playing. Dramatic and musical performances were provided also. Kaṇṭilya recommends that the king may be entertained by actors staging plays but in view of regard for king's security it was laid down that actors will not use weapon, fire or poison.\textsuperscript{108} This means that in ordinary shows actors could entertain people in plays involving weapons, fire or poison. The king patronised musicians and actors, who received salaries. The bard (Māgadhā) received 1000 paṇās, actors received 250, makers of musical instruments 500, while artists got 120 paṇās.\textsuperscript{109a} It appears that they entertained the king and the court. As we shall see the king may have organised festive gatherings and celebrations in which those in service of the king gave performances. Hunting was another pastime indulged in by the king, and for him forests were reserved where animals to be hunted were kept.\textsuperscript{108} Aśoka also refers to hunting expeditions by kings which he stopped.\textsuperscript{109a} The king also used to go in a procession in a golden palanquin, or on horseback but generally on elephant with howdah. The bodies of elephants were covered with trappings of gold, and he was accompanied by courtesans carried in golden palanquins.\textsuperscript{108} Ceremonial washing of the hair by the king on the appointed day also was a gay festival in which people brought presents to the king.\textsuperscript{109a} This must have given to the people an exciting and thrilling spectacle. Snake-charmers and mendicants showing
images of gods with flags also must have entertained people.\textsuperscript{108}

Besides these there were popular festivities and gatherings. They are referred to as yātrā, samāja, utsava and prahavana.\textsuperscript{109} It is difficult to distinguish them completely from one another. Yātrā may mean a religious procession\textsuperscript{105a} train. It also means a festival or a fair arranged at a temple or associated with a deity. Utsava was any festive occasion or function providing merriment and pleasure in many ways. Prahavana was a festive party or picnic arranged by a group of people for eating and relaxing. It is in such an arranged picnic that-spies of the king put the ministers to test of fear.\textsuperscript{107} There are references to the king himself witnessing a dramatic show (prekshā) enjoying himself in yātrā, sporting in water, joining in picnic (prahavana) and joining the people in festivities (utsava).\textsuperscript{105a} Various meanings of amāja have been suggested and discussed.\textsuperscript{108} By amāja one may mean any popular gathering of people, such as a fair where eating, particularly meat-eating, drinking went on together with shows of contests between animals, of wrestling between men in an arena with pavilions meant for spectators. Performances of music, dance or drama were also given before the people. Kauṭilya\textsuperscript{109} allows unrestricted drinking of wine for four days on these occasions. We are informed that vintners sold or presented wine during festivities (Utsava) connected with gods or funeral rites and in festive gatherings (amāja).\textsuperscript{106a} A drinking festival—Suranakkhata—celebrated was at Rājagṛha earlier when everybody drank hard (Jāt. 1.489)

However utsava, samāja and yātrā were very popular recreations, where people liberally feasted themselves with delicious dishes, intoxicating drinks and feted their eyes and ears with dance, music and theatrical performances.
These festive celebrations or gatherings were so popular that Kauṭilya advised the conqueror king desirous of winning the support of the conquered peoples to show respect for their samāja, utsava and yātṛā. It is true that the general policy of the Kauṭilyan state appears to be encouragement of the popular festivals. But Aśoka saw many abuses in such samājas where hundreds of animals were slaughtered for food. So he prohibited holding of any such samājas. It may be argued that this restriction applied to the capital city—Pātaliputra alone. It is known from the Jātakas that the king often took initiative and extended invitation to people to attend such joyous festivities (samājas) in the palace-court with pavilions set apart for the king, his slaves, women of the harem, Brāhmaṇas and the citizens. Another text informs us that yearly or six-monthly, actors staged a samāja before the king at Rājagṛha. It is referred to as Giraggasamāja in the Vinaya-piṭaka (Culla VI. 2. 7.). It is quite possible that Aśoka decided not to hold such samāja in Pātaliputra. But at the same time the people had to be provided some entertainment, which according to Aśoka could be righteous also. So he allowed righteous samājas to be continued to be held. And he himself got organised such samājas in which heavenly spectacles were shown to the people. According to Filliozat, vimāna darśana, hastidarśana, agniskandha, divyāni rūpāni did not mean heavenly spectacles, but were really Hindu religious festivals accompanied with music of drums. The contents of the R. E. IV constitutes a direct evidence of their usage in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. This, while giving some healthy and joyous relaxation to the people, would also develop their progress towards Dhamma.

There is no doubt the utsava, samāja yātṛā, and prahāvana gave occasions to the common people to enjoy
life, to forget worries and to give themselves up to merriment. These represented the gay and colourful side of people's life.

Dress and ornaments

Love of gaiety and colour was an attribute of Indian character. They wore gay-coloured linen garments and even dyed their beards in white, blue, red and green. According to Megasthenes, quoted by Arrian, Indians wear dress made of cotton from trees. They also wear an undergarment of cotton which reaches below the knee half a way down the ankle and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head. Dress fashions current in those days may be inferred from the dress worn by sculptured and terracotta figurines belonging to the Mauryan age. Kautilya refers to cloths woven of wood, bark-fibres, cotton and many kinds of silk. He also used red, white and mixed red and white woollen cloths. White and smooth textile from Vanga, dark and smooth from Punjara, white like sun from Suvannakudya are referred to. Kshauma from Kasti and Punjara are also mentioned. Cotton textiles from Madura, Aparanta, Kalinga (Orissa), Kasti, Vanga (E. Bengal), Vatsa (Allahabad region) and Mahisha (Mysore or Maheshwara in Madhya Pradesh), and silk and silk cloth from China and patrong-silk from Magadha, and Punjara (Bengal) are to be noted. Indians have always loved ornaments. Kautilya refers to ornaments of gold, silver and precious stones to be worn by people on different parts of the body. Rich people adorned themselves with ornaments of ivory, and decked their wrists and upper arms with bracelets of gold. Terracottas and sculptures discovered from the Mauryan level at sites like Pataliputra, Vaishali and Sonepur (Gaya) prove the love of ornaments by women particularly. It would be interesting to find combination of love for ornaments, cos-
metics painting and powders from archaeology. From archaeological excavations at Sonepur (Gaya), and Chirand (Saran), stone, glass, ivory, copper and terracotta bangles belonging to the Mauryan period have been discovered. Iron and copper rings, stone ear-lobes, terracotta ear-studs belonging to the Mauryan strata have been found. Copper and bronze rings, brooches, pins and beads have been found in excavated Mauryan strata in Kauśāmbī, Ujjain, Hastināpura, Āhīcchhatra, Rajghat (Banaras). For toilets and cosmetics archaeological excavations have yielded mirrors and antimony rods. Copper and bronze antimony rods were found in the Mauryan strata in Hastinapur, Mathura, Ujjain, Chandraketugarh (Bengal), Nagda (Rajasthan), Sonepur, Buxar, Vaišāli and Pātaliputra. A copper mirror was found at Masaon (Ghazipur, U. P.). Ivory pendants and hair-pins were found at Nagda and Ujjain. Ivory combs and mirror-handles were found at Ujjain. An ivory comb was found at Sonepur and in upper Bihar. Ivory antimony rod were found at Vaiśāli, Ujjain and Sonepur. But this cannot be proved. It is also worthy to note that men such as king and women used many kinds of unguents, perfumes, powder and bath-cosmetics for toilet and dressing.\textsuperscript{118b} Preparing perfumes, garlands, and shampooing were arts for which professional teachers were there. And the king maintained such instructors for training his courtesans and garlandmakers\textsuperscript{118a}. Curtius informs us that when the king was on the road his attendants used to carry in their hands silver censers and perfumes all along the road by which it was his pleasure to be conveyed.\textsuperscript{118c} The love for perfumes and flowers was common among the Indian people. Even workmen in the royal weaving factory were presented, as a of measure incentive, and show of good will by the employers, by gifts of perfumes and flowers\textsuperscript{119a}. Garlandmakers washermen and barbers served the king and the people. Washermen also dyed the cloths. They washed garments
on wooden boards or smooth slabs of stone and were fined for selling or hiring out or pledging or changing the garment. The rate for washing the garments varied according to the quality of the garments. There were tailors (Tunnavāya) also, whose conditions of service were the same as those of the washermen. Ivory knitting-needles were found at Ujjain. People with means used sunshades or umbrellas as protection from intense heat during summer. They also used high-heeled shoes made of leather. Rich people had bearers of umbrella, fans and shoes, as their attendants. Indians rode on camels and horses, chariots were used by the royalty or high officials, and elephants were reserved for the king. From terracotta toys we find that ram-carts and ox-carts were also used as means of carriage and transport.

Kings, high nobles and well-to-do people lived in pomp and luxury. They had host of personal attendants like umbrella-bearers, shoe-bearers, shampooers, bath-givers, valets, water carriers, waitors, bed-preparers and certainly cooks. They could entertain themselves by dwarfs, dancers, musicians, singers, story tellers and minstrels. Curtius Rufus refers to the pomp and gaiety of the palace of Candragupta and the glittering luxury in which he lived. The king robed in fine muslins embroidered with purple and gold moved on the road in golden palanquins or on howda of elephants with trappings of gold all over the body. "The king's palace is adorned with gilded panes clasped all round by a vine embossed in gold while silver images of the birds which most charm the eye diversify the workmanship." Aelian, certainly relying on Megasthenes, refers to the Mauryan palace where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides as one calculated to excite admiration and with which neither Memnonian Susa with all its costly splendour or Ecbatana with all the magnificence can vie.
Curtius Rufus, critically commenting on the luxury of the king observes, "The luxury of their kings, or as they call it magnificence, is carried to a vicious excess without parallel in the world."126

So far as the poor people are concerned, except occasional participation in festivities and celebrations, their life must have been unenviable. The gap between the highest paid salaried officer (480.0 paṇas) and the lowest paid employee (60 paṇas) must also reflect the wide gap in the standard of life of the rich and poor. Slaves, labourers, brothmakers had partly to depend on broken grains.128 The latter had to satisfy themselves with terracotta toys (a large number found in the Mauryan stratas) and ornaments of iron, copper or cowrie shells.

Superstitions

Many Indians believed in astrology, horoscopes, omens and divination. Fortune-teller, soothsayer and astrologer were in king's service.128 The king daily consulted the astrologer and the Purohita also who was to be well-versed in divine signs and omens.129 We have seen that sophists who divined about seasons or calamities, came to the city on appointed day to inform the people about this.127 Aśoka also refers to superstitious ceremonies performed by women to secure good or avert evil in connection with illness, marriages of sons and daughters, birth of children and departure of members of the families on journey. These ceremonies must have been associated with some magical or Atharvanic rites which to the rationalist Aśoka were petty and worthless.128 But he himself believed in nakshatras being significant and in his inscriptions he refers to Pushya and Tishya nakshatras and cāturamāsa (SRE I, & JPE V). People had superstitious beliefs that a holy man could secure prosperity for any one and he could predict events about any gain; danger
from thieves, or news about happenings in a foreign land. Megasthenes refers to Medical Philosophers among the Śramaṇas who were believed to know how to get children born to anxious parents. In the case of the attack of severe pain, Indians consulted the Sophists; and they were expected to cure whatever diseases could be cured, not without divine help. The government took advantage of such beliefs amongst the masses by setting the spy in the guise of a holy man with his disciples working among them for the king. There was so much demand for knowing the future that many sciences (vidyās) like the science of interpretation of marks on the body, that of knowing future of any one by touching his body (Aṅgavidyā), of magic (jambhaka vidyā), of creating illusions (mayāgata vidyā), the science of omens (nimittam), science of omens of birds, cries of jackals and others, or that of interpretation of omens from circle (antaracakra) were studied under competent persons. On fixed days fire was to be worshipped to avoid outbreak of fire. People worshipped rivers, and experts in magic used spells to ward off floods. Diseases and epidemics were sought to be combated by magicians with secret means, by ascetics by pacificatory and expiatory rites, by bathing in sacred places, by milking cows in cremation grounds and by burning of effigies, and worship of Mahākaccha. People believed in fighting epidemic among cattle by performing lustration rites (nīrājanam) and worship of deities. Against danger from rats etc., pacificatory rites were to be performed by ascetics, and rats were to be worshipped. In case of danger from snake, both charms and medicines were to be administered by experts, and magic spells were resorted to by the magic experts in Atharvanic lore. Such experts and also experts in practice of magic were also thought to be useful in warding off evil spirits (Rākṣasa). People believed in charms inducing sleep
and winning love.\textsuperscript{138} The king took advantage of credulous and superstitious people in replenishing the treasury.\textsuperscript{134} Ghoshal rightly observes: “Another notable feature of the Arthaśāstra system is the use of the popular beliefs and superstitions in the interests of the state administration.”\textsuperscript{135}a People believed in efficacy of magical rites or gaining wealth, for opening the doors of the king’s palace, for causing disease to the enemy and for winning a woman’s heart.\textsuperscript{138} In war also black magic and sorcery played part. People of the enemy country being credulous were made to believe that the invading king is omniscient and is in association with divine agencies.\textsuperscript{135} Beliefs in many secret and occult practices with a view to produce miraculous effects to cheat the enemy and to ward off enemy’s secret means on the other hand are to be noted.\textsuperscript{135}a

Before concluding the study of social life we may refer to the Ātavikas or forest tribes with Śabaras, Pulindas, Bāharikas etc. who were great danger to social security, and danger to the state from them was even considered second only to danger from enemy. They were outside the pale of Aryan civilised society. Aśoka also adopted a policy of conciliation mingled with firmness, towards the tribes.

In conclusion we may note that according to Strabo people lived frugally and observed good order. They left their houses generally unguarded and possessed good sober sense....Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. They dislike great undisciplined multitude and consequently they observe good order.\textsuperscript{137}a

Economic Condition

The establishment of a large empire with a strong and fairly centralised government doubtless created a new sense of security which acted as a stimulant to production
and exchange. Villages in ancient India throbbed with corporate activities, and so the Jatakas give a very favourable picture of this feature in the pre-Mauryan times. Even in the Mauryan period with a heavy dose of centralisation, village corporate activities continued and were encouraged especially in the constructive fields like building of water works for irrigation, or in organising entertainments for the villagers themselves. However, interest in production was predominant.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the people, and the agriculturists (husband men) were the most populous groups. As forest lands were being cleared, uncultivated lands cultivated and wastelands reclaimed, there was gradual extension of agriculture and we have seen that Kautilya had a positive policy of colonisation, clearing of waste lands and development of new villages. Even hastropajrivinah sañghas (warlike sañghas) engaged in Vartä in peace time (which included agriculture). Karshakaprīya janapada is distinguished from ayudhiyaprīya janapada.

Ownership of land

There is much controversy on the question of ownership of land because of divergence between the Greek accounts and references in the Arthāśāstra of Kautilya. Diodorus Siculus observes, "The husbandmen pay a land tribute to the king because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land tribute they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil." Strabo, obviously again relying on the same source. Megasthenes, observes, "The whole of the country is of royal ownership and the farmers cultivated it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce." We may here note that Fa-hsien and Yuan Chuang also stated that the king is the
owner of all land in India. We have to be critical of the impressions of the foreign travellers over the complicated situation in India. Breloer has sought to reconcile the statements of Megasthenes (Diodorus and Strabo’s accounts show some difference) by saying that Strabo properly refers to crown lands and Diodorus to non-crown lands. The statement of Strabo that cultivators cultivate the land on rental may suggest that the crown lands which could not be managed to be cultivated by the government could be given to private tillers who had to pay a part (\( \frac{1}{4} \)) of the produce to the government. The crown lands could be given to labourers for cultivation who would receive \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the produce as their share. This may be sought to be corroborated from the Arthashastra wherein it is stated, “What is left over from sowing (by the Superintendent of Crown lands), farmers cultivating for half the produce should till or those who live by personal labour (should work it) for a one-fourth or one fifth share.” However, the reconciliation of the statement of Megasthenes with private ownership of land is a laboured one and one has the impression that to Megasthenes land appeared to be owned by the king in India. Supporters of royal ownership of land also rely on Kautilya. The king appears to have the right to take away fields from those who did not till them and give them to others. He had rights to assign land in a village to different sections of people on different terms. The ownership (svāmyam) of the fish, ducks, and green vegetables in the irrigation work (setu, or canal, lake, or tank or dam) vested in the king. Commenting on this passage Bhaṭṭasvāmi quotes a verse meaning that those who are well versed in the sacred books disclose the king to be the lord of all land as well as water; the householders have right of ownership over all other things except these two. The king, according to Kautilya, enjoyed sole monopoly over mines. Forests were under royal ownership. Waste-
land belonged to the king. The property of those, who had no heirs except that of a Brāhmaṇa escheated to the king. It may also be pointed out that there is no specific mention of the partition of landed property in the chapter on inheritance and division into sharers.

Without discussing references in the Vedic and Śmṛti literature suggesting the private ownership of land in ancient India, even from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra itself numerous references, direct or indirect, about the prevalence of peasant proprietorship in land may be cited. In emergencies the Samāhārta, as we have seen, could force farmers to raise summer crops; and (ordinarily the farmers enjoyed complete freedom in the choice of crops to be grown) also to pay the increase in state dues in terms of produce. The very fact that the Samāhārta has to deal with these independent farmers shows that while the Sītādhyaksha had to deal with a different kinds of land tenure which was royal ownership, the Samāhārta dealt with peasant properties. Kauṭilya refers to Kshetriṇaḥ, the owners of field, like the father of the son, sale and purchase of land (kṣhetra), park (ārāma), setu (an embankment), tank (laṭāka), adhāra (reservoir). There were disputes about land (between rival claimants) which were to be settled by village elders. Boundaries between fields etc., are referred to. Compensation as damage was allowed to the owner whose seeds or ploughing in his field were damaged by the reservoir, channels or a field of another. Often, as happens in a village even today, mutual rivalry or jealousy could cause damage to one another’s fields, parks and embankments. Private ownership (svāmyam) over water-works was recognised. Owners were free to sell or mortgage. The private ownership over houses, fields, embankments etc. is also indirectly proved by provisions for penal clauses for robbery or theft in respect of fields, tenements and so forth (III. 7.9).
Even the act of grazing cattle on another's field without permission of the owner (svāmīn) was punishable with fine. Kautilya even appears to distinguish between a landlord (Kshetrika) and his tenant (upavāsa) and their mutual relationship was regulated under law. A tenant could not be evicted by the owner from the land (Kshetra) at will at the time of sowing nor could a tenant leave the field unsown at the time of sowing except in case of a defect (in the land), calamity or unbearable conditions. Tax-paying cultivators had the right to sell or mortgage land except that they could do so only to tax-paying cultivators. By referring to, among immovable (property), a pledge that can be enjoyed after labour (prāyasabhogya), pledging land to the creditor by the debtor (owner) appears to be suggested. Forcible seizure of agricultural land (Kshetra) of the owner was a crime punishable with a fine of 200 to 500 paṇas. Temples had property including land (Kshetra). The very fact that revenues from crown lands (Śīlā), and from cultivators (Bhāga) are entered separately suggests the existence of both royal and private ownership over land.

Thus there is no doubt that private ownership in land was prevalent during this period, though it is difficult to say as to what proportion of the total cultivated land was under individual cultivators. We have already seen that the king had his crown lands which were to be cultivated and managed by state agency. Then the state settled new villages by taking away people from over-populated regions to the newly set-up villages on unoccupied lands. It is quite clear that all unoccupied land is supposed to belong to the King i.e. to the state. During this period, when all round progress was made, the state took a great part in bringing more and more wasteland into cultivation and according to plan villages were set up in the
midst of newly reclaimed cultivable land. In such villages the king was naturally the owner of the land, but here also he appears to have encouraged people to prepare land for cultivation by their own efforts and investment, and such cultivators became owners of the land made cultivable by them and such lands could naturally have passed on to their heirs. The ownership was limited to one (then current) generation only over such lands which were prepared by state endeavour and given to the cultivators to cultivate. This is clear when it is said that "he (king) should allot to tax payers arable land (prepared by the state) for life. Lands should not be taken away from those (or their successors?) who are making them arable." We have already seen that temples also could be owner of land (kshetra). Tanks, waterworks, reservoirs also could be owned by individuals.

While the king was not the owner of the entire land (cultivated), yet as a sovereign he claimed to regulate cultivation and exercise limitation on exercise of absolute ownership over land by individual cultivators in the interest of the kingdom, especially for revenue. A tax-paying cultivator’s right to sell or mortgage the land was limited to only tax-paying cultivators so that the state’s share (Bhāga) on the produce of such mortgaged land, if mortgaged to non-tax paying creditor like a Brāhmaṇa or temple, may not be lost. In case of sale of Vāstu (agricultural holding) kinsmen were to have preference over neighbours and neighbours over creditors. Similarly, the state could take away the land of the cultivator who did not till it and give it to others who were ready to till, or would get it tilled by village servants or traders, otherwise those who do not till were to pay compensation to the king for the loss to the treasury. Now this provision does not prove that there was no private ownership in agricultural land. In the first
place this provision finds place in the chapter dealing with the setting up of new villages by the king, which, according to Kosambi, were Crown-villagers or Śītā villages, meaning that the king was the owner of all land in such villages. It is quite possible that this provision of resuming the untitled land did not prevail over lands under private ownership in villages in general. But even if this provision is believed to apply over all agricultural land, it does not prove royal ownership. If we carefully analyse the provision, the state was not interested in ownership but was concerned with the loss of its share (bhāga) of the produce over the untitled land due to negligence or any incapacity of the owner. The latter in that case had the option to pay the equivalent compensation to the king for the loss to the treasury, otherwise the king would get his share in the produce from that land by getting it tilled in some other way. In cases where the owner-cultivator was not in a position to pay the compensation, he had to lose income from that land. It is possible that next year the land could be tilled by him as usual. So the emphasis here is not on the exercise of right of ownership by the king but on his sovereign right that production is not hampered and royal treasury is not hit by negligence of owner-cultivators. Almost a similar provision with the same objective is against negligence of private water works. "The ownership of a water-work, not in use for five years, shall be lost in cases of distress." The point becomes clear when we take into account the provision that if one did not till the land that was inalienable another may use it for five years and return it after receiving compensation for his exertions. The emphasis was that cultivable land under tax-paying peasants must be cultivated, and in case the state or any individual, in default of the owner, cultivates it the owner does not lose his ownership over the land for ever. As has been well
pointed out that rules, if enforced all round, would have made all agriculture a vast state-regulated enterprise.

It should be clear therefore that in actual practice both royal ownership and private ownership of land with the regulatory powers of the state over the latter, prevailed. It is very likely that the Mauryan state was the biggest land owner. It had vast crown lands for agriculture. It settled new villages in lately cleared lands. It cleared the waste land, encroached upon pasture land in favour of cultivated land and cleared forests to extend area of agricultural land. Kosambi calls the Kauṭilyan state the main land-clearing agency. The Superintendent of Crown lands (Stitādhyaksha) got the land cultivated with the help of government servants, equipments and hired labourers, prisoners paying off their fines by personal labour and such labourers who paid taxes in labour (vishā). Part of the crown lands which could not be managed to be cultivated by the government agency were given to willing cultivators (peasant proprietors tax-payers) or labourers as share-croppers on the basis of being paid $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the produce respectively, the rest went to the state granary. So far as peasant proprietors are concerned, they cultivated the land with the help of labourers and paid the bhāga of the king directly. There was no feudal intermediary between the cultivator and the state, notwithstanding some tenants (upavāsa) of the farmers. It, therefore, was natural for the state not to encourage absentee tax-paying farmers, as it would have meant neglect of cultivation and consequent loss of state revenue. So while Kauṭilya allows non-tax paying cultivators to live on the produce of their fields even when residing at a different place, this concession is not extended to the tax-paying farmers. There is a vague reference to communal farming among some tribes when they cultivate the crops in common and distribute the produce among themselves.
Land was fertile and monsoon rains in regular season watered the fields. According to Arrian the country beyond the river Hyphasis was fertile and men were good agriculturists.\(^{167}\) During the summer rains fell and much of the country in the plains was submerged.\(^{168}\) Diodorus, obviously on the authority of Megasthenes, speaks of vast plains of great fertility, supplied with water by a multitude of rivers.\(^{169}\) Summer rains turned the plains into marshes, and often the rivers overflowed the banks according to Nearchus and Aristobulus.\(^{164}\)

**Irrigation**

Indian agriculture was largely dependent on monsoons. But for irrigation purposes wells, tanks, reservoirs and embankments and canals (water-courses) were necessary for lands which had not sufficient natural resources of water, rivers or lakes. In the royal villages we find lifting of water, by hand, by the help of bullocks and by mechanical device into channels, into the cultivated field is referred to. The cultivators had to pay varying water-rate for using the water-works\(^{168}\), which were state works or were situated in states-lands. Elsewhere is stated that it was desirable for the state to build irrigation works (setu) embankments or dams. There were \textit{sahodaka setu} like tanks, wells etc. and also \textit{āhārodaka setu} i.e. embankments etc., where natural water sources were not available, and then water was brought through canals. Construction and repair of the Sudārśana dam is a good illustration. Then people also might have built an irrigation-work as a religious act to be used by all and was not any one's property and could not be pledged, sold or mortgaged\(^{166}\). Being naturally anxious for assured supply of water in apprehension of failure of or weak monsoon, people collectively wanted to build a dam or reservoir and the state helped such a corporate endeavour by free grant of state land for roads, trees
and implements. A water-work for irrigation purposes could be constructed by a cultivator as his property and he could let other fellow-cultivators use it on such condition as payment in form of produce of various kinds from sowings in fields, parks and garden watered by their owners dug out channels, or structures based on rivers. Disputes could arise between the owner of the water-work and other cultivators whose fields were adversely affected, and their mutual interest were protected under law. To encourage construction, repair, renovation, of water-works, tax-paying cultivators responsible for this kind of work were exempted from payment of taxes for a stipulated number of years. To assure that water-works are used for the purpose for they have been built, it was provided that the ownership of a water-work could cease if the owner had neglected it and it was out of use for five years. Then the cultivators as a group or individually could repair or renovate it, or the state itself could restore its use. As in these days, so then there appeared to be keen competition among the cultivators for the use of water from the irrigation work, embankment, and so an order of priority appeared to have been agreed upon, and those who let out water from the dams out of turn or obstructed the flow of the water into other's field whose turn was due, were fined. Safety of irrigation work was insisted upon, and one guilty of breaking a dam holding water was sentenced to death by drowning in water at the same spot. Damaging even a ruined or abandoned water work was punishable with middle fine for violence (madhyama sāhasasdanḍa). This shows what great care and importance were betstowed on irrigation work. This is confirmed by Megasthenes who informs us that the class of officers who were in charge of improving the rivers and measuring the land, also inspected the closed canals from which the water is distributed in the conduits in order that all may have equal use of it.
Agricultural operations

There is not much information available about the implements, technique and other scientific or otherwise desirable auxiliaries of agriculture. We are told about ploughing machine (karṣaṇa yātra), stout bullocks (baliyārdāḥ), and other implements (Upakaraṇa). Iron-ploughs must have been included among the Karṣaṇayāntras. That implements made of wood and metal were in use is proved by the ready requisition of services of carpenters, smiths, and artisans. Baskets for carrying seeds or earth, and ropes to bind the cattle or harvested crops were necessary. Among other implements used in agricultural work, mention may be made of weights, measures, grinding stones, pestles and mortars, pounding and crushing machine, scatterers, winnowing baskets, cane baskets, boxes and brooms. Ploughing by bullocks as to-day appears to have been the main agricultural technique. Cultivators in need were given as loan cattle which must have included bullocks. Pasture (common) land, out of land unsuitable for agriculture was to be allotted by the king on the outskirts of villages for grazing by the cattle. There was to be abundance of grass and water for cattle in the ranches under the Superintendent of Cows. The Superintendent of Cattle maintained a complete record of each animal of the state in the herd and the Gopa under Samāharta maintained complete census register, of all the cattle in the village, naturally as oxen and buffaloes for cultivation or transport and cows for milk were important. Cattle was owned privately also. It is important to note that while Kauṭilya refers to physician of horses (aśvānīṃcikitsakāḥ) he makes no mention of physicians for cattle, and the cowherd (gopālaka) was expected to care for and treat the young and the old and the diseased. Asoka’s establishment of hospitals for animals (Paśu)
must have helped agriculture, so much dependent on cattle. Cowherds were maintained by herdsmen on paying wages to them or they might be given charge of 100 cattle head on condition of paying a fixed amount of ghee. Among agricultural operations, sowing and ploughing the fields many times (bhuhala pragrshita) were most important. Sowing of seeds of different plants was done after taking into account the nature of the land and the amount of rainfall and the season. There was a rain-gauge by which the annual rainfall in different parts of the country was measured in terms of droga. Where there was no adequate rainfall, sowings were made with the help of canals. There is a reference to something like seasonal meteorological forecast, however unsatisfactory. Manures for improving the quality of the seeds and plants were prepared and used for increase in production. Not only cow dung, honey, ghee and cowbones and pigs' fat at the time of seedling, but also acrid fresh fish along with the milk of snuhi plant were used as manures when the seedlings sprouted into plants. After the crops were ripe, harvesting was done thoroughly and not even a husk was left in the field. The harvested crops were brought on to a specially prepared threshing floor, where use of fire was prohibited as the harvested heaps of grains and husk were easily combustible. Grains so harvested if not needed immediately by the farmer or the Superintendent of Crown lands as the case might be were stored in sheds with high walls and roofs. In the fortified city in the southern quarter store house for goods (mainly grains) was built. Grain stores to last for many years were to be built. Among other agriculture operations mention may be made of pounding (kuttam), splitting of pulses (rocakam), frying and then grinding grains (saktu) preparing acid liquid (fermenting suktam) and preparing flour meal by grounding (pishtam). Agriculture, so far as
concerning crown lands is concerned, was supervised by
government servants who were expert in the science of
agriculture, geology, (so far as water-divining is concerned)
(sulha) and botany (Vrkshayurveda). Only such experts
were expected to collect seeds of all kinds of grains, flowers,
vegetables etc. in the proper season.\textsuperscript{186} It may be
presumed that service of such experts on agriculture were
available to farmer in general also. The labourers, hired
or free, who sowed the seeds harvested and threshed the
grains, and acted as watchmen in vegetable gardens and
in fruit or flower enclosures were paid food for themselves
and their dependents besides 1½ paṇa as wage per month\textsuperscript{187}. Kauṭilya preferred men of lower castes (varṇas) as farmers
because of all kinds of benefits\textsuperscript{187a}. The Gopa and Sthāṅika
in the village, as we have seen, maintained an up-to-date
census of the number of cultivators and the area of culti-
vated fields, of tax-payer's and non-tax paying lands, and
also of\textsuperscript{187b} wells, tanks or embankments. This must have
been done mainly with a view to have a correct assessment
of revenue from land but it also must have helped the state
in improving irrigation facilities where necessary.

Crops

Diodorus very admiringly informs us that due to
double rainfall in course of the year the inhabitants of
India always gather two harvests annually\textsuperscript{188}. We are in-
formed by the Greeks about the cultivation of many kinds
of cereals like wheat, millet, barley, many kinds of rice,
pulses, other edible plants, and fruits of many kinds\textsuperscript{189}. Diodorus says, "In addition to cereals there grows through-
out India much millet which is kept well watered by the
profusion of river streams and much pulse of superior
quality and rice also and what is called hosponim as well
as many other plants useful for food\textsuperscript{189a}. Kauṭilya refers
to the cultivation of many kinds of cereals including
many kinds of rice, pulses, barley, wheat, millet, sesame, beans, 
munga, legumes (kalāya). Rice was a favourite crop and its 
seed was sown before rains, and 
transplantation and growth of the plant needed abundance 
of water which in the absence of adequate rainfall could 
be managed by irrigation from tanks. Besides cereals, 
fruits and spices of many kinds were grown. Tamarind, 
mango, pomegranates, myrobalsan, plantain (banana), 
citron, and many kinds of berries among fruits, and long 
pepper, black pepper, ginger, cumin-seed, white mustered 
(gauarasarshapa) and others among spices; roots and other 
vegetables are also mentioned. Sugar-cane was also 
cultivated though Kautiliya considers it difficult to grow 
because of heavy expenditure and risks to the plant 
involved. Nearciius speaks of reeds that produce honey 
without the agency of bees. Sugar-cane juice, fermented 
drink, granulated sugar were manufactured from sugar-
cane. Aristobulus speaks of a wine in India (in country 
of Muscianus) from which wine is produced. According 
to Basham grape with almond and walnut was imported 
into India's Himalayan territories from Persia. Medicinal 
herbs were also planted. Aśoka refers to planting of 
medicinal herbs in his empire and exporting those to 
neighbouring countries. Strabo refers to India abounding 
in herbs both curative and poisonous. U. N. Ghoshal sums up as follows—"Standard of agricultural 
production was fully developed in the working of the 
state farms. We may trace this development firstly in 
the technical qualifications of the controlling staff; secondly 
in the larger provision of agricultural labour and appliances 
of cultivation, thirdly in the application of the most advanced 
scientific agriculture of the time for sowing the seeds 
(and doubtless for other agricultural operations as well); 
fourthly in the precise rules for the payment of wages to
the labourers; fifthly and lastly, in the precise terms of the share of the crops allowed to the lease-holders."

Agriculture had many hazards to face. Floods were common. Strabo refers to floods in rivers over flooding the banks causing settled areas to be evacuated and looking deserted. Kauṭilya also refers to floods and measure such as evacuation of villagers living on the banks of flood ed rivers. Megasthenes affirmed that famine has never visited India and that there has never been a general scarcity of supply of nourishing food. But traditions speak of a severe famine lasting for many years in North India in the time of Candragupta Maurya. There is epigraphic evidence to prove that there was scarcity in some regions sometime, and grains stored from government godowns were to be distributed among the needy. Kauṭilya wants the king to have store-house with grains stored to last for many years. Of revenue received in kind half was to be kept as reserve for future use. He also recommends worship of Indra, the Gaṅgā, the Mountain and Mahākaceha. He recommends that the king, during a famine should make a store of seeds and food-stuffs and show favour to the subjects, or share his provisions with them or institute the building of forts or waterworks with grant of food (hard manual labour schemes of to-day) for future good and present relief. The Arthasastra even suggests that hoarded wealth of the subjects could be confiscated for feeding the hungry. Kauṭilya advises the king to take help from foreign country and even encourage migration in the last resort to regions where crops have grown. Hunting animals, birds and catching fish could give alternative food. Rats then as to-day, posed a severe menace to cultivators. To encourage killing of rats, tax in rats (mūshikakara) could be imposed. Cats and mungoos were let loose to kill rats. Even pacificatory rites and
worship of rats were recommended to avoid rat-menace. Similar measures were taken against locusts, birds and insects. During this period forests were still numerous and extensive between frontiers of Janapadas, and so wild animals also could be a serious menace. Hunters and fowlers were engaged in trapping animals. Armoured men with weapons in hand were to kill these animals and village people were to assist them. Poisoned grains were left in animal carcasses to lure the wild animals to death by poison. Serpents also constituted a menace. Snakes as long as 16 cubits are referred to by Greeks, who admired Indians' skill in catching snakes and also curing snake-bite. Kauṭilya advises (the farmers) to collect and burn the seeds of cotton and slough of a serpents, as serpents did not stay where there was this kind of smoke. Services of experts in snake-bite poison-cure were to be made available. Killing of serpents by people could be organised. Of course, magic spells against snakes and worship of snakes were prevalent. A number of Mauryan terracotta snake figurines have also been found in excavations. Agriculturists could be harassed by government servants, agriculture labourers etc., and the state took steps against such harassment. An agriculturist debtor was not to be disturbed in the agricultural season in his work by his creditor or government servant to pay his debt. We have already seen that entertainment troupes from outside were not allowed to come and give performances in royal village, and no entertainment troupe could visit villages in the agricultural season. Megasthenes informs us that fields were not destroyed by soldiers who did not disturb the cultivators even when the war was on. We have already seen that in times of need, the state helped agriculturists by remission of taxes and grant of loans. The state appears to have encouraged use of new varieties of seeds by providing varieties of seeds duty free.
Forests

The state exercised monopoly over forests which were established for forest produce and for goods made from forest produce. It is significant to note that Kautilya even in that early age gave full recognition to forests as a distinct source of revenue. He classified forests as (a) forests for wild animals (paswana), (b) forests for domesticated animals (mrgavana), (c) forests for economic interests (dravyavana), and (d) elephant forests (hastivana). Numerous manufactories were set up for manufacture of goods of different kinds from forest products. Animal skins, or horns proved useful for developing leather industries and ivory products. Horns were used in making bows, and skins of animals for bow-strings. Megasthenes refers to ivory ear-rings. There were wooden sandals. Leather shoes were used, in the preparation of different kinds of armour leather was widely used. Barks of trees could be manufactured into cloths and medicines and poison from pounded horns of some animals (stag) and bark of trees were manufactured. Skins of various kinds of animals from different parts of the country and neighbourhood are referred to. These precious articles received in the royal treasury must have been used in manufacture of different articles for use. Timber served the basis of cabinet making and chairs, tables, beds were made of wood. Boats and ships were manufactured. Carpentry was a long-established profession. The large wooden platform discovered at Kumhrar near Patna and belonging most probably to the time of Candragupta Maurya speaks of the skill of the wood craftsmen. According to Spooner “The whole was built up with a precision and a reasoned care that could not be possibly excelled to-day.” Bedspreads, curtains, rugs and blankets were made from wool or hairs of the animals. Vessels made of split bamboo were manufactured. Baskets are referred to
by Kauṭilya. Carpenters, rope-makers and basket-makers depended on forest produce as their raw material. The separate factories for manufacturing different kinds of goods based on forest produce were set up to provide employment to a number of people. While it is true that many of these factories were state owned and run under the Superintendent of Forests, private persons also after being supplied the necessary raw materials might have started manufacturing. All this was organised and controlled by a large staff under the Superintendent of economic forests (Kutvadyaksha) who employed forest guards and paid wage-earners for cutting down the trees and those who cut the trees unlawfully were punished.

**Mines**

Mines also constituted a state monopoly. The Superintendent of Mines assisted by experts had to work old mines or to prospect new mines. What could not be worked by the state profitably could be leased on to persons desirous of exploiting the mines or on part share on certain conditions. The complete monopoly over mines and mineral deposits assumed by the state in the Kauṭilyan administrative system, says Ghoshal, was based upon the statesman's appreciation of the role of mines and mineral deposits as a valued asset of the state. The Superintendents of Mines was to apply exhaustive tests for the discovery of the minerals as well as of precious and base metals. In mines prisoners and even convicted Brāhmaṇas could be employed as labourers. Copper, lead, tin, iron, vaikṛntaka gem etc. are the kinds of ores extracted from mines. Kauṭilya refers to many kinds of gold, silver and copper besides bitumen. Diodorus presumably relying on Megasthenes, refers to "underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, such as gold, silver, copper, iron and even tin, and other metals." Megas-
thenes refers to among the Derdae (Kashmir) gold mines which were dug out by gold digging ants. While the story about gold digging ants is to be discounted, it is quite possible that gold was found on the Tibetan border among the mountain dust. Kauṭilya preferred Deccan (dakshiṇapatha) to Himalayan region because the former had more plentiful of conch shells, diamonds, rubies, pearls, and gold. Iron and copper mines of Bihar must have served as the basis for the development of mining and industries based on metal. Iron slags are found in numerous places in South Bihar. It is possible that copper and iron mines of Bihar were worked in the Mauryan period. Lohādhyaksha seems to have been in charge of iron working. Baragunda (Hazaribagh) and Singbhum copper might have been used in making copper vessels used in the Mauryan court. However, Megasthenes had no high opinion about the mining and smelting knowledge of Indians. Mining or preparation of salt was also a state monopoly. Megasthenes refers to a mountain of mineral salt in the country of Sophites which was sufficient for the whole country. It may refer to Salt Ranges in Punjab. Oyster-fishing for pearls is referred to by Megasthenes. Pearls were obtained from Kerala, Madras coasts and also imported from the Pāraśīka country and off the sea coast of Barbara. Diamonds came from Mahārāṣṭra (Sabhārāṣṭra in Vidarbha), from Orissa and from Madhyapradesh.

**Industries**

Manufactories were set up by the state with the mineral metals as raw materials. "What is produced from ores, he (Superintendent of Mines) should put to use in factories for the respective metals." Diodorus corroborates Kauṭilya when he states, that the metals were employed in making articles of use and ornaments, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war. Of the copper
work of the Mauryan times an excellent specimen has survived in the shape of a solid copper bolt which was found in the Aśokan pillar at Rāmpurva and was evidently used for fixing the colossal lion-capital to the pillar itself. Kauṭilya refers to a large variety of weapons and armour made of iron, steel and other metals. Indian steel was world famous. Alexander was happy to receive 100 talents of steel among the presents from the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas. Indian steel had supplied the best swords even to the Achaemenid court. From archaeological excavations pertaining to the Mauryan level have been discovered many objects of iron such as weapons, utensils, tools and agricultural implements. Iron chisel arrowheads, blades, socketed blades, double pronged arrowheads, spears, javelins, nails, door hooks, large knives, tanged lance-heads, daggers, hoes, spear points, pins, spear-heads, sickles, pans, swords, axes and rings have been found at the Maurya strata in excavation at Hastinapur Kausāmbi, Atranjikhera, Masaon, Ahichhatrā, Ujjain and in Bihar in Buxar, Vaiśali, Sonepur, Girānd and Oriup. We have already referred to gold, bronze and copper ornaments manufactured in the period and found from archaeological excavations. Dhātu and panyā (commodities made from them) constitute two out of twelve kinds of income to the state. While it might not be possible to agree absolutely with Kosambi that ‘Kauṭilya knew the value of heavy industries in the background of the period, there is no doubt that iron and steel manufactures, together with silver and gold were considered highly important. The construction of large wooden platforms exposed in Kumhrar excavations suggests the progress in carpentry. Kauṭilya refers to boat and ship building.

Textile industry is very ancient in India, coming from the time of Harappan culture. The state weaving
factory under the Superintendence of Weaving got woven woollen, cotton, silk, bark-cloths and also got cotton armour manufactured with the help of experts and employment of hired labourers on wages agreed upon by piece or time rate. The weaving of yarns could be done by women of respectable families who generally would not stir out but were in need of money, and also by widows, crippled women, mother of royal courtiers and old temple-maids. Woollen cloth of white, red and part red were woven. Flax or linseed plant was also woven into cloth. Kṣauma cloths from Pundra and Kasi are referred to. Yarn from Kṣauma (flax) is again referred to by Kauṭilya with cotton yarn. Kshauma has been identified with flax or linseed plant. Curtius Rufus informs us that the soil produces flax from which the dress ordinarily worn by natives is made. Hemp (sana) was also woven into ropes or may be into canvas cloths or bags. The earliest Buddhist literature shows that sana was spun into threads and woven into garments known as santiya. Kauṭilya also refers to sana to be spun into yarns by women under the direction of Superintendence of Textiles. Dukula was another type of cloth woven. Many scholars take dukula to be the finest variety of linen cloth from Bengal. But Lallanji Gopal has tried to show that dukula cloth was made of the bark of dukula-tree which was first moistened then beaten with a pestle and thus the fibres were separated and threads were spun out of these fibres which were woven into dukula cloth. Kauṭilya also mentions dukula as distinct from kshauma (flax) and karpasa (cotton). Dukula tree may be identified with dogal or daggal, a large shrub found in Assam and east Bengal. That is why dukula cloth is said to have come from Bengal; Vaṅga (East Bengal), Pundra (North Bengal), Survarṇakūḍya (Karna suvarṇa, West Bengal). Cotton which grows as tress and of which the dress worn by Indians is made has been referred to by Nearchus.
The cotton that grew on trees was used by Macedonians for stuffing their pillows and as padding for their saddles. At the same time finely threaded cotton cloths were woven from them. Curtius relying on Megasthenes speaks of the fine muslin cloths embroidered with the purple and gold. According to Kauṭilya, cotton fabrics (karpāsikam) from Madurā, aparānta (Gujarat), Kaliṅga (Orissa), Kāśi (Vārānasi), Vaṅga (East Bengal), Māhisha (Māhishmati, Madhyapradesh) were the best. So cotton industry was quite well-developed in the Mauryan period. Many of the dresses worn by sculptures and terracotta figures belonging to the Mauryan period must have been of cotton. Silk cloths of many types of silk were woven during this period. Reference is made to patrona (wool in the leaf), a kind of silk. It came from Magadha (Bihar), Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuḍya (Bengal). It has been identified with sri or mūţa silk. The nāga, likuca, bākula and the banyan trees were considered the sources of these worms that wove silk. Patṭa or Patona is referred to as one of the fine varieties of kitāya (silk cloths). Another kind of silk (kausalya) has been also mentioned by Kauṭilya, who also refers to weaving kausalya yarn into cloths by weavers. Weaving of cloths of Kshauma, kausalya, patrona and dukula was considered a specialised and difficult job and therefore the wages of the weavers of these cloths were paid higher than of other yarns. Kausalya was silk obtained from the Cocoon and was well-known to Indians from very early times, and must have been widely available from Assam. Lastly we have to refer to import of silk and silk-cloth from China. Kauṭilya refers to Cnapatta originating from country of China. India-China silk trade is very ancient. It is also possible that jute (Pattā, Pāṭ, Patṭu) was woven into some kind of cloth may be for bags as today, though was not very popular in ancient times as
fabric for making cloth. *Sana* cloths might have meant jute cloths as well.

Liquor manufacture was also an industry which was state owned and controlled.²⁸¹

It is reasonable to presume that most of the industries were organised into guilds of artisans and handicraftsmen, whose skill in making beautiful things has been admired throughout Indian history. Nearechus admired the skill of Indians in handiwork, and said that they, quickly, after seeing sponges and flasks made by Greeks, began to make sponges, and flasks in their own way. They also made vessels of cast brass.²⁸² Kautšiya refers to articles made of gold, silver, copper, *vpata Kāhsa*, Vaikṛntaka ārkuṭa.²⁸² Megasthenes included artisans and handicraftsmen into the fourth caste.²⁸³ Jewellers appear to have fashioned numerous types of ornaments of gold, silver, conch, pearls, gems, corals, diamonds, and other precious stones. Pellery work on gold was very much developed. We are referred to setting in gold, beadmaking, plaiting, gilding and ornamental gold.²⁸⁴ Making solid objects, making hollow objects, plaiting, coating, fixing and gilding are the artisans' work.²⁸⁵ Various types of necklesses were manufactured of gold, pearls, gems and other precious stones or their setting. We have referred to ornaments of copper, ivory and terracottas. Ornaments containing glass crystals are also referred to.²⁸⁶ Glass beads of various colours have been found in the Mauryan strata in excavations at Hastinapur, Mathura, Rajghat, Vaisālī. From Sonepur was discovered a crystal with a human face. A crystal bead was also found at Oriup in Bhagalpur district in Bihar. A glass bangle was found at Sonepur in Gaya district in Bihar. Strabo refers to golden vessels consisting of large basins and bowls, to tables, high chairs, drinking cups, bath-tubs made of copper set with precious stones like
emeralds, beryls, and to garments sprinkled with gold. Earrings or pendants of precious stones, bracelets of gold are admired by Curtius Rufus, who also refers to the Mauryan palace with gilded pillars clasped all round by a vine embossed in gold and adorned with charming silver images of birds. Amongst other industries worth noting mention may be made of making toys and earthen vessels. Terracotta toys found in the Mauryan level from ancient sites like Kumhrar, Vaisali, Buxar, Sonepur, Bela (Saran), Ciranda (Saran) prove the existing varieties in toys-rattles, animal figures, men and women figures carts, etc. Kautilya refers to vessels of clay (mrtikârayām bhâgyam)°. Though Kautilya does not mention potters specifically, there is no doubt that the potter's art had reached its highest water-mark in the Mauryan period. From excavated sites fine grey, red, and black ware of thin fabric have been found as common pottery. But the most distinctive pottery is the so-called North Black Polished ware (NBP) with its metallic ring and lustrous polish. It is of fine layigated clay with brilliantly burnished dressing of the quality of glaze. It must have originated in South Bihar (Magadha) and with the expansion of the Mauryan empire and spread of Buddhism, it went as far as Takshaśila (Bhir mound) in the north-west, Ujjain in Central India Siśupālagarh in east and Amaravati in the south. A Jain work, Uvasagdasāo (Vol. VI, pp. 163 ff.) has been quoted as proving the mass production and export of pottery in the Mauryan period. It was not only in lustrous black, or steel blue colour but also in golden, silvery orange and in double colours. From recent excavations in Sonepur (Gaya), Vaiśali, Oriup (Bhagalpur), Ciránd (Saran), Rajgir (Patna) broken NBP sherds of different hues have been discovered. Unfortunately no single whole vessel has come to light so far. It appears it was considered a very precious treasure and we have evidence of rivetting by iron-wire to keep a broken
pot together. This pottery might have served at some religious ceremony among the Buddhists and was also used by the royalty or nobility. Dishes, bowls, cups of NBP ware were in use. Potters must have received specialised training under a guild to be able to produce pottery of such high quality.

Amongst minor handiworks mention may be made of baskets of split cane or thongs of reed-canes to hold as bags. Oil-pressers and workers in bone and ivory must have abounded. We have already referred to specialised artisans who were exclusively employed for making weapon and armour. Washermen, dyers, tailors, barbers and shampooers also carried on their professions to earn livelihood. We cannot miss the skilled sculptors who produced the marvellous Mauryan animals and human sculptures with highly lustrous and burnished polish. Kautilya’s reference to images of gods suggests development of religious art. The huge stone coffer (4' 4" x 2' 8¼" x 2' 2¼") excavated from Piprahwa is one of the best specimens of stone art of the pre-Mauryan period. What is to be noted is that in spite of the high quality and the socially necessary and useful character of their works, all artisans who worked with hand, whether goldsmiths or potters, were placed in the lowest grade of Aryan society, the Sudras. This contempt for manual work by the highups in the society continues even today to the utter harm of the country going through industrial and technological revolution in an age of social equality and political democracy. Tradition dies hard.

Stock Breeding

Stock-breeding was an important occupation, and herdsmen constituted the third caste according to Megasthenes. Kautilya refers to Superintendent of cattle who looked after royal and even private cattle. In the capital
(metropolitan city) sites were to be reserved for building stables for cattle, horses, asses and camels (II.4.12,14). Ploughing was done by oxen, and so much care was bound to be devoted to them. Herdsmen who led a nomadic life had to pay taxes in cattle.\(^{296}\) Besides cattle owned by cultivating peasants, there were larger herds owned by nomadic herdsmen to whom tending and maintaining cattle was a profession for living. These gopālakas appear to be counterpart of later Ābhīra or Ahirs. To them pasture lands could be leased and they could sell the grass.\(^{297}\) State maintained farms of cattle, buffaloes, goats, sheep and poultry and also dogs, pigs and stud bulls.\(^{298}\)

**Trade and Commerce**

Trade and commerce in a stable, extensive and centralised administration was bound to prosper. Vārta which included trade was one of the four sciences. On Vārta depended the internal well-being which, according to Kauṭilya, was most important as on it depended spiritual good (Dharma) and pleasure (Kāma).\(^{299}\) For development of trade, good communications were essential. Kauṭilya speaks of six royal highways three running west to east and three south to north in a fortified city. But he also speaks of royal highways passing through district and subdivisional towns (sthāṇiya, dronamukha) and of roads in the country side and pastures and also village roads which were fairly wide for the period.\(^{300}\) Encroachment on the roads was punishable with fines.\(^{301}\) We have no evidence for the main trade routes but it would not be wide off the mark to assume that the main routes which connected important cities in the Buddha’s time\(^{302}\) must have continued to exist, such as the road from Śrāvasti to Pratishtāna, or from Śrāvasti to Rājagṛha. Kauṭilya\(^{303}\) requires the king to establish trade-routes (vaṇikakāthā). In the Mauryan times new roads connecting different parts of
the empire with Pāţaliputra must have been built. According to Megasthenes, a great royal road had been built for linking Pushkarāvatī beyond the Indus river with Pāţaliputra. Highways from Pāţaliputra to northwest (Taxila) was the ancestor of the Grand Trunk road which then as today might have been extended (to Tamluk) in Bengal. Aśoka’s dharmayātrās not only to the places of pilgrimage but also to different parts of the empire for mass contact could have been possible only by a network of roads connecting cities and villages. Megasthenes speaks of officers who make roads and at every ten stadia put up pillars showing the by-roads and the distances. We know that Aśoka planted trees, established inns, and watering places for both animals and men, on the road sides. This consideration towards the improvement of road-condition must have facilitated commerce. Kauṭilya’s preference for the southern route because of its mineral wealth may suggest that more roads were built to connect the north and the south, and Aśoka’s inscription has been found in Mysore. One of the routes ran from Pāţaliputra along the Son to Sahasram (where Aśoka’s inscription has been found), then over the plateau later to Tośāli in Kaliṅga and along the coast to the Kṛṣṇā valley and another went along to Mysore. Another route was from Pāţaliputra to Rupnath to the Waingangā valley and then from the north of the Godāvari to the south of the Kṛṣṇā river or then to Mysore. We have seen that the king was to ensure protection to travellers and traders with their merchandise on the road, and he put up edicts on the road sides in the country and everywhere else. Waterways for trade were also developed, and Kauṭilya speaks of boats maintained by the king to ferry passengers and merchandise. Though Kauṭilya prefers land route to water route, he preferred coastal water-route and river route because of a large number of ports to shipping on
high seas. It is quite obvious that river navigation and coastal shipping must have been developed. Megasthenes also informs us that all Indian rivers were navigable. According to Kauṭilya, possession of land and water routes was an asset to a good janapada and Kauṭilya even recommends treaty with other states for acquiring trade routes. Ghoshal aptly points out that, "It is in Kauṭilya’s work that we have the first reference in our ancient history to the construction and maintenance of trade routes by the state." The conquests of the Deccan, Saurāshṭra, and Kaliṅga brought the important ports and sea-routes under the monopolistic control of the Mauryan empire. The liberation of the Indus valley and the territorial gains arising from the repulse of Seleucus and the treaty with him gave Candragupta Maurya control over the north-western and western land routes which linked India to the Mediterranean lands. Markets and port towns for sale of goods were also set up by the king. Sthāṇṭya, dṛṇamukha, Kharaṭika and Saṅgrahaṇa as headquarters of a number of villages must have developed into towns with markets. The number of towns in the Mauryan empire must have been much larger than in earlier period. But we must remember that the village with good roads and a number of artisans was almost self-sufficient, and farmers, according to Megasthenes, rarely visited towns. Market hours were fixed and all goods for sale were to be sold in markets, or probably at whole-sale at the toll-house.

All goods passing from one janapada to another and meant for sale had to pay custom duties at the toll-house at varying rates. Prices of articles were fixed and stamped weights and measures of varying weights were to be used. As these were advantageous to the king, these were regularly inspected. Kauṭilya knows all the tricks of
traders such as substituting goods in quality or quantity to their advantage, underweighing, counterfeiting or breaking of seals, adulteration, cornering and conspiracy among traders to raise or lower prices to their advantage. Traders and shopkeepers as a class were considered clever and unscrupulous. Kaut́ilya regarded them together with artisans as thieves in fact (though not in name). Many curbs were put on traders and shopkeepers and fines were imposed for violation of laws and regulations. Megasthenes refers to officers who supervised the markets. Rise or fall in prices was a real problem as it hit both the state and the citizen, and therefore Kaut́ilya recommended the government to enter the market and purchase the commodity which was selling cheaper than desirable, stock it and release it when in short supply (the policy which is being adopted by the government in India today). At the same time traders were encouraged in many ways. Prices of articles for sale were fixed taking into account the maximum or minimum profit due to traders. Security of merchandise on roads, and in villages were assured and failure in this would lead to claim of compensation by traders. Vartaś road-cess paid by traders must have involved a sort of state’s responsibility for the merchandise which due to danger of robbers or foresters often was to be escorted by armed guards. In such a case the caravan leader paid ativahikas. But the state also entered trade, both whole-sale and retail. The Panyādhyaksha was to push the sale of royal merchandise at home and abroad and take full advantage of market conditions. It could prohibit export in certain articles like grains, weapons, metals, chariots, cattle or jewels. If imported these articles were sold under certain conditions.

Foreign trade also must have been brisk. Even before the coming of the Mauryas to power, India’s trade
relations with west Asia are well known. In the Mauryan period there was further extension of international relations. Candragupta Maurya had friendly relations with Seleucus Nikator, emperor of Syria. His son Bindusāra had diplomatic relations with the king of Egypt. Aśoka had sent dātas to Syria, Egypt, Macedon, Albania and Cyrenica. These must have facilitated international trade and commerce. According to Sastri\textsuperscript{77}a India maintained connections with Egypt by the Red Sea and with the Seleucid empire by the Persian gulf. The reference to Cnapattra in Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra shows that silk and silk cloth were imported into India from China\textsuperscript{77}. Trade with Burma and the islands of Indonesia was there. Furs came from Balkh and Corals from the Mediterranean region. Silver was imported from Ceylon\textsuperscript{78}. Pearls came from Ceylon and the Persian Gulf\textsuperscript{78}. Gems also came from beyond the sea, from between Malaya and the sea. Kāleya (black sandal wood) came from Svarṇabhumi (Burma). Thick (eight woven strands) woolen cloths and rain-coats came from Nepal\textsuperscript{78}. There is reference to transport on camels of the merchandise of India and Babylonia, the Medes and the Armenians being the intermediaries, across the Caucasus. Aristobolus refers to large quantities of Indian merchandise conveyed across the river Oxus into Albania via Caspean Sea. Indian goods to Egypt appear to have brought down to Myos Hormos (Mussel Harbour).\textsuperscript{77} Pausanias informs us about Indian traders, who give their own wares in exchange for those of the Greeks, without employing money even though they have gold and copper in abundance\textsuperscript{78}. The important ports for international trade were Barygaze (Broach), Sopara in the west and Tamulk in the east. Recent excavations in Tamulk have showed that it was a flourishing port town in the Mauryan period. Kalinga also must have supplied a good port for connection with the south and also with Malaya and other
islands. Coastal sea route from West Indian ports along the coast to Ceylon must have been popular. We have seen that Kautilya referred to coastal route. Important land routes to outside India were (i) Taxila-Kabul-Bactria-across the Oxus south of the Caspian Sea terminating at the Black Sea, (ii) India to Ecbatana via Kandhar and Herat, (iii) Kandhar to Persepolis and Susa (iv) India to Seleucia via the Persian Gulf and the Tigris river, and from (v) Seleucia roads branched off in various directions to Ephesus, Antioch, Phrygian, Damascus, Tyre (VI). Sea route from west coast of India to ports along the southeastern coasts of Arabia. It is difficult to have a precise idea of imports into and exports from India to other countries. For a little later period we have information about India importing horses, red coral, linen and glass and exporting pepper, cinnamon, spices (ginger, cardamon), pearls, diamonds, carnelian, agate, cotton cloth, peacocks, parrots and ivory works. Sugar was also exported to Europe. The picture could be more or less true of the Mauryan India also. "India supplied Egypt with ivory, tortoise shell, pearls, pigments and dyes (especially indigo), rice and various spices (pepper, nard, costume, some rare woods, various medicinal substances, cotton and silk. In order to facilitate Bactrian trade with India, Antiochus I at the times of his joint rule with Seleucus (285-280 B.C.) made a special issue of coins on the Indian instead of the Attik standard. This only can explain the presence of large number of foreigners in the capital city which led to the creation of a city councillor's committee to look after them, their property and their funeral. We are informed that "among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty it was to see that no foreigner is wronged. In the metropolitan city quarters were built for foreign merchants.
Trade both internal and foreign was partly in state and partly in private hands. Kautilya informs us of king's merchandise (indigenous or foreign) being sold in the markets at prices favourable to the subjects. Private traders were also allowed to sell royal goods. Traders who imported foreign goods were shown concessions in the form of exemptions from taxes so as to assure the traders reasonable profit. Foreign traders were assured that no law-suit in money matters would be entertained against them. In foreign countries goods were to be sold on profit only after taking stock of expenses and risks involved.  

Currency

Though barter must have persisted in exchange of goods, in the Mauryan period cash economy appears to have played a dominant role. The officers and other government servants received salaries in paṇas. Most of the offences were punished with fines, and many sentences for violent crimes also could be compounded in fines of the highest, middle and lowest scale of fines (sāhasadaṇḍa). Even persons sentenced to death could be released on payment of release-money, and so also the pledges. Kautilya refers to silver and copper coins of different denominations. Some scholars attribute some types of silver Punch-marked coins to the imperial Mauryas, but the subject deserves still more thorough studies in the archaeological context. Shamasasya believes that gold coins were also manufactured in the Kautilyan state but the view has been strongly controverted by Dr. P. L. Gupta, in whose opinion only silver and copper coins are referred to by Kautilya. Silver coins of four denominations, paṇa, ardha- paṇa, pāda and asha-bhāga, and copper coins of four denomination māshak, ardhamāshaka, kākaṇi, ardha-kākaṇi are referred to. The State completely regulated the manufacture and issue of coins.
Credit

It is evident that there were creditors who loaned on interest and debtors who took loan and paid interest. A whole chapter deals with the law of deposits. Another chapter deals with non-payment of debts. One could take loan in cash, or in grains on prescribed rates of interest, which varied according to the purpose for which the debt was incurred. This was necessary to promote investment in trade, manufacture and commerce. We have already seen that the state granted agricultural loan to farmers, cultivators, traders and manufacturers must have borrowed money from creditors, and the state had to regulate the rates of interest which were deliberately made very elastic for convenience of the parties. This is clearly at variance with the Greek account that the Indians do not lend money on interest.

Towns

With development of trade, industry and communication, towns increased in number. Even before the Mauryas many important towns of northern India are well known. In the Mauryan period, saṅgrahana, kharvaṭika, droṇamukha, sthāṇīya must have grown as towns because of not only being administrative centres but also markets. Kauṭilya refers to fortified cities (durga) and puras (cities). A town appears to have been built on a plan. Pātaliputra, the capital, was a large city much larger than Rome, and was, as we have seen, well-administered. The excavations at Pātaliputra (Patna) however have not been extensive and only remains of a stone-architectural complex have been unearthed belonging to the Mauryan period. But wood also was very much used. Megasthenes refers to very large number of Indian cities, and states that wood was very much used in building cities on river banks. While Mauryan India remained very largely rural, urban life was well-developed
and comfortable in cities, which must have been centres of artisans’ and manufacturers’ guilds, traders’ activities and markets. Unfortunately no clear idea of urban life is available but stray references about parks, gardens, etc. in the Arthaśāstra and in the account of Megasthenes give an inkling into pleasantries of city-life.

**Conclusion**

The economic power and wealth appear to have been concentrated in upper classes represented by gahapatis (an aristocratic class always ranking after the Kshatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas), traders (Śrestha) and of course the king at the apex. Temples also possessed considerable property in the form of cattle, images, slaves or servants, lands, buildings, cash, gold, silver and grains. The property of the temple could not be openly confiscated but in emergencies by the help of secret agents could by fraudulent means be acquired for the state. Regard for temple property was so great that the highest fine, even capital punishment is prescribed for their theft. There was a Superintendent of Temples (devatādhyaksha) to look after the temple properties. Temple property in villages were to be managed by the village elders. Temples had women slaves ‘devadāsis’ who retired from service at an advanced age and lived by spinning.

The rigid control or regulation of economy by the state was mainly guided by the consideration of revenue and for the protection of consumers against crafty traders. The Kauṭilyan state with full up-to-date census of the entire human and natural resources of the state made under the control of the Samāharta had the necessary basis for executing a planned development. While it is no doubt possible that this knowledge of the actual conditions prevailing in the kingdom must have enabled the state to undertake its public welfare and economic development
measures, there is no doubt that emphasis was more on revenue augmentation rather than on planned development. It is therefore not surprising that foundation of market-towns even in rural areas, making and maintenance of roads and assuming safety to the traders, merchandise passing on the road were recognised as due responsibilities of the state. The stringent control on traders and artisans both in the interest of the public and the state treasury was necessary because traders and artisans were looked upon as prone to act against public interest and as thieves in fact though not in name.  

References

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2. Majumdar, Classical Accounts of India, p. 224. It is suggested that he was applying Egyptian division of society in India (Camb. Hist. of India Vol. II, p. 66).
3. K. A. I. 3. 5-8.
5. Majumdar, op. cit, p. 226.
5a. K. A. I. 3. 9.
7. I. 3. 5.
7b. I. 9. 10.
9. III. 20. 16.
11. K. A. II. 1. 7.
12. V. 2. 6.
12a. III. 5. 28.
13a. K. A. III. 10. 44.
14. Majumdar, op. cit. p. XX.
14b. See Supra.
16a. I. 16. 15; III. 4. 28.
17. I. 12. 4.
18. V. 3
20. II. 24. 30.
21. II. 2. 2.
21a. II. 28. 18.
21b. See Supra.
22a. Ibid. p. 426.
23a. McCrindle, Meg. & Arrian p. 211.
25. I. 3. 7.
25b. R. E. XIII.
26a. IX. 2. 21-24.
27. K. A. II. 1. 2.
29a. III. 13. 27.
31. II. 15. 8.
32. II. 24. 16.
33. II. 15. 63.
34. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 224.
35. Ibid. p. 286.
36. K. A. III. 13. 3
37. Ibid. 9-12.
37a. Ibid. 20.
38. Ibid. 13-19, 21.
38a. Ibid. 23.
38b. Ibid. 24.
38c. Ibid. 25.
39. Ibid. 22.
39a. Radha Kamal Mookerjee, Culture and Art of India, p. 94.
39b. R. E. IX.
39c. Basham : Wonder that was India p. 153.
40. K. A. I. 12. 7. 9. It is to be noted that kings' servants, valets and attendants were paid a salary of 60 panaas. (V. 3. 17). They received food also (V. 3. 34). It is quite reasonable to assume that attendants, servants and valets of private individuals also must have been paid, besides given food allowance.
40a. I. 15. 10.
40b. II. 4. 23.
40c. II. 1. 6.
40d. III. 20. 16.
40e. Majumdar op. cit. p. 270.
40f. Ibid. p. 279.
40g. K. A. 2. 11.
40h. Sastri : Age of the Nandas and the Mauryas, pp. 308-337.
41. II. 1. 29-30.
42. L 3. 9.
42a. III. 2. 2-10 Consent of only father was necessary in the first four kinds of marriages.
43. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 240.
44. Ibid. p. 224.
44a. K. A. III. 7. 20-33, 36.
44c. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 170.
46. Ibid. 11-13.
48. III. 4. 24-25.
49. III. 4. 28-29.
50. III. 4. 24-37.
50a. III. 2. 48.
72a. K. A. IV. 12. 30-34.
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75. Ibid. 15.
75a. III. 6. 13.
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76. V. 12. 20.
77. Ibid. 24-25, 35.
78. Ibid. 36-40.
79. II. 15.
80. II. 26. 7, 12.
81. II. 36. 8.
81a. II. 4. 11.
81b. IV. 10. 15.
82. R. E. I.
83. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 270.
83a. K. A. II. 15. 43-45.
83b. XII. 4. 8.
84. R. E. I.
85. K. A. II. 15. 17.
86. II. 25.
86b. Ghoshal, op. cit. p. 66.
87. K. A. III. 3. 20.
88. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 270.
88a. Ibid. p. 439.
89. Ibid.
91. K. A. II. 27.
92. Majumdar op. cit. p. 105.
93b. I. 20. 20, II. 27. 27.
93d. K. A. II. 27. 27.
93e. II. 4. 11.
93f. II. 36.8.
93g. III. 20.15.
93h. X. 1.10.
94. Ibid. 25, 28.
95. Ibid. 29.
95a. IV. 1.61.
96. II. 1.34.
96b. K. A. II. 27.28.
97. IV. 1.58.
98. II. 1.33.
99a. III. 3.21-22.
99b. Ibid.
100. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 231.
100a. K. A. I. 21.18, 21.
100b. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 260.
101a. Ibid. p. 421.
102. K. A. I. 21.16.
102a. V. 3.13, 15-16.
103. II. 2.3.
103a. R. E. VIII.
104. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 105.
104a. Ibid. p. 280.
105. K. A. I. 17.19.
106a. XII. 5.1.
107a. XIII. 2.45-47.
109a. XIII. 3.56.
110. XIII. 5.8.
110a. Ghoshal, op. cit. p. 64.
110b. R. E. I.
111. Jataka II. p. 253; IV. p. 458 etc.
112. R. E. IV.
113. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 270.
114. Ibid. p. 230.
115. Ibid.
117. II. 11. 103-106.
118. II. 11.6-20.
119c. II. 25.28.
119d. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 105.
119e. K. A. II. 23.8.
119f. IV. 1.14-25.
119g. JAR 1957-58, p. 36.
120. Majumdar, op. cit. pp. 230, 270.
121. K. A. II. 7.
122. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 231.
123. Ibid. p. 105.
124. Ibid. p. 415.
125. Ibid. p. 105.
125a. II. 15.61.
126. V. 3.13.
128. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 224.
129. R. E. IX.
132. IV. 3.
133. IV. 5.91.
134. V. 2.39-45.
135. V. 2. 59.
136. X. 3.33, 44, XIII. 1.3-6.
137. XIV. 3, 4.
138a. K. A. II.1; Basham op. cit. p. 192.
140. Majumdar, op. cit. Strabo p. 264.
141. L. Gopal, JESHO IV. Pt. 3, pp. 240-263.
143. K. A. II. 24. 16.
144. II. 1. 10.
145. II. I. 7. 24
146. JBRS. XII. p. 138.
146a. K. A. III. 5. 28.
147. K. A. III. 5 and III. 6. Vāstu means house with some kitchen or garden land. According to Ghoshal it means agricultural holding (Ghoshal p. 87).
147a. V. 2.8, 14.
148. III. 7.1.
149. III. 9.1-4.
150. Ibid. 15.
151. Ibid. 21.
152. Ibid. 27.34.
154. Ibid. 9
155. III. 12.15.
156. III. 17.9.
157. IV. 10.16.
158. II. 1. 8-9.
159. Ibid, 10-12.
160. III. 9.32.
160a1. Sastrī : Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, p. 177.
160c. K. A. II. 24. 1-2, 16. The systems known as adhabatśi (\(\frac{1}{2}\) share) and chauraha (\(\frac{1}{4}\)) still survive in Bihar.
160e. K. A. III. 10. 15.
165. K. A. II. 24. 18.
166. III. 10. 2. We have reference to constructing tank as religious act by the queen of Adleryasena, the later Gupta King of Magadha.
167. II. 1. 20-21.
168. III. 9. 35.
170. III. 9. 33.
171. III. 9. 32.
172. III. 9. 38.
173. K. A. II. 24. 3.
173a. Ibid.
173b. II. 15. 63.
174. II. 1. 13.
175. II. 29. 46.
176. II. 30. 43.
177. II. 29. 20.
178. R. E.
178a. K. A. II. 5. 7.
179. II. 24. 5.
180. Ibid. 7. 8.
181. Ibid. 24-25.
182. Ibid. 31-33.
183. Ibid. 22.
184. II. 4. 10. 27.
185. II. 15. 8.
186. II. 24. 1.
187. II. 24. 28.
187a. VII. 11. 21.
187b. II. 35. 3.
188. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 233.
189. Ibid. pp. 249-60.
189a. Ibid. p. 233.
190. K. A. II. 15. 25-27.
192. K. A. II. 15. 20.
193. II. 24. 21.
195. K. A. II. 15.14. Phanitagudamatsyanndikakhandaśarkaraḥ. Sugarcane cultivation is still popular in Bihar. For detailed discussion about sugar-making in ancient India, see Lallanji Gopal. JESHO. VII. pt. I, April 1964, pp. 57 ff. Phanita was granulated sugar, matsyandi is the sugar from Bengal, Guḍa is guḍa, Śarkara was crystalised sugar of white variety.


195b. K. A. II. 4.27. (bhaishaja), II. 24.22.

195c. R.E.

195d. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 254.


198. Majumdar, op. cit. 235.


201a. V. 2.35; Basham op. cit. p. 192.


203. Ibid. 21-27.

204. Ibid. 28-32.

205. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 229.


207. IV. 3.35.38. Snakes are worshipped in Bihar on a particular day at the beginning of the transplantation ceremony.

208. III. 3.22.

209. See Supra.


210. II. 2.5 ; II. 17-1.

210a. II. 18.8.12.

211. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 230.

212. Ibid. pp. 230, 270.

213. K. A. II. 23.2

214. II. 17. 11-12.

214a. II. 11.

214b. ASIAR, 1912-13, pp. 73 ff.
215. II. 17, 7-15; II. 24. 2; II. 15. 1 (winnowing basket and cane baskets are referred).
215a. II. 17.
216. II. 12. 1.
217. Ibid, 22.
217b. Ibid.
218. II. 12. 20; IV. 8. 29.
219. II. 12. 12-17.
220. II. 13. 5-1; II. 12. 2-6.
221. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 233.
222. Ibid, p. 266.
223a. R. S. Sharma; Studies in Cultural History of India, p. 44.
224. II. 12. 28-32.
224b. Majumdar, op. cit. Arrian, p. 222.
224c. K. A. II. 11.
225. K. A. II. 12. 18.
226. Majumdar, op. cit. 235.
227. K. A. II. 18.
228. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 151.
231. K. A. II. 23.
232. II. 11. 106; II. 23. 2.
232a. II. 15. 41.
236. K. A. II. 23. 1.
237. JBRs III. p. 19.
239. K. A. II. 23. 8.
240. II. 11. 102; cf. Lallanji Gopal, op. cit. p. 60.
244. K. A. II. 11. 115.
245. II. 11.107-113; Kangle op. cit. II, note 107, p. 120. Lallanji Gopal (op. cit. p. 63) takes patrona to be mulberry silk, whose production method was learnt from the Chinese.
247. IV. 1.10.
247a. Ibid.
250. Lallanji Gopal, op. cit. pp. 64-66 including foot notes.
251. Ibid, pp. 55-56.
251a. K. A. II. 25.
252. Majumdar, op. cit. Strabo p. 279
252a. K.A. II. 14.1; IV. 1.35.
255. II. 14.17.
256. II. 11.
259. K. A. II. 17.15.
260. R. Thapar, op. cit. p. 239, note. 4.
260c. II. 29. 34.
261. K. A. I. 7.6-7—Artha eva prudhana ati Kauñilya, arthamula hi dharma karamanta. One artani = one cubit, 4 artanis = dañça (4 cubits) K. A. II. 12.
262. II. 4.1-4.
262a. III. 10.4-7.
263. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 103 ff.
263a. K.A. II. 1.19.
265. Thapar, op. cit. pp. 81-83.
265b. II. 1.19.
265c. II. 28, 4, 9, 10, 13.
265e. VII. 12.21.
265f. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 218.
265g. K. A. VI. 1.8; VII. 12.17-26.
265h. Ghoshal op. cit. p. 91.
265i. Comp. Hist. of India Vol. II. p. 77.
266. K. A. II. 1.19, II. 28.7.
267. Majumdar, op. cit. p. 252 Strabo (1000 cities along the Indus).
267a. Ibid.
268. Ibid. p. 264.
269. K. A. II. 22.
269a. K. A. II. 19; IV. 2.2.
270. II. 21; II. 22; IV. 2.
271a. K.A. II. 16; Basham op. cit. p. 217.
271b. K. A. IV. 2.28, 36.
272a. II. 16.18.25; II. 28.25
273. Ibid. II. 21. 22-23.
277. K. A. II. 11. 28, 69, 100.
278. Ibid. p. 450.
280. Wormington, Commerce between Roman Empire. India pp. 21, 150, 162, 167, 180; 210, 263-4.
280d. K. A. II. 4.16.
280e. K. A. II. 16, 11-13, 18-19.
284. JNSI, XXII pp. 13ff.
285a. Ibid.
286. K.A. III. 12.
287. III. II. 1-4.
289. K.A. IV. 10.16.
290. IV. 10.16.
291. V. 2.38.
292. II. 1. 27.
293. II. 23.2.
294. IV. 1.65.
CHAPTER XIX

Art and Architecture

The art tradition of the Neolithic and other pre-historic men of Bihar must have been handed down to the historic period. Several structures have, however, been discovered which may be regarded as filling up this long gap. The stone fortification remains at Rajgir, (Cyclopean wall) and the Jarāsandha-kā-Vaṭṭhak though do not possess much artistic merit, certainly belong to the pre-Buddhist period probably to the age of Mahābhārata when Jarāsandha ruled from Rājgrha. No specimens of highly artistic merit have been discovered prior to the time of Aśoka. The art of the Aśokan period was already a highly advanced one, and pre-supposes the existence of artistic structures in previous ages. The earlier buildings and works of art were perhaps made of wood and other materials and have thus been obliterated from our view. The wooden structures have left a permanent impress on the later stone architecture of Bihar. Literary sources, both Sanskrit and Pāli, furnish ample evidence of the existence of a highly developed art in the pre-Aśokan period, in which lithic constructions might also have played some part.

The art of Eastern India appears from the Vedic period to have possessed characteristics quite different from those of other parts of India. The Brāhmaṇa literature, while describing the construction of the śmaśāna (burial mounds and funeral pyres) refers to the fact that, “Four-cornered is the sepulchral mound. The people who are godly make their funeral or burial places four-cornered, while those who are of the Asura nature, the Easterners
and others make them round. Those who are godly people make them so as not to be separate from the earth, while those people who are of Aśura nature, the Easterners and others make their mounds so as to be separated from the earth, either on a basin or on some such thing. These references indicate that the Aryan funeral mound, was a square structure built on the ground without any base, whereas the Easterners had circular ones with a base or plinth, like the early Buddhist stūpas.

Since the Vedic period, Indian architecture was closely associated with religion. Several religious ceremonies had to be performed during house construction and special gods were invoked to protect them and their owners. The Mahābhārata refers to the demoness Jārā as the ‘Grhadevi’ of the people of Girirāja, and her figure was to be placed on the walls of houses. Another important God to whom a temple was dedicated at that place was Maṇināga whose beautiful house is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Excavations at Rajgir have yielded traces of serpent worship and the famous Maniyar Maṭha of that place, a structure in its present form belonging to the Gupta age, may have been the site of the ancient temple of the goddess Maṇikā or the god Maṇināga. The popularity of this snake God is also apparent from the name of the place Maner close to Patna.

The ancient architecture of Bihar was closely following the architectural traditions or injunctions of the Indian Vāstuvidyā. The Jātakas and the Pāli canons clearly testify to the existence of the Vāstu-Vidya, as references to 'experts in vāstu' and the Buddha's prohibition of the practice of this science indicate. The Pāli Buddhist texts refer to several stone structures existing in Bihar during the time of the Buddha. The Parāyana Sutta (No. 72 of the Sutta-nipāta) refers to the 'Pāshaṇaka (stone-made) caitya of Rājagṛha,
the capital of Magadha. According to Rhys Davids a palace of stone is only once mentioned in the Jātakas. Stone pillars and stone cutters were known to the Pāli texts. Gautama Buddha is said to have allowed his disciples to make use of stone not only in the basements of their halls, stairs, floors and walls but also in the roofing of their houses. Similarly burnt bricks were also used in such buildings. The residential houses sanctioned by the Buddha for the use of his disciples included vihāra, addhayoga, prāśāda, harnya and the guhā. The vihāras were the well-known monasteries consisting of a central hall with small rooms on three sides and a verandah in front. The nature of the addhayoga buildings is not clearly known and might be a building similar to ancient Bengal houses of the Jorābānglā type. Prāśāda refers to a many-storeyed house (sometimes with sloping walls) with a tower on top and the Harnya was perhaps a house with a flat roof. The use of sudhā or lime was also known. Houses were provided with stairs, windows and pillars. Descriptions of towns, palaces and other kinds of private houses and mandapas (pavilions) abound in the Jātakas. Fortified cities and places had a wall (prākāra) around them with ditches outside. The wall was inter-spersed with gate ways (gopuram) on which were watch towers (āṭṭālas). Cities had well-planned streets and different classes of people occupied especial quarters of the city set apart for them. Temples were called ‘devakula’ or caityyas. The latter might refer to those of the Yakshas or other heterodox sects.

The Jātaka stories refer to statues of gods set up in houses. Thus a divine mansion was set around with Indra’s statues (Jātaka No. 541). Statues made of gold are often mentioned.

The walls of the buildings were often decorated with paintings. The Theragāthā (No. 51) refers to Bimbisāra
donating a building to a bhikshu, 'thatched, with plaster and painted'. Paintings on other materials are also mentioned. The *Theragatha* (No. 97) refers to Bimbisāra sending to another king a panel on which were painted the various events of the Buddha's life-history. Paintings must have included figures of human beings, creepers, flowers, animals and birds, mountains, sea and the splendour of Śakra. The *Cullavagga* lays down instructions relating to the art of paintings on plaster of walls. Another class of painting was drawn on scrolls: (or *patā*), perhaps of cloth and shown to people on festive or other occasions. These included *Tamapaṭas* in which scenes of the hell were depicted.

Buddhist texts refer to caityas of various forms. Some were merely a tree which was the habitation of a Yaksha. Others might contain some figures of Yakshas or mere symbols of some god in the form of a square platform under a tree with a railing around and a gateway. There were the Maṇimālā Caitya of Magadha (cf. Maṇikā nāginī caitya), Maṇibhadra Caitya of Mithilā and the Purṇabhadra Caitya of Campā. A Yaksha named Suciloma is further known to have been living on a taṇḍ (platform) surrounded with walls, at Gayā during the time of the Buddha. This might refer to a peculiar structure with an image of the Yaksha.

Another structure adopted by the Buddhists as a religious one was the stūpa which contained some relic of a saint or erected for commemorative purposes. Buddha's remains were enshrined in stūpas after his death. But this kind of burial mounds must have been among pre-Buddhistic structures. Such a relic stūpa is also mentioned in the Jātaka stories. No such structure of the pre-Buddhistic period has yet been discovered. The
Vaiśālī mud-stūpa recently excavated has not revealed any inscription and its date is therefore not definite. This may, however, be regarded as the earliest known Stūpa in Bihar.

Detailed description of the pre-Asokan remains at Rajgir deserves some consideration. The ancient capital of Magadha was at Girivrajapura, the Rajgir Valley within the five hills. This was abandoned by either Bimbisāra or Ajātaśatru who built a new capital on the present site of Rajgir. The structures within the valley may therefore be definitely regarded as of the pre-Mauryan period. Several sites have been identified therein to be places associated with the Buddha in the legends contained in Buddhistic works and the accounts of Fa-hian and Hsuan-Tsang. They are the monastery at Maddakucchi, the jail of Bimbisāra, and the Saptaparnī cave. Outside the old town were the Veṇuvana monastery, the Kalandaka tank and a stūpa built by Ajātaśatru. Another such remain was the Mango grove monastery of Jivaka, the physician of Bimbisāra and the Buddha, remains of which have recently been discovered by excavation.

Of the pre-Buddhistic structures, one is the Cyclopean city-wall about 12' high in certain places, provided with bastions and at least three gate openings. According to Buddhist accounts, Rājagrha had thirty two large and four small gates and the royal palace had apartments for ladies, the treasury house, kitchens, stables, the court house, baths, arsenals, accounts office and shops of various articles. Outside the palace were private residences arranged in accordance with the wealth, position and profession of the owners.

Recent excavations at the site of Jivaka's monastery have unearthed certain elliptical and oblong structures built variously of stone and brick\(^9\), the nature or use of
which is not yet known. In the probable site of the palace in the southern part of the city have been discovered several square wells and a structure of which the lower part was square and the upper round. A long wall made of large blocks of stone overlain with red earth, on the south of the road leading to the Griddhakīṭa Hill, which was supposed to be an inner defensive wall has now been proved to be one of the banks of a large reservoir extending up to the Songiri and touching the defence wall descending from that hill in a crescentic form. This reservoir is identified with the Sumagadha of the Pāli literature.

The Jarāsandha-kā-Vaiṭhak situated a bit above the hill near the main hot springs is an undoubtedly pre-Buddhistic structure. Though traditionally associated with king Jarāsandha of the Mahābhārata, there is nothing to ascertain its date definitely. It is a platform 85' square at the base and 74' by 78' at the top, the walls sloping upwards to a height of 28'. It was constructed of huge blocks of stone placed one upon another without any mortar. It contains at the base fifteen cells, 6' to 7' in length and half of it in breadth. The platform might have been a watch-tower and the cells were formerly used by the guards and later on by hermits.

Before we proceed to the actual remains of the Maurya period, an idea may be gathered about the art of that age from the contemporary account of Megasthenes and also perhaps from the Arthaśāstra. Diodorus (II.35-42) quoting Megasthenes says that the city of Pātaliputra was the most famous and greatest of the towns founded by Herakles (as this god was believed by Megasthenes to have built all Indian cities) and was well fortified by ditches. According to Strabo (XV.1.35 ff), the city was situated on the junction of the Gaṅgā and another river. It was 80
stadia (about 9 miles) in length and fifteen stadia (1 1/2 mile) wide. It was surrounded by a wooden wall with holes on it for throwing arrows. There was a ditch in front. Arrian clearly says that the city was on the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Hiraṇyavāha (the Son or a branch of it), and that the ditch was 600 ft. wide and 30 cubits deep. There were sixty four gates and five hundred seventy watch-towers on the wall. He further says that the cities (of India) on the rivers and seas were made of wood, for bricks could not last there for a long time (perhaps as they would be carried away by the rivers, as the rivers very often changed their courses) as the rainfall is very heavy and the rivers overflow the banks. But cities on high places or on hills were made of bricks and mud. This statement of Arrian clearly indicates why the Pāṭaliputra wall was made of wood. Pāṭaliputra was on the confluence of two rivers and a permanent protection was not possible, as the Son is known to have very often changed its course.

The *Arthasastra* chapters on the construction of forts and king’s palaces may also be a guide for us to know the condition of architecture in the Maurya period. Buildings requiring highly technical and engineering skill are mentioned in it. It mentions the ditch, rampart, wall and towers of the capital city. Between two towers was a two-storeyed pratoli with a harmya on it, and between the attālaka (watch tower) and the pratoli was an indrakosha. In front of the gateways was a hastinakha which was a kind of bridge or a chamber inhabited by guards.

The palace and the treasury house were underground three-storeyed chambers. Many storeyed catuhśālā houses were used for residential purposes. Each storey was said to be fifteen to eighteen cubits high. Doors of houses had carved on them figures of gods and caityas (compare figure of Jāra on Rajgir houses). The city gateways were called
by the names of gods Brahmā, Indra, Yama and Kārtikeya. In the centre of the city, where the roads met were to be erected the temples of various gods some of whom are also mentioned in the vāstuśāstras. Four kinds of roads ran from the east to west and from the north to south. Surrounding the palace, on the north lived the Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas on the east, Vaiśyas on the south and Śūdras on the west. The corners and intermediate points were reserved for the guilds, the chief priest of the king, royal officers and artisans. Such orientation of the city population is also known in later texts of Vāstuvidyā. The Arthaśāstra does not give any idea of the form of the temples, except that the temple of Kumāri was a Māndāharmya which may refer to a building of the Harmyā class with a tower over the upper storey.¹⁸

Before proceeding to the actual remains of the Aśokan period, we shall discuss some which cannot be definitely placed in that age. Two stone figures have been found at Patna which are regarded by some scholars as pre-Aśokan. These bear some inscriptions on them from which Jayaswal came to the conclusion that they were statues of two Magadhan Kings Udaya Nandīn and Varta Nandīn of the Śaśānā dynasty. These readings are not accepted by scholars, most of whom now place them in the Aśokan or post Aśokan period (3rd or 2nd century B. C.). These figures are similar to Yaksha figures found at Parkham (Mathurā) and Besnagar, and are therefore also taken as representations of the demi-gods. These however, possess certain archaic features and are therefore believed by scholars to represent ‘the character of the indigenous school in and before the Maurya period’.¹⁹ One of these is headless and that of the other is much defaced. They are now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The headless figure is 5' 4"
high and has the portion of a caurt sculptured on the right shoulder. The other figure also holds a caurt, from which they are regarded as caurt-bearers or attendants of some gods. The lower half of their bodies is clothed with a loose garment tied round the loins over-lapping in front and hanging down on the ground behind. A dupatta is worn over the left shoulder and there are heavy necklaces of beads and of a flattened form. They also wear armlets, the one with the head having armlets of a snake-like form.

Both these Patna Statues have been designed from a frontal view point, but express a tense bodily vigour which is also noticed in the headless human figure discovered at Harappa. The elbows have been so fashioned as to indicate some advanced knowledge of the artists about correct anatomy. Though their volume and heaviness are archaic, the rounded features and linear contours make them analogous to the sculptures of the Maurya or post-Maurya period. As there is no definite evidence of the existence of the polish as found on Aśokan monuments, these statues need not be placed in the post-Maurya period though they may be post-Aśokan. This is also evident from the fact that Śuṅga sculptures of Magadha as found on the Patna and Bodh-Gaya Rails appear to be artistically more advanced than these statues. To group all the Yaksha figures found in India in one period due to the similarity of the subject matter is not warranted by their respective artistic merit. Coomarswamy therefore appears to be correct in placing the Patna Statues in the 3rd century B.C., even if they may not be pre-Mauryan. They are now believed by almost all scholars as figures of Yakshas and objects of worship in ancient India and not merely of attendant caurt bearers.
Allied to the Patna Statues are some other figures whose Mauryan date are generally accepted, though not quite unchallenged. All these figures bear on them the Asokan polish. The torso of (Jain) Tirthaṅkara found at Lohanipur (Now in the Patna Museum) is similar to a certain extent to the headless Patna statues. Though not as heavy as the latter ones, it displays rounded features with certain stiffness and flattened modelling. But the chest with indications of the muscles may be compared with that of the Harappa red stone figure.

The Didargunj female figure, another of the group is ranked as one of the finest productions of Indian art. This is also regarded as a court bearer; but the lavish expenditure made in making it up and several other features perhaps indicate its having a higher status than that of a mere attendant, and perhaps it was an object of worship, being a figure of a Yakshi or Goddess Śrī. It is 5' 4" high and is cut out of a single piece of stone. It has an oval face and thin lips. In the right hand, it bears the Cauri and the left hand is broken. The prominent breast, the narrow waist with the folds above it and broad hips are reminiscent of traditional Indian beauty of all ages. The hips are decorated with an ornament and the well formed tapering legs are covered with a fine cloth with folds clearly shown all over. There are heavy ornaments above the feet. The left leg slightly bending and the body having a slight stoop give a pleasant movement to the whole figure and remind us of the traditional Indian beauty of the woman ‘bent with the burden of the breasts (Kṛcchakṛtvāvanatāṅgat) and ‘with the gait of a swan' (Svaśādālinī). Such traits have already been noticed in the bronze figure of the dancing girl from Mohenjodaro. The Patna figure is almost free from the law of frontality, and the treatment of the hair, drapery and ornaments
contribute additional beauty to it. The simplicity of the head-dress (looking like a crown), ornaments and drapery are in striking contrast to those found on the terracotta figures of the Maurya and Śūṅga periods. This figure may, therefore, be artistically ranked with the definitely known Aśokan sculptures and has rightly been placed in that period.

The Lion's head from Masarh, now in the Patna Museum cut out of a single piece of stone has the polish of the Aśokan period. The face is however executed in such a peculiarly conventional manner as cannot be found in any of the figures of lion of the Aśokan period and thus raises a doubt about its definite date.

The lower part of the Vajrāsana found inside the Bodhgaya temple with its high polish has been regarded by scholars as having been made in the time of Aśoka. But the covering slab of the throne, now found outside the temple is sculptured on the upper surface with a geometric design (squares and circles), and on the edges with figures of honeysuckle interspersed with those of swans and pigeons. The execution of the swans and the honeysuckle are very similar to those found on the Aśokan abacus of the Bull and Lion capitals (as at Rampurwa, Sanchi etc). This piece, however, contains a fragmentary inscription which may be of the Śūṅga period. according to Barua, could the inscription be later than the structure?

The soapstone polished seals discovered at Murtajigunj (Patna City) and adjacent places cannot be definitely placed in the Aśokan period. But two similar ringstones discovered in the sewerage excavations at Patna may be of the Aśokan period, as one of them contains an inscription in the oldest forms of Aśokan letters. Some of these seals contain the nude figures of the mother-goddess, as on the
Lauriya and Vaiśāli plaques. Other animal figures found on them look like belonging to the Śuṅga period. The purpose for which these seals were used is not definitely known, but their similarity with the ancient religious 'yantras' is striking.¹⁹

Sculptures definitely belonging to the time of Aśoka are the Aśokan pillars. These pillars, five of which have been found in Bihar have again been stylistically divided into three groups, the first of which being regarded by some scholars as production of the pre-Aśokan or early Aśokan period. The last group is formed of the somewhat unique capitals found at Sarnath and Sanchi and not yet found anywhere in Bihar.

Some of the existing Aśokan pillars might have been standing from before the time of Aśoka. Aśoka mentions in one of his inscriptions (Pillar Edict VII) that his edicts have been incised on stone pillars and stone blocks wherever they exist. Some of the capitals reveal more advanced artistic qualities than others which exhibit rather archaic characters. The latter ones might have been pre-Aśokan and Aśoka might have used them for writing his edicts. One such pillar found at Lauriya Araraj perhaps once contained a figure of the Garuḍa bird on its top and was not at all related to the Buddhist cult of Aśoka. Such pillars might have been raised by people belonging to various cults even before the time of Aśoka. In fact, the origin of the idea lying behind Aśoka’s setting up these pillars was purely Indian, and his model was the primitive animal standards or pillars which were objects of worship of the people. That such pillars were worshipped may be known from the figure of a pillar being circumambulated by a few men, found at Mathura (now in Lucknow Museum)¹⁹. The present author believes that the prototype of Aśokan pillars was the Brahmā-Skambha of the
Vedic period and of the pillars of Brahmā and Dharma, the *Vajradāṇḍa* and the *Yūpa* which were erected near a sacrificial or *Sraddha-Vedi*. Several Bharhut sculptures and a Jātaka story (No. 479-Kaliṅga-bodhi Jātaka) indicate that Aśoka had set up a pillar with an elephant capital north-east of the Bo-tree at Bodhgaya, as represented in the Bharhut carvings of the Bodhi tree chapel. If Aśoka had really done this, it is quite likely that the pillar was raised at the place where a holy *yūpa* existed since the time of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* describes it as having been set up by Brahmā and Yudhishṭhira is said to have gone round it in circumambulation. Thus Aśoka might have turned the wooden or golden *yūpa* (as described in the Jātaka) into a stone pillar. Even nowadays the (wooden) *yūpa* placed to the north-east of the *Sraddha-Vedi* is carved with an elephant or bull on its top. If thus Aśoka had taken up the idea from primitive pillars, it is no wonder that the Araraj pillar was existing from before his time and utilised by him for his edicts. This pillar may also be regarded as the first attempt of Eastern India to produce such pillars in stone, if their existence in the pre-Aśokan period is accepted. Aśoka is generally believed to have started building in stone. This pillar may thus disprove that theory.

The other pillar also showing archaic qualities was found at Basarh (Vaiśāli). It does not contain any inscription of Aśoka and is ranked with the Araraj pillar. This pillar consists of a round shaft slightly tapering (from 49' 8" to 38.7' at top) upwards ending with a piece on which are carved bead and reel ornaments. Above it is a piece cut in cable design. Further above is the capital, called sometimes the persepolitan bell, but which is really an inverted lotus. Above the capital is another cable design on which is a rectangular abacus carrying the figure of a
lion seated on its haunches (4½' in height). The abacus in all other Aśokan pillars is round, whereas in this case it is rectangular; and the lion in artistic merit is much inferior to such figures found on other pillars of Aśoka. The execution of the lion is really crude and clumsy and even the shaft is heavy and of stunted dimension.

The inscribed Lauriya Nandangarh (Mathia) pillar in the Champaran District, 14 miles north of Bettiah marks an advance in the history of art of Bihar. The pillar is less massive and more graceful than the Bakhira (Besarh) pillar. The entire pillar is 40 ft. high including the Bell and Lion capital 6' 10" in height. The diameter ranges from about 36" to 22" at the top (which shows the gradual tapering). The abacus has become circular and on its edges are the bas-reliefs of a row of geese pecking at food (of the old Vajrāsana cover, and Rampurwa and Sanchi capitals of Aśoka). The lion stands in a little more erect posture than that at Rampurwa.

Two pillars were discovered at Rampurwa, about 20 miles east of Nandangarh; one being inscribed and surmounted by a lion, and the other uninscribed and carries a bull capital. In the Lion capital the abacus is decorated by geese, and under the Bull capital is a creeper called honeysuckle alternating with a palmette design similar to those found in Greek and Assyrian art. These two Aśokan capitals have been regarded as masterpieces of Aśokan art of Bihar. The shaft on the Lion Pillar measures about 45' the diameter being 4' at the bottom and 3' at the top, and the capital 7' in height was fixed to the pillar by a copper dowel. The lion sits on the hind legs and the execution is very realistic. The muscles are vigorously modelled and the swelling veins and paws indicate its vitality and strength. The manes arranged in curly patches show their schematic and conventional design. The Bull (4' in height)
is not only realistic and vigorous in execution but has "got some vestiges of innervation." It may be compared with the figures of bulls found on the Indus valley seals.

These five pillars of Aśoka indicate an advanced stage of the art of Eastern India, as opposed to the primitive nature of the Yaksha figures mentioned above. The difference between these two classes of sculptures has led many scholars to regard the latter as examples of a folk or rural art of the Maurya period and the former as those of the urban and court art of Aśoka. Others regard the two classes as belonging to two successive periods, the Yaksha figures being post-Aśokan. A third school of scholars explain this difference by attributing foreign influence on the pillar sculptures. Aśokan art is undoubtedly an advanced art indicative of a long drawn process of previous practice, which cannot be thoroughly explained by the Yaksha figures. Hence scholars went so far as to say that Aśoka had employed Persian or Greek masons to execute his pillar capitals. The question of foreign influence on Aśokan art, therefore, deserves detailed consideration.

The object and the spirit of the Aśokan pillars and capitals are quite different from those at Persepolis or other places of Persia. There are only some superficial similarities in form and the general conception. A detailed description of the Persepolitan pillars will clearly show the similarity and difference between them. The Persian columns "both in their proportions and shape suggest an imitation of timber construction. The shafts were slightly tapering and had forty-eight flutings. The bases consist of series of mouldings, the lowest one being enriched with leaves and rests on a low circular plinth. The capitals of the east and west porticoes (of the palace) represent the heads and forepart of the bodies of two bulls or unicorns,
placed back to back with their forelegs doubled under them, the feet resting on the shaft and knees projecting. In the north portico, the shaft of the column supported a fantastic elongated capital, consisting of a sort of inverted cup, supporting an elegant shape much resembling the Egyptian palmleaf capital, above which on all four sides are double spirals resembling the ornament of the Greek Ionic capital known as volutes, but placed perpendicularly, and not, as in the Ionic capital, horizontally. These volutes might have supported double bulls (summarised from Roger Smith and John Slater “Architecture: Classic and early Christian”) one pillar has been found at Persepolis in 1933, bearing a pair of crowned human-headed bull. Another broken part of a pillar, presumably the capital, has the so-called bell at bottom and the volutes as mentioned above.

Comparing the Ašokan pillars with those of Persia, we find the following points of similarity. Both are slightly tapering and reveal wooden construction (though some of the Persian capitals are more of a mason than a carpenter). The base of the Persian pillar, like the capital of the Ašokan ones, consists of a bell shaped piece and the capital has an inverted cup or a bell or a palm-leaf design. The Indian capital has an inverted lotus looking like but quite different from the Persepolitan one. Both the Indian and Persian pillars carry on top some animal figures (but double in Persia, single or four, set back in India). The Ašokan and Persepolitan pillars thus indicate some similarity as regards the arrangement of the parts or mouldings. In many other respects they differ much from one another. Ašokan pillars are freestanding, while no free standing pillar is found in Persepolis. Thus the purpose they fulfil differs. Ašokan pillars have no base or plinth. The shaft of the Ašokan pillar is not fluted and, unlike the Persian one, is a
monolith. The so-called bell is invariably on the top of the shaft of Aśokan pillars, whereas in the Persian examples they form mostly the base. A string or bead and reel designed moulding separates the lotus capital of Aśokan pillars from the round abacus above. In Persia these have given place to the perpendicular volutes, the transition from the capital to the animals above being not at all as pleasing and easy as in the Indian pillars. The Persian animals are conventional or hybrid in character and not as natural or forceful as the Aśokan ones. The rounded abacus is not found in Persia. At Sarnath the animal's capital is supposed to have carried a dharma-cakra, in Persia nothing of the kind is to be seen. Persian pillars are not generally polished as Aśokan ones, though Marshall says that specimens of such polish is also found in Persia. In spite of superficial agreement between the two, the Aśokan pillars, therefore, are quite different in form, design and execution. The conception, spirit and purpose are also wide apart. The Aśokan pillars were erected to display the spiritual vigour and strength of Buddhism and Aśoka's dhamma, whereas the Persian ones were the production of an imperial power proclaiming by its majestic palace the material splendour of the king. The execution of the two sets differ in many respects—the Persian ones being conventional, schematic and variegated, while the Aśokan pillars are simple, realistic and dignified with a spiritual air. The affinity in the form of the two may be explained not as a case of borrowing or imitation, but, as Coomaraswamy says, due to both being an inheritance of a common tradition, a part of the West-Asiatic culture complex inherited by Assyria, Persia and India. The Persian pillars were influenced by those of Assyria and Egypt and no Persian could possibly produce the Aśokan elephants, the lotus and the swans. V. A. Smith was also of opinion that "The ability of the Asiatic Greeks to
represent Indian animals well may be doubted." The execution of Aśokan pillars and capitals is therefore undoubtedly purely Indian in character. The impetus to build huge stone structures might have been taken by Aśoka from the Persian capital.

The influence of Greek art on Aśokan art is often stressed on certain grounds. The realistic touches of the crowing animals is contrasted with the archaic character of the Yaksha and Yakshīṇī figures (which may or may not be of Aśoka's time). Moreover, the twisted rope design bead and reel and cable designs, the honeysuckle or acanthus and the palmette found on the abacus of Aśokan pillars are also believed to have been borrowed from Greek sculptural designs. But these motives are common to all West-Asiatic countries. The so-called honeysuckle on the Aśokan pillars has tips of its petals curved inwards and has two small flowers on two sides; whereas the Assyrian and Greek ones have petals mostly curving outwards and are without any other flowers on them. The Greek palmette also differs from the Aśokan ones. Thus these decorative motifs might represent some Indian creeper or flower and not imitations of Greek art designs. Even if borrowed, they were thoroughly Indianised. Whether the realism of the animals was due to Greek influence is difficult to prove; for the capacity of the Asiatic Greeks to represent Indian birds and animals so beautifully may be doubted.

Besides the principal pillars discussed above, some fragments of Aśokan capitals have been discovered in Bihar. They contain the characteristic polish and realism of Aśokan structures. A Bull capital from Hajipur contains four seated bulls below a rectangular block decorated with a honeysuckle. The heads of the bulls (now broken) appear to have been turned to the sides. Recently another broken bull capital has been discovered at Lohanipur,
Patna. Another piece of an Aśokan Capital (the honeysuckles bead and reel above) has been discovered in the excavations in the Shah Kamal Road in Patna (Ind. Arch. 1955-56 Pl. XXXII B). The base-relief of a row of elephants on the doorway of the Lomash Ṛshi cave at Barabar possesses all the qualities of Aśokan sculpture in the round. In fact, these elephants have been considered aesthetically superior to many of the Aśokan animal sculptures.

The significance of the Aśokan animal figures and the pillars should be discussed briefly. Various theories have been propounded to explain them. As already said the pillars must have had some religious significance based on ancient traditions. The animals at the top of these pillars undoubtedly refer to the Buddha. V. A. Smith explains these animals as guardian—animals of the four quarters. The elephant guards the east; the horse the south, the bull the west, and the lion the north; and thus the capital proclaims the good Law (Buddhism) to the church of the four quarters. Brown finds in them a continuation of the Vedic mythology, lion being held sacred and horse and bull represent the sun, and the bull also signifies Dyaus (Heaven) or Indra. Bloch finds in these animals the vāhanas of various Hindu gods, bull being the vehicle of Śiva, elephant of Indra, horse of Sūrya and lion of Durgā. Their representations in the abacus below the topmost animal capital indicates, according to him, the subordination of these gods to the Buddha. But this cannot expound the significance of the animals at the top. B. Majumdar on the other hand (Sarnath Museum Catalogue) explains these animals as symbols of various important events of Buddha’s life. Thus the elephant refers to Buddha’s birth, bull to his leaving his family, horse to sannyāsa and lion to his enlightenment. This also
cannot explain the existence of these animal figures in the abacus. All these interpretations appear to be appently correct. But they fail to explain the whole composition of the capital and also certain other details. Some of the abacii containing the animal figures have also a Dharmacakra between the former figures. If these figures are taken as being subordinated to the Buddha, we cannot explain the existence of the Dharmacakra there. In some cases, this abacus contains the figures of swans which have not been explained by any scholar. There is no doubt, therefore, that Aśoka had been following some ancient tradition in setting up these pillars and placing these animal figures on them. According to the present author such pillars were set up in India from the Vedic period and was known as Brahma-Stambha or Dharma-Stambha. The Vedas and Upanishads refer to such pillars. According to the Upanishads, such animals represent Brahma the highest god of the Indians. Hence the animals at the top which were formerly representations of Brahmā were converted by Aśoka as representations of the Buddha. The animals in the abacus were under the Buddha—they are the horse = Sūrya, bull = Śiva, elephant = Indra, lion = the Mother goddess (Prthivi or Durgā), Dharmacakra = the symbol of God Dharma (an ancient god worshipped in the form of cakra—equivalent to Kālacakra, whose worshippers are mentioned in the Pāli texts as forming the Deva-Dhammaka sect), swan = Brahmā. The round abacus represents the world of gods. Under it was the lotus capital representing the Earth, supported by the round shaft, the Yamadaṇḍa. This interpretation explains the whole composition. Thus the Aśokan pillar was a Buddhistic adaptation of the Brahma Stambha which was erected and worshipped in India before the time of Aśoka. The Upanishadic description explains this quite clearly."
Aśoka is also traditionally known to have erected many stūpas, caityas and vihāras for the Buddhists. Of these very few have survived in our times. Aśoka is said to have erected 84,000 stūpas and is known from his inscription (Nigliva Edict of the 14th year of his coronation) to have enlarged the stūpa of a Kanakamuni Buddha. The recently excavated Vaiśāli stūpas of a probable pre-Aśokan period was enlarged on many occasions. The first enlargement with burnt bricks (15" x 9' x 2") revealed traces of polished Chunar stone and is thus believed to have been carried out by Aśoka. According to traditions recorded by Hsuen Tsang, Aśoka opened up the stūpa built by the Licchavis over the Buddha’s relics. Thus this Vaiśāli brick stūpa might be of Aśoka’s time.

Of the two huge brick stūpas excavated at Lauriya (Nandangarh), the one containing the gold-leaf with the figure of the earth goddess, though not a Vedic burial mound, as Bloch thought it to be, may be of the Aśokan or post-Aśokan period. This stūpa had burnt brick basement, two being faced with a brick lining in a double tier. The other is placed in a later period.

Bihar also contains several artificial cave temples or dwellings of the Aśokan and Post-Aśokan periods. There are three such in the Barābar Hills (Near Bela, on Patna-Gaya Railway line), three in the Nāgārjuni Hills, a few miles off from Barābar, and one at Sitamarhi near Nawadah. The Barābar caves bear dated inscriptions of Aśoka dedicating them to the Ājītvikas. They were excavated in hardest granite and the interior walls have mirror-like polish on them. The Sudāmā (or Nigrodha as Aśoka called it in inscription of his twelfth year) cave consists of an outer chamber (32' 9" by 19' 6"), with which connected by a narrow passage (3' 4") is a circular room 19' 11" by 19' ft. The roof of the outer chamber hangs
down and projects in front of the inner one in such a way as to indicate that the cave was constructed in the manner of a thatch. This is further indicated by its arched roofs, the vault beginning from the vertical walls 6’ to 7’ high. The inner chamber was undoubtedly meant for holding the stūpa which, in later caityas, was placed at the apsidal end of the halls themselves. Here the place for the stūpa was separated perhaps in imitation of the Agniśālā (fire place) of the hermits which were made detached from the habitation. The whole cave, therefore, represents in stone a beehive hut with conical roof of the ancient Rśhis, a representation of which may be seen in a sculpture at Sanchi.

The Karnā Chaupar cave at Barābar (of the 19th year of Aśoka’s reign) is a rectangular hall (33’ 6” x 14’) having an arched roof, rising 4’ 8” above walls which are also highly polished.

The Lomaśā Rśhi cave at Barābar, though not containing any inscription of Aśoka, is placed in his time due to its other qualities. This is evident from the relief of the elephants on its doorway, as discussed before. This cave is, however, of a more advanced type than the other at Barābar, especially in its facade. In plan it is similar to the Sudāmā cave except that the inner chamber is oval and not circular. The main hall is 33’ by 19’ and the oval chamber 18’ by 14’. Just above the entrance is an Ogee (horse-shoe) shaped arch rising from the ground and projecting above the doorjambs which slope slightly inwards. Below the arch inside are shown the ends of rafters which were used in similar wooden structures. Above the door is a semi-circular pediment decorated with the frieze of elephants and diaper pattern which might represent a framework of wood between the pillars supporting the roof. All these features show that these caves were
copies of wooden structural temples (or caityas) which were constructed in that age. The sloping jambs however, might not have been in imitation of wooden structures, as such slope is not necessary in the entrance of wooden constructions. It might be due to the form of ancient sacrificial altars or citis from which the word ‘caitya’ springs and which also imparted their shape to ancient temples.

Three caves in the Nāgārjuni Hills, bearing inscriptions of Aśoka’s grandson Daśaratha, are a bit later than the above, but may be treated along with them, as they bear similar features. One of them is called in the inscription as the Vahiyakā, the second Gopikā and the other as Vadathikā cave. Of them the Gopikā is the largest. These caves consist of a single chamber with circular ends and the vault rises several feet high from the vertical walls, as at Barābar. The Gopikā cave is 46’ by 19’ and the others are about 16’ by 11’ and the height of each is about 18 ft. The walls are as highly polished as those of the Barābar caves.

At Sitamarhi, 13 miles south of Rajgir is another cave consisting of one chamber, the walls of which rise from the ground as an arch and also end in pointed arch. This cave is supposed to be the oldest one in Bihar (and so in India too), but the polished walls and sloping door jambs indicate its age to be the Maurya period.

According to traditions, Aśoka is said to have built the Bodhgaya Rails, but the oldest Rails found there are now placed in the Śunga period. Aśoka might have constructed the stone covers of the ancient Vajrāsana as discussed before, and a brick railing or wall round the Vajrāsana and the Bodhi tree. No stone rail which may be assigned to Aśoka’s time has yet been discovered in Bihar. The fragments of polished Chunar stone found above the earliest of the Vaiśali Śūpā recently excavated
may indicate the existence of stone railing round the stūpa when enlarged by Aśoka (see above). The small rail at Sarnath around the stūpa inside the main chapel is perhaps the only Aśokan rail discovered in India.13

The only secular building extant of the Aśokan age is perhaps the supposed hundred pillared hall at Kumhrar, of which one huge monolithic pillar with the characteristic Aśokan polish is now preserved at the site. Fragments of other pillars indicate that the hall had eight rows of ten columns each inside and four at the entrance (perhaps to south) standing on the wooden floor or square platform of logs. The superstructure is believed to have been composed of heavy logs resting directly on the columns and held in position by heavy round bars or bolts of metals which penetrated the stone pillars at top to a depth of nearly one foot. The timbers themselves were fastened together by large and massive nails of iron six inches or more in length. The building is supposed to have been destroyed first by a flood and then by a fire. This hall has been compared to the hundred pillared hall of the Persepolitan palace and thus the theory of a Zoroastrian period of Indian history was propounded by the excavator of the site (Spooner). Scholars regard the hall as a part of the Aśokan palace. It should be observed that the pillars here have no decorated capitals, as the other pillars of Aśoka or those in the Persian palace.

Several wooden structures have been found at Kumhrar as well as Bulandibagh near the former place. They are in the shape of platforms composed of huge logs placed perpendicularly in two separate rows and the intervening space between them filled up by logs set horizontally (reverse at Bulandibagh). These are generally regarded as the wooden pallisade which, according to Megasthenes, surrounded the fort of ancient Pātaliputra. The remains
at Bulandibagh stretch up to a length of 450 feet. 
(Recently in 1970 March, excavations at Kankarbag, 
south-west of Kumhrar, for laying the sewerage pipes, 
remains of two rows of wooden posts were noticed. These 
may show continuation of wooden pallisades.

The exact nature of the pillared hall and these 
wooden platforms are still unknown. The hall might not 
have been a part of the Ašokan palace; for it is not likely that 
the said palace would stand at the verge of the city or the 
fort, almost attached to the wall. The palace at Paṭaliputra 
was situated at the centre of the city, as is known from 
the account of Fah-sien and the injunctions found in the 
Arthaśāstra of Kautilya. Moreover the description of the 
Ašokan palace as left by the Chinese traveller does not 
tally with the nature of the hall. (It may be pointed out 
that trial excavations to see if the pillared hall complex was 
part of a larger palace complex showed that there were 
no extension nor associated building in stone other than 
the pillared hall. So its being part of the palace is a most 
doubtful proposition Ed.). Such pillared halls were not, 
as some scholars think quite unknown in ancient India and 
need not, therefore, be regarded as having been built in 
imitation of the pillared hall at Persepolis. The Buddhist 
caityas and specially Vihāras had their prototypes in such 
pillared halls. Pillared palaces (having 100 or 1000 such) 
are frequently mentioned in the Jātaka stories. It is 
mentioned in the Jain Sūtrakṛtāṅga (Lecture VII) that a 
rich householder named Lepa had a beautiful bathing 
hall containing many hundreds of pillars, in the suburb of 
Nālandā.

It may also be mentioned here that the pillars might 
not have been broken by a fire, as scholars have suggested. 
Geologists are of opinion that such sandstone blocks cannot 
be so shattered to pieces by a conflagration and that also
without destroying the natural colour of the stone. The pillar which has been found intact and the fragments do not contain any trace of burning; and how the former escaped burning or breaking cannot be also easily explained. Under the circumstances, the nature of the hall and the causes of its ruin still remain matters for speculation. But ashes, similar to those found here, have been discovered in the Shah Kamal Road excavations (Indian Archaeology, A Review 1955-56) which may go to prove the destruction of the Mauryan remains by fire in the 2nd century B.C.

Bihar in the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan age made great progress in producing artistic things in materials other than stone. Innumerable terracottas of high artistic merit have been discovered, and which have been discussed in another chapter. Images were often made of gold, as is mentioned in the Jātakas. Images of the mothergoddesses were made on golden plaques, as has been mentioned before. There is a similar plaque in possession of the Jalan Museum, Patna city, on which is depicted the figure of Hara-Pārvatī which is also claimed to be of the Maurya period. Jewellers’ art must also have made great advance as is evident from the representation of ornaments of the Mauryan statues. Stone cutter’s art is further exhibited in the finely constructed casket discovered in the Vaiṣālī Stūpas. (A beautiful crystal female figure found in NBP strata at sonepur shows great skill in working on hard stone. Numerous finely bored stone beads attest to the excellence attained in beadmaking industry).

In following the history of the art of Bihar in the early ages we have seen that an indigenous art had gradually developed till the end of Maurya period. Though much has been made of the Persian and Greek influences on it, we have shown that even the Ašokan art
as exhibited by the animal capitals is thoroughly Indian in spirit and execution. In the words of Marshall "the art which they practised was essentially a national art, having its root in the heart and in the faith of the people and giving eloquent expression to their spiritual beliefs." Though Marshall believed the artificial Indian caves to have been derived from the royal tombs of Persia, the earliest caves (Gopikā and Sitāmarhi) of Bihar have no outward decorations as those of Persia. The decorations of Bihar caves were derived from Indian wooden models and totally differ in spirit and execution from those of the Persian tomb Chambers. Aśokan bulls are more allied to those on Indus valley seals, and the geese and elephants are purely Indian in character. Aśokan art was really Indian.

Aśokan art, however, was not a progressive art and no sculpture of later periods can be related to it. Only certain motifs survived, such as the lotus capitals with animals on them, as found at Bharhut, Sanchi, Besnagar and in the Karle and Ellora caves. But the greatest contribution of Aśokan art was undoubtedly the popularity it gave to lithic constructions, if not its first beginning. As noted before, stone-cutter's art and small structures in stone were known even at the time of the Buddha. The Rajgir remains and literary references indicate the existence of stone buildings even before the Mauryas; but certain prejudices must have existed in the minds of the Indians (specially Hindus) against building houses in stone. Once stone was made popular, Indians excelled in constructing massive and artistic structures in that material. In that way, Bihar showed the path to the other parts of India. Aśoka's stūpas, rails, caityas and artificial caves were the prototypes of such constructions elsewhere in India.
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CHAPTER XX

Political History of South Bihar
c. 187-30 B.C.

After a reign of 137 years by the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas came to power. This may be placed in c. 187 B.C. Pusyamitra was the first king of the dynasty. According to the Purāṇas Senāṇi Pushyamitra uprooted Bṛhadratha and obtained the kingdom. Bṛhadratha was the last of the Maurya kings. The actual circumstances leading to the capture of the throne by Pushyamitra appear to be referred to in the Harshacarita, wherein it is stated that Pushyamitra killed his king while the latter was reviewing a military parade. M.M. H. P. Sastri has tried to fill in details of the story: "After a successful campaign (against the Greek), he (Pushyamitra) returned to Paṭaliputra with the victorious army, and the feeble representative of Aśoka on the throne accorded him a fitting reception. A camp was formed outside the city and a review was held of a large army. In the midst of festivities, an arrow struck the king on the forehead. The king expired instantly." However, the Mahāmahopādhyāya has not cited the authority on which the account is based. Jagannath may be approximately right when he says "The Greek invasion had created chaotic conditions in Northern India, and as Demetrius beat a hasty retreat the field was open for an adventurer leader. Pushyamitra seized the opportunity and laid the foundation of new ruling house."

Though in the Purāṇas Pushyamitra is not specifically called ‘Śuṅga’, it is clear that he is the founder of the Śuṅga ruling family, because the Purāṇas definitely mention that the Śuṅgas will become kings after the Mauryas, and then they mention Pushyamitra’s uprooting
of Bhadratha and subsequently refer to his successors. The Purāṇas distinctly mention that after ‘these ten Śungha kings’ (the list includes Pushymitra) the earth will go to the Kāṇvas. In the Harshacarita Vāsudeva who killed Devabhūti is referred to as the amātya of the Śunghas. In the Mālavīkāgnimitra Agnimitra is referred to as belonging to Baimbika-Kula. The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra knows of a family ‘Baimbakayah’ Rāychaudhuri therefore held that Pushyamitra belonged to the Baimbika group of family, and he traced ‘Baimbika’ to a kind of plant named ‘bimbika’ and also perhaps with the river Bimbikā mentioned in the Bharhut Inscriptions. Baimbaki is referred to in the Mahābhāṣya (IV.1.97). In the Harivānśa, the Brahmin Senāṇi who restored Aśvamedha in the Kaliyuga is referred to as audhijja (plant-born) and a Kāśyapa. Jayaswal identified the Senāṇi with Pushyamitra Śunga and the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra also makes the Baimbakayah Kāśyapa. The Śunghas are referred to by Pāṇini as belonging to the Brāhmaṇa family of the Bhāradvājas. Thus it may be accepted that the Śunghas were Brāhmaṇas belonging to Kāśyapa gotra and their family or Kula was known as Baimbikā.

The most important event of Pushyamitra’s reign appears to be his war with the Bactrian Greeks. The Yuga Purāṇa section of the Gārgī Sanskrit after referring to the reign Śaliśūka, states that the Yavanas after reducing Sāketa, the Pañcāla country and Mathurā will reach Kusumadhyāja. It is further stated that the celebrated mud embankments of Pushpapura (Kardamaapratihatehite) were captured and the people were undoubtedly very much in trouble. Patañjali, who was officiating as a priest at the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra, referred to the Yavanas’ attack on Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Mādhyamikā (near Chitor) as a past event which happened in his life.
time. When did this (Bactrian) Greek invasion occur? Who was the leader of this Yavana invasion? From the Ayodhya inscription we learn that Pushyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices, probably suggesting two glorious conquests. It appears that the first horse-sacrifice was performed soon after his capture of the throne. This was probably to celebrate his victory over the Bactrian Greeks who had captured Pāṭaliputra but had to leave the city soon. That the Bactrian Greeks invaded the Gangetic valley under Demetrius, son of Euthydemes, is the view held by many scholars like Raychaudhuri, and Jayaswal. This is sought to be supported on references from classical writers. Strabo quotes Appollodorus of Artemia as ascribing conquest of India partly to Demetrius and partly to Menander. A.K. Narain has strongly challenged this view. He does not rely on Appollodorus whom even Strabo does not think absolutely reliable. In the opinion of Narain Demetrius I made no conquest of India, and Demetrius II, who is according to him 'the king of the Indians', did not rule beyond Gāndhāra. Narain thinks that it was Menander, the Yavana leader, who attacked Sāketa and captured Pāṭaliputra in the company of the Pāṇcālas and Māṭhuras in about 150 B.C. He believes in only one Greek invasion which is referred to in the Yuga Purāṇa, in the Mahābhāshya, in the Mālavikāgnimitra and in the classical accounts. However, there appears to be no valid reason for doubting the Purāṇic version that Śālīśūka was a Mauryan king, and that the 'Yavanas' reached Pāṭaliputra after him. Yuga Purāṇa, according to competent scholars, appears to contain a much earlier version of events; and when the Purāṇas refer to Pushyamitra as the first king of the dynasty which supplanted the Mauryas, there is great likelihood that the 'Yavanas' occupied Pāṭaliputra before Pushyamitra actually ascended the throne. Jayaswal has sought to find reference to Deme-
trius in the *Yuga Purāṇa*’s mention of Dharmamita, and of Dimita (Demetrius) in the Háthigumphá inscription. While there is now general agreement amongst scholars, that Háthigumphá inscription is much later than the supposed date of Demetrius and that the reading ‘Dimita’ is highly conjectural. But the objection on the mention of Dharmamitra in the *Yuga Purāṇa* is on weaker grounds, notwithstanding the fact that some manuscripts have Dharmamitayta or Dharmabhitatma. There is no reason why one reading should be rejected for the other. Moreover there is clear reference to the Yavana’s ruling or making other kings rule over Pāṭaliputra, whether we accept either Jayaswal’s or Mankad’s interpretation. The substitution of Pāncāla for Yavana, as suggested by Narain, is unacceptable to us. While we know that there was a civil war in Bactria between the Greek families (involving Demetrius and Eu克拉ties) as suggested in the *Yuga Purāṇa* and corroborated by classical sources, we have no basis to suppose in such a civil strife among the Pāncālas. Moreover, the view that the Pāncālas were independent during the time of or before Pushyamitra is not universally accepted. If Pāncāla was independent, Pushyamitra’s march to Śākala as known from the Dīnayavādāna becomes difficult to explain. Pushyamitra was commander-in-chief of the army for a long time, must have been fighting the Yavana’s and it is after his victory over them that he killed the weak Maurryan king Bṛhadṛatha. The Greek invasion and conquest of Pāṭaliputra may be placed in cir. 189-88 B.C., and their withdrawal in 187 B.C. coincided with the accession of Pushyamitra, and quickly following it was the horse-sacrifice at which Patañjali officiated as the priest. The Bactrian Greek raid was short-lived and the non-availability of coins of Demetrius I in the interior of India does not necessarily disprove the hypothesis of his conquests. Negative numis-
matic evidence does not prove anything by itself (Gupta coins are rarely found in Magadha). Pushyamitra appears to have come into clash with the Bactrian Greeks again. While one may not agree with the grandiose plan of Demetrius I as outlined by Tarn, there is no doubt that Menander in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. was a powerful Bactrian Greek ruling over Gandhāra, and had advanced further east. However, the Yavanas were again rolled back by the Śunāga army under Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra. This is stated in the Mālaviṅgaṇimitrāṃ. The battle was fought on the south bank of the Sindhu. There is controversy over the identification of the river. Is it the river Indus itself? Or is it the tributary river of the Chambal? R. C. Majumdar appears to have conclusively proved that it was the Indus. Pushyamitra might have proceeded to Śākala to mop up the operation and ordered persecution of the Buddhists there, as evidenced from the Divyāvadāna. Was it because the Buddhists were soft towards the Bactrian Greek whose king Menander was a Buddhist or certainly a pro-Buddhist?

One of the other important events of Pushyamitra’s reign was the Vidarbha war. Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, was the viceroy at Vidiśā. Vidarbha was under Yajñasena. From the Mālaviṅgaṇimitrā we learn that Vidarbha was a newly formed independent kingdom, and its king was the sister’s husband of the Mauryan minister (Saciva), and so natural enemy (Prakṛtyamitra) of Pushyamitra. Raychaudhuri may be right in believing that during the last days of the Mauryan empire, there were two rival factions in the court for grabbing the real powers. When Pushyamitra captured the throne, he put the Mauryan minister in jail, and the latter’s relation Yajñasena declared himself independent in Vidarbha where he might have been a governor. However, Mādha-
vasena, a cousin of Yajñaasena and a friend of Agnimitra, was probably acting as spy for the latter but was captured on his way to Vidiśā by the border-guards of Vidarbha. One of the conditions for his release was that the Mauryan minister in jail be released. This was not accepted by Agnimitra as the Mauryan minister was the rival of Pushyamitra. The war between Agnimitra and Yajñaasena began, which ended in an agreement leading to the division of Vidarbha, with the Vardā (Wardha) forming the boundary between the two kingdoms, northern one under Mādhavasena (who was released) and the southern under Yajñaasena, and both accepting the suzerainty of the Śuṅga rule.

Some scholars believed in Pushyamitra coming into clash with Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela refers to his invasion of Magadha, victory over Bahasati (Bṛhaspati)-mitra, king of Magadha. According to Jayaswal, Khāravela was contemporary of Pushyamitra, who should be identified with Bahasatimita as Bṛhaspati is the regent (nākṣatratādhipa) of the Pushya nākṣatra. However, on palaeographic grounds Khāravela is now generally placed in the 1st century B.C., and Bahasatimita is a king different from Pushyamitra and the former's coins have been found.

Rapson's view that Pushyamitra lost Ujjain to the Andharas has been convincingly rejected. Avanti remained under Pushyamitra and Merutunga refers to Pushyamitra as king of Avanti, ruling for 30 years.

Rapson held that Pushyamitra lost Śākala to Menander. But this is unlikely. Vasumitra defeated the Greeks on the Indus and Pushyamitra performed a horse-sacrifice after that. Menander might have wrested it sometime after the death of Pushyamitra.
Pushyamitra Śuṅga performed two horse-sacrifices. These are first horse-sacrifices known from inscriptions in the historical period. There is no doubt that after a long period of the Buddhist predominance on royalty, Pushyamitra's reign marks a breach in the tradition and ushers in a period of Brahmanical rulers. Jayaswal thinks that the *Manusmṛti* was given its final shape during this time. Brāhmaṇism and brahmanical social ideas and institutions were in ascendency. Viewed in the background of the reign of Aśoka, Samprati and Śāliśūka, Pushyamitra's and his successor's rule has been regarded by some as a period of 'Brāhmaṇic reaction'. Divyāvadāna refers to anti-Buddhist policy and activities of Pushyamitra and latter's offer of 100 dinaras for the one shaven head (Buddhist monk) at Śākala, though at the same time he is referred to as descendant of Aśoka. Mainly on the grounds that the Bharhut and Sanchi monuments were erected and embellished during the rule of the Śuṅgas, the story in the Divyāvadāna is rejected. While except for the late Buddhist works, there is no corroboration of Pushyamitra's anti-Buddhist policy, it remains to be explained why the Buddhists show apathy against him. There is nothing to suggest that the Bharhut and Sanchi monuments were erected in the time of Pushyamitra, and there is no statement in the later Buddhist literature accusing the Śuṅgas in general for the anti-Buddhist policy. Moreover it is to be noted that even anti-Buddhist activities of Pushyamitra are not said to have been influenced by his religious fanaticism. Was it because of partly personal and partly political reasons? In Pushyamitra's wars with the Bactrian Greeks, the Buddhist might have been soft to the Greeks, whose leader Menander was definitely under Buddhist influence. Only this could explain the existence of Buddhist monasteries in Magadha.
and the residence of Buddhist ācārya Dharmarakshita at Pāṭaliputra in the time of Menander.

Pushyamitra ruled over an extensive empire. Magadha, Kośala and Pañcāla (Śākala) were under him. Malwa and Berar (Vidiśā, and Vidarbha) were within the empire. Vidiśā was very important city. Agnimitra as viceroy resided there. If Vidiśā was the capital, as believed by some, there is no reason why Pushyamitra would write to Agnimitra living at Vidiśā, informing him about the victory of Vasumitra over the Yavanas.\(^{11}\)

Pushyamitra, according to the Matsya Purāṇa, ruled for 36 years. Vāyu’s and Brahmāṇḍa’s 60 years to him probably include, as we have seen before, the time when he was commander-in-chief and de facto authority during the last years of the Mauryan empire. Merutūṅga\(^{12}\) however has assigned him a reign of only 30 years.

Pushyamitra was succeeded by his son Agnimitra in c. 151 B.C. He was at first viceroy at Vidiśā where he had fought Yajñaśena, and secured a part of Vidarbha for his friend Mādhavasena. Agnimitra according to the Purāṇas ruled for eight years. Jayaswal’s\(^{13}\) interpretation of the Purāṇic verse, (Agnimitra sutaseashtaḥ bhavishyati samā nīpaḥ) as meaning that Pushyamitra was succeeded simultaneously by his eight sons including Agnimitra is probably wrong. The use of the singular sutah and verb bhavishyati make it clear\(^{14}\), that only his son Agnimitra followed him; ashtau qualifies samā (years). If the Mālavikāgnimitram\(^{15}\) is to be believed, Agnimitra appears to have been too much engrossed in women, neglecting other things, (including affairs of the state). His romances might have eventually led to his death in cir. 143 B.C. There is no reason to believe that Agnimitra issued coins. Jayaswal\(^{16}\) and Raychaudhuri were disposed to attribute coins of Agnimitra found in Pañcāla to Agnimitra, the Śuṅga king. Cunnin-
ghum and Allan have convincingly rejected the identification. H.K. Prasad has summed up the problem of the Śūṅga coins, and has come to the right conclusion that no coins of that Śūṅga ruler has been found so far, and if the Mauryas did not issue coins in their name, the Śūṅgas had no such precedent. Agrimitra was succeeded by Sujyeshṭha who ruled for seven years. He was probably a younger brother of Agrimitra. Then comes Vasumitra, son of Agrimitra and grandson of Pushyamitra. He is to be identified with Vasumitra who led the sacrificial horse of Pushyamitra and defeated the Yavanas. This event must have happened some time before 150 B.C. Vasumitra (or Sumitra) who must have come to the throne in cir. 136 B.C. ruled for ten years. According to the Harshacarita, he met violent death at the hands of Mitradëva (Mūladeva) in the midst of dramatic play. If the assassin was Mūladeva, he may be identified with Mūladeva a king of Ayodhyā known from coins and could be the founder of independent Kośalan line and predecessor of Dhanadeva of Ayodhyā inscription. Vasumitra was succeeded by his son Āndhraka in cir. 126 B.C. Some Purāṇas have Andhakantakah, Ādraka, Odmulla or Bhadraka. He will rule for two or seven years. Jayaswal had identified this king Āndhraka or Odruka with king Udāka of the Pabhosa inscription. Rapson is disposed to agree provided it is accepted that the Purāṇas committed an error in assigning him a reign of two or seven years. If this identification is correct, then Kausāmbara region would be under the Śūṅga rule in cir. 125 B.C. However, palaeographically the inscription is placed in the 1st century B.C., while according to the chronology of the Śūṅgas as drawn from the Purāṇas, Andhraka or Odruka was ruling between 126-124 B.C. or 119 B.C. The Pabhosa ruler Udāka was king for at least 10 years. Audraka or Bhadraka has been identified by Marshall with Kāsi-
putra Bhāgabhadra in whose 14th regnal year, Heliodorus the ambassador of Antialkidas erected the Garuḍā pillar at Besanagar. But the Purāṇas give Odraka or Bhadraka rule of only two or seven years. However, the reign of Antialkidas may be placed towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. and he could very well be contemporary of Bhadraka. But according to Rapson the 9th Śuṅga king Bhāgavata may be the contemporary of Antialkidas. But in that case Bhāgavata and Bhāgabhadra will be identical. It has been however questioned whether the same king could be named Bhāgavata and Bhāgabhadra in the same locality within an interval of two years. The next king is Pulindaka who ruled for three years. He was succeeded by his son Ghosha, for three years followed by Vajramitra for nine years. The next king is Bhāgavata who is given a long reign of 32 years. He may be placed in cir. 109 or 77 B.C. Jayaswal had identified this 9th Śuṅga king with Bhāgabhadra of the Heliodorus Garuḍā Pillar inscription. Another Besanagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of the 12th year after the installation of Mahārāja Bhāgavata shows that there were two kings of Vidiśā—one Bhāgabhadra and the other Bhāgavata. Can’t they be identified with the 5th and 9th Śuṅga kings respectively? The last member of the Śuṅga dynasty was Devabhūti or Devabhūmi who ruled for ten years. He was killed by his amātya Vāsudeva with the help of daughter of Devabhūti’s slave woman (Dāst). The Śuṅga dynasty was thus overthrown in Magadh but the Śuṅgas might have continued to exercise some authority in central India for sometime before the Āndhras destroyed the remnants of the Śuṅga power. The end of Devabhūti (Devabhūmi) may be placed in cir. 67 B.C. According to the Purāṇas the Śuṅgas reigned for 112 years, and on that basis their rule came to end in 187–112 = 75 B.C. But the total period of individual reigns given in the Purāṇas comes
to 120 years. The general total of 112 years may be believed. Jagannath holds that Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghosha who together ruled for 8 years are not Śunũga kings, and Sumitra was succeeded by Vajramitra.

It would be appropriate here to refer to the problem of the Mitra Coins and the extent of the Śunũga dominion after Pushyamitra. Copper coins of one Agnimitra have been found in Rohilkhand. Coins of Jethamitra, Bhadragosha have also been found. Jayaswal, Raychaudhury and de la valle Poussin identify these rulers with the Śunũga kings, Agnimitra, Sujyeshtha or Jyeshtha (vasu) mitra, and Ghosha. Bhûmimitra of the coins has been identified with the 2nd Kânya king of the same name. Other Mitra-kings of the coins, not identified with the Purânic lists of the Śungas or the Kânyas, may have been such unknown and unnamed Śunũga rulers who are said to have continued to rule in some parts of the country even after the coup by Vásudeva. Indramitra is certainly a Paṅcâla ruler and so is Bhûmimitra. Raychaudhuri observes: “In the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the Mitras in question were a local dynasty of North Paṅcâla.”

However, Cunningham, Allan and Chattopadhyaya think that ‘Mtra’ coins of Paṅcâla, Ayodhya and Mathurā belong to independent dynasties which came into power in the 2nd century B. C. Chattopadhyaya asserts, “the combined testimony of the Pabhosa records and the coins shows that Paṅcâla and Kauśâmbi were two independent kingdoms that arose on the ashes of the empire of Pushyamitra. There is no doubt that Dhanadeva of the Ayodhya inscription was an independent king of Košala, though related to Pushyamitra, being 6th in descent from the latter. This certainly suggests that Košala was under Pushyamitra but when it actually passed out of the Śunũga dominion is not
clear. Rapson appeared to believe in the extent of the Śuṅga dominion to the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, 'the ancient kingdom of Vatsa (Kauśāmbī) and the present district of Allahabad'. Coins of Mathurā kings are in two series, and show that a continuously independent kingdom existed from the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. Coins of Pañcāla (Ahicchatrā) and Kauśāmbī also suggest independent dynasties. It is difficult to believe that these rulers issued coins but were subordinate to the Śuṅga kings of Pāṭalipurā and Vidiśā. It may be claimed that the Mitra kings of Pañcāla, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā were offshoots of the main Śuṅga dynasty. It may be noted that Dhana (deva) and his father Phalgu (deva), kings of Ayodhya were descendants of Pushyamitra. Dhanadeva, king of Ayodhyā, is known from coins also (coins of Ancient India, Vol. I. p. LXXXIX). He may be identified with Dhana (deva) of the Ayodhya inscription. (However Cunningham and Smith place Dhanadeva of the coins in 2nd century B.C.) If this identification is correct, then we can say that a branch of the Śuṅga dynasty ruled over Kośala. Other kings known from the coins of this class are Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Viśakhadeva, Śivadatta and Naradatta. It is to be noted that the name of none of the kings has mitra-ending. A Dhanadeva is also a king of Kauśāmbī. But his coin is said to represent the last stage of the coinage of Kauśāmbī, and must belong to the early centuries A.D. (ibid, p. XXCVII). Amongst kings of Mathurā known from coins we may mention Brahmamitra, Dṛḍhamitra, Sūryamitra, Vishnumitra and Gomitra. But there are kings whose names end in-datta such as Rāmadatta, Kāmadatta, Śesadatta, Bhānudatta, Uttamadatta and Balabhūti. Other Mathurā kings known from coins are Dhrmamitra and Purushadatta.

Among the Pañcāla kings we have Agnimitra, Bhadragosha, Bhānunmitra, Bhūnimitra, Dhruvamitra,
Indrāmitra, Phālguṇimitra, Viśvapāla, Vaṅgapāla, Yañjapāla, Jayamitra, Prajāpatimitra, Varuṇamitra, Aśvamitra, Anumitra, Bṛhaspatimitra, Ayumitra, Viśvāmitra etc. It would be tempting to identify Phālguṇimitra with Phalgu (deva), father of Dhana (deva), of the Ayodhyā inscription. But except for similarity in name there is nothing to connect them. Amongst kings from Kauśāmbī mention may be made of Agrarāja, Vavaghosha, Aśvaghosha, Parvata, Indradeva, Sudevamitra, Rādhāmitra, Agnimitra, Jyeshṭhamitra, Bṛhaspatimitra, Suryamitra, Varuṇamitra, Pothamitra, Sarpamitra, Prajāpatimitra, Rājamitra, Devamitra, Rāmamitra, Iśvaramitra and others. Except for the Kośāla dynasty that included Dhanadeva, there is no basis at all to connect the rulers of Pañcāla, Mathurā and Kauśāmbī with the dynasty of the Śuṅgas, and similarity of names which are common in history and tradition does not carry us far. Smith rightly observed that there is no sufficient warrant for holding that the kings who struck coins with names ending in-mitra, all belonged to a single Mitra dynasty. Nor is there any sound reason for identifying the Rājas who issued the incuse coins with the Śuṅga dynasty of the Purāṇas. Even the Purāṇas do not give mitra-ending to all the kings of the Śuṅga dynasty.

However, epigraphic and numismatic evidence connecting kings with mitra-ending with Magadha have been found. The Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela refers to Bahasatimitra in a way which appears to suggest that he was king of Magadha. However, "Māgadhām ca rājanaḥ Bahasatimitam" may mean Magadha and Bahasatimita. It is not impossible that Khāravela after raiding Magadha also defeated Bahasatimita, king of Kauśāmbī or Pañcāla, (or he was king of both regions). However, the identification of Bahasatimita of the Khāravela inscription is uncertain. The inscription should be placed in the second
half of the first century B. C. During this period the last of the Śunga kings (Devabhūti) or early Kāñya kings, should have been ruling Magadha. There is no mention of Bāhasatimita in the Purānic genealogy of the Śungas or the Kāñvas, and it is difficult to believe that the Purāṇas which appear to be dealing with the Śungas and the Kāñvas as ruling dynasties from Magadha point of view, (even the dynasty of the Āndhras has been introduced with their destruction of the Kāñva and the Śunga powers, naturally prevailing in North India), visualise any Māgadhanki king other than the Śunga and the Kāñva in the period to be so powerful as to attract the invader Khāravela. In our opinion therefore we should not consider ‘Bāhasatimita’ of the Khāravela inscription as a king of Magadha at all. Bāhasatimita has been identified with Bahasaimita of the Pabhosa cave inscription. His maternal uncle is Āśāḍhasena who excavated the cave. He may be the Bṛhaspatimitra whose coins have been found in Ahicchatrā and Kauśāmbī. Names of Brahmamitra and Indramitra have been found engraved on two rail pillars of Bodh-Gayā (JRAS, 1908, p. 109; ASR. 1907-8, p. 40). On one of the coping stone of the Bodh-Gayā railing, there is an inscription of queen Āryā Kuraṅgi, wife of Indrāgnimitra. Indramitra and Indragnimitra have been identified. A coin of Indramitra has been found in Kumhrar excavation (ASR, 1912-13 pp. 79, 84-85). A coin of Bhūmimitra has also been found at Kumhrar (Kumhrar Excavation, 1951-55 p. 98). We know that Indramitra and Bhūmimitra are Pāncāla kings, Brahmamitra whose coin is known from Kanauj may also be a Pāncāla king. One Bṛhaspatimitra’s coin is in Lucknow Museum. Coins of Bṛhaspatimitra have been found in excavations both at Kosam and Ahicchatrā (CIM. I., p. 148). He may be the Bahasaimita referred to in the Pabhosa inscription. Allan thinks of two Bahasaimitas; Bahasaimita I and II of Kauśāmbi, the first ruling in the 1st half of
the 2nd century B.C. and even as early as the third century B.C., and Bahasatimita II flourishing towards the end of the second century and first century B.C. (Coins of Ancient India, p. XCVI). Chattopadhyaya takes them to be issues one Bahasatimita. It may be noted that the Pabhosa cave inscription No. 2 shows that Ashādasena was a member of the ruling family of Ahicchatra. The Mora inscription takes the genealogy a stage further, and mentions that Bahasatimita's (Bṛhaspatimitra's) daughter was married to a king of Mathurā. Thus the families of Bahasatimita (Pañcāla king) was related to the Mathurā royal family. Thus we find Pañcāla kings Brahmanitra, Indramitra, Bhūmimitra and Bahasatimita associated with Magadha. Barua holds that Brahmanitra Indramitra and Bahasatimita ruled over Magadha one after another. Narain is disposed to think of Pañcāla kings rule over Magadha as a result of their invasions in company with the Yavanas and people of Mathurā in the time of Menander (c. 150 B.C.). It is difficult to build up a chronological sequence of the kings. There is no evidence to believe in the sequence as proposed by Barua. If Narain is to be believed, we have generations of Pañcāla kings ruling over Magadha, since the days of Menander. But from the Yuga Purāṇa and the Mālavikāgnimitram it is clear that the invaders left Magadha and Vasumitra defeated the Yavanas. Even if another Greek invasion is postulated on the doubtful reference of 'dimita' in the Hāthigumpha inscription, there is no evidence that the Pañcālas and the Mathurā sided with the Yavanas again; because Narain himself believes that this event happened in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. in the time of Menander. Moreover if the Pañcālas ruled over Magadha for so many generations and down to the time of Khāravela at least, the Purāṇas which are referring to all imperial dynasties ruling from Magadha would not have ignored
them. As we have seen they even refer to the Āndhras in the context of capture of Pāṭaliputra by them. Pargiter has rightly observed about the Purānic account of the dynasties that “the ground from which the historic change is viewed is Magadha”. It is therefore surprising that the Purāṇas which are giving dynastic genealogies of kings ruling in Magadha do not refer to Pañcāla kings at all, even indirectly and thus ignore this great historical change which would have been there if the Pañcāla dynasty ruled over Magadha for generations. The Pañcāla, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Ayodhyā dynasties are, therefore, local dynasties and none of them appears to be strong enough to claim imperial position, as the possession of Magadha would entitle them to do. The occurrence of names of Brahmamitra, and Indrāgnimitra, on the Bodh-Gayā railings and stray finds of coins of Bhūmimitra, Indramitra do not prove rule of these kings over Magadha. Religious donations by men from different regions are known from Bharhut and Sanchi inscriptions, and stray finds of coins can be explained by assuming that visitors from different regions for trade or religious purposes, might have brought these coins to Pāṭaliputra. Recent excavations at Kumhrar tend to suggest Kumhrar’s excavated site as a monastic area through the ages. So far as the reference to Bahasatimita in the Hāthigumpha inscription is concerned, we believe that he is not the magadhanātha, but is king of Kauśāmbī and Pañcāla, who was defeated in course of Khāravela’s raid in Uttarāpatha. The name of the king of Magadha defeated by Khāravela is not mentioned. He might have been the last Śuṅga or first Kāṇva king as Khāravela is to be placed in about the middle of the 1st century B.C.

The Kāṇvas

The Kāṇvas came to power in Magadha under Vāsudeva, who was an amātya of Devabhūmi, and so the
Kāṇyas are 'Śuṅgabhṛtyas'⁴⁴. He ruled for nine years. His son was Bhūmimitra is given 14 years.⁴⁵ His identification with Bhūmimitra a Pañcāla ruler or with Bhūmimitra of the coin found at Kumhrar is most unlikely. He was followed by Narayana who ruled for 12 years, and the latter was succeeded by Suṣarman who was the last Kāṇva king and be ruled for ten years. The total period of the Kāṇva rule is 45 years.⁴⁶ The Purāṇas are surprisingly correct in giving the total number of years which is the same as brought by totalling the individual reigns of the four kings given in the Purāṇas. The Āndhras who appear to be subordinate to the Kāṇvas murdered the last Kāṇva king and also destroyed the remaining Śuṅga power, probably in central India. This event should have happened in cir. 30 B.C. The dynastic history of Magadha after this terminates, and till the rise of the Gupta in early 4th century A.D. it is most confused, undocumented and unsystematically known.

Administration under the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas

The central government appears to have been under the king and his council of ministers. The Sabhā is mentioned by Patañjali.⁴⁷ Raychaudhuri⁴⁷ doubts if the Sabhā meant a council of ministers. However, the mantri-parishad of Agnimitra is referred to by Kālidāsa, and Agnimitra consulted it on the occasion of the Vidarbha War.⁴⁸ It appears that not only the king but even the viceroys of provinces were assisted by council of ministers. The empire was divided into provinces and princes were appointed viceroys of important provinces as in the Mauryan period. Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, was such a viceroy in Vidiśā and exercised vast powers of government. On the basis of his interpretation of the verse of the Purāṇas, Jayaswal⁴⁹ held that the Śuṅga empire was a federal empire in which eight sons of Pushyamitra
were ruling as subordinate kings in different provinces. One of them might have been the ancestor of Dhanadeva, the king of Ayodhya. Though Pushyamitra was king, he did not assume imperial titles, and continued to be designated senāni. The king continued to be the highest judicial authority, and the culprits were put into prison. As recommended by Kauṭilya and practised by Aśoka, prisoners were released on festival days.

References

1. DKA, p. 30.
2. Ibid, p. 31.
7. PHAI, p. 369, note I; Bharhut Inscription, Barua and Sinha, p. 8.
9. JBORS III, p. 117.
12. H. K. Prasad tried to distinguish between 'Bāmbha Kayaḥ' of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, and Bambika of the Mālavikāgānimitra (JBRS XLI, Pt. I, pp. 6-8).
12a. JBORS, XIV, p. 402. A. K. Narain expresses doubts on the verse. His interpretation on the basis of some manuscripts is that the Pāṇḍugas, Māthuras together with the Yavanas after having attacked Sāketa reached Kusumadhvaja and occupied Pāṭaliputra (Indo-Greeks, App, pp. 176-179).
13. Mahābhāṣya, III, 2, 111.
15. PHAI, p. 384.
16. JBORS XIV.
21. PHAI, p. 378; EHNI, p. 566f; Sircar, SI. I. 2nd Ed. p. 203m fn. 1.
25. Divyavadana, Ed. Cowell & Neil, pp. 433-34. Narain thinks that there is some mistake in the name or that the Sākala of the Divyavadana must be a place not far from Pātaliputra (Indo-Greeks, p. 87-88 note 3).
26. PHAI, p. 379, and note 2; CHI, p. 520; EHNI, pp. 11-12; R. C. Majumdar, IHQ, I, p. 219.
27. Mālavikāgnimitra, Act. I.
30a. CHI, I, p. 532.
30c. CHI, I, p. 519.
32. JBORS III.
33. CHI, I, p. 519.
34. Divyavadana, 433-34.
35. PHAI, p. 389.
36. Ibid.
37. Tarn CHI, p. 178.
38. EHNI, p. 12.
40. quoted by S. Chattopadhyaya, EHNI, p. 9.
41. DKA, p. 31.
42. JBORS III........; Bhattacharya interprets the verse as meaning eight sons of the king (JBORS XXXV, Pt. I & II, p. 47 ff).
43. Ma. of Vāyu reads "Pushpamitra-sutascashtau bhavishyanti samānāṃpr̥ah". Fargiter points out that here singulars have been wrongly converted into plurals through misapplying ashtau to suta instead to Sama (DKA, p. 31, note 10).

44. Mālavikāgnimitra Act. II.


44b. Coins of Ancient India, p. 79.


45. DKA, p. 31 note 15.

45a. H. C. p. 269. Most of the manuscripts have Māladeva some have Mitra Deva. Camb. Hist. of India, p. 100-101 note 5.

46. KA, p. 31, note 18.

47. JBORS III, p. 475-55.

48. S. I. I., p. 96, fn. 5.

49. Ibid, p. 88-89.

49a. CHI, p. 521.

50. CHI, p. 521. This is the view of Jagannath also. Camb. History of India Vol. II, p. 102.

51. IHQ, V, p. 610.

52. DKA, p. 33.


54. DKA, p. 38.

55. Ibid, p. 33.


56. PHAI, pp. 391ff; JBORS III, p. 479; JBORS 1934, pp. 7ff; de La Valle-Paussin (L' Indetii,).

57. PHAI, p. 392.

58. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 79.

59. Allan, CICAI, p. CXX.

60. EHNI, p. 25.

61. Ibid. p. 25.

62. CHI, p. 627.

63. S. I. I, p. 95.

64. CICAI, p. LXXXIX.

65. CIMI, p. 144.

66. Allan, CICAI, p. XCVII.

67. Ibid. p. XX.


69. C. I. M. I, pp. 144-145.

70. S. I. I, p. 216.
71. Brhaspatimitra is known from Pañcāla coins, and also from Kausāmbi. They may be two persons bearing the same name or one person who issued coins in both Pañcāla and Kausāmbi series.

71a. EHNI, p. 59.

72. Chattopadhyaaya thinks that the Śūṅgas after Pushyamitra did not rule over Magadha, and were ruling over Vidiśā region only, otherwise there is no reason why Heliodorus would go to Gwalior region on his way to Paṭaliputra as an ambassador of Antialkidas to the court of king Bhāgaβhadra, identified with the 5th Śūṅga kings (EHNI, p. 30). But it may be mentioned that it is not said in the inscription that Heliodorus went to Vidiśā to present his credentials to Bhāgaβhadra. Central India was an early centre of Vaishnavism, and Heliodorus who had become a Bhāgaβata might have erected a pillar at Vidiśā which was both a Buddhist and Vaishnav religious centre.

73. CII, p. 525; S. I. I, p. 96, fn. 3.

74. See Supra; However, then Bahṣatimita of Kausāmbi and Pañcāla has to be placed not in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. but in the first century B.C.


77. ASR, 1912-12, pp. 79, 84-85.


79. CICAI—p. CXVII.

80. CII, p. 146.

81. CICAI, p. XCVI.

82. EHNI, p. 39.

83. CHI. p. 525.

84. IHQ, VI, p. 7, ff.

85. Indo-Greeks, pp. 86, 91.

85a. DKA, p. X.

86. DKA, p. 33.

86a. Ibid, p. 35.

87. Ibid, p. 34.

88. PHAI, p. 389.

89. Mālāvikāgnimitra, Act I.

90. JBORS III,

91. Mālāvikāgnimitra, Act V; Act IV.

CHAPTER XXI

Political History of South Bihar
(C. 30 B.C.-319AD)

The Mitras of Magadha:

The history of Magadha or South Bihar after the fall of the Kāṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty is shrouded in considerable obscurity up till the rise of the Guptas. Neither literary nor archaeological evidence throws sufficient light on the political conditions that may have prevailed in this region after the Kāṇva rule came to an end in the last quarter of the first century B.C. The Purāṇas speak of the Āndhras or the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan as the political successors of the Kāṇvas, which shows that the centre of gravity of power had apparently shifted from Magadha to Deccan where the Sātavāhanas had emerged as the empire builders. But the Sātavāhanas who appear in the Purāṇas as responsible for the overthrow of the Kāṇva sovereignty do not seem to have rule in Magadha proper.⁴ The greatest among them are called the lord of the Deccan (daśśiṇāpathapatiḥ). They had no doubt advanced as far as Jabalpur and Raipur, but so far no epigraphic or numismatic evidence has come forth to establish their rule in Magadha.⁵ Probably a Sātavāhana king penetrated up to Pāṭaliputra and occupied the Magadhan capital, but the duration of his occupation of Magadha must have been short-lived.

The vacuum created with the departure of the Kāṇvas from the political scene of Magadha seems to have been filled up by a line of kings having Mitra name-endings, whose rule in South Bihar during the first century B.C. is suggested by epigraphic and numismatic evidence. The
Jain sources also suggest Mitra rule in Magadha by mentioning Balamitra and Bhānumitra as successors of Pushyamitra. Several Mitra Kings like Bhāṣvatimitra, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, Bhāspatimitra, Dharma-mitra, Varuṇamitra, Gomitra, Vishnумitra etc. are known from epigraphs and coins; but it is only in the case of Brahmamitra, Indrāgnimitra and Bhāspatimitra that their association with Magadha can be definitely established.

But scholars are not unanimous in accepting the existence of a distinct royal Mitra dynasty in Magadha. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal identifies all the Mitra kings with the imperial Śuṅga rulers. But in the post-Śuṅga-Kāṇva period several Mitra families ruled in north India and issued coins. Śuṅga coins have not been found so far. Similarity of name-endings alone is not a sufficient proof for the identity of two families. All the Śuṅga rulers also did not have Mitra endings with their names and at the same time it was not confined to the Śuṅgas alone. It may be that the Mitras of the first century B.C. had some connection with the celebrated Śuṅga family. The Śuṅga empire seems to have been divided into a number of petty principalities ruled by semi-independent Śuṅga princes, with the emperor at the head. It is obvious that they ruled from Vidiśā and Ayodhya with the emperor at Pāṭaliputra. It is likely that the Mitra families of the first century B.C. owed their origin to the Śuṅga princes stationed at different localities as viceroys.

Mitra kings are associated with Pañcāla, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Ayodhya, hence the possibilities are that either a Mitra dynasty from outside Bihar ruled upto Magadha or one from Magadha held sway upto Pañcāla and Mathurā or that a local Mitra dynasty flourished in Magadha independently. Mitra coins are not abundant
at Pāṭaliputra as they are at other places associated with the rulers of the dynasty. Secondly, only three of the Mitra kings are known to have been associated with Magadha. Thirdly, the fabric of Mitra coins found at Pāṭaliputra does not show individuality, but show similarity with Pañcāla coins. Hence, some scholars held the opinion that the Mitras from Pañcāla, Mathurā and Kauśāmbi ruled at times up to Pāṭaliputra. But there are certain things which tend to suggest that a Mitra dynasty ruled independently in Magadha. Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamittra are known from the Bodh Gayā Railing Inscriptions and there is no reason why the former should appear as Indramitra in the coins. Hence, Indrāgnimitra of the inscriptions and Indramitra of coins appear to be two different rulers. Coins bearing the names of Indramitra and Brahmamitra are very few in Magadha. Bṛhaspatimirtra is described as the king of Magadha in the Hāthigumpha inscription of king Kharavela of Kaliṅga which makes it clear that he was a local ruler, with his capital, most probably at Pāṭaliputra. His coins are not found in Magadha, and it can be suggested that the Magadha Mitras were local rulers who probably did not issue coins. The Mitra coins found from excavations at Pāṭaliputra might have come there due to trade. Out of the three Mitra kings, whose association with Magadha is definite, Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra seem to have been the predecessors of Bṛhaspatimirtra who is described as the king of Magadha in the Hāthigumpha inscription of king Kharavela. The exact duration of the reign periods of these kings is also a matter of conjecture. Bṛhaspatimirtra is known to have been ruling in c. 17 B. C. when king Kharavela invaded Magadha for the second time. His accession to the throne must have taken place a few years earlier. It may be suggested that he became the king of Magadha in c. 22-20 B. C. This would assign a short duration
for the reign of his two predecessors because it is generally accepted that the Kāṇvas ceased to rule in Magadha in c. 30 B.C. His reign seems to have been fairly long and he may have enjoyed a prosperous and peaceful life till the end of the first century B.C. Nothing is known of the political events of the region till the middle of the first century A.D. when the Kushānas occupied Magadha.

The only major political event that took place during the reign period of the Mitra kings was the Magadhan campaign of king Khāravela of Kaliṅga. It is said in the Hāthigumpha inscription that king Khāravela stormed Goradhagiri (Barābar Hills), harassed Rājaṛaṇa, compelled the king of Magadha, Bahasatimitra (Bṛhaspatimitra) to bow down at his feet, depoiled Aṅga, and carried away much booty along with certain Jain images which had been originally brought (to Pāṭaliputra) by a Nanda King from Kaliṅga. The mode of expression in the Hāthigumpha inscription suggests that the campaign was directed against Magadha as a revenge of the earlier Magadhan expedition of Kaliṅga led by the Nandas. But king Khāravela had no intention of bringing Magadha under his rule; his campaign came as a tide and swept Bihar upto the southern banks of the Gaṅgā, and then moved towards northern India.

Bṛhaspatimitra is described as the king of Magadha, and seems to have been ruling over the major portion of South Bihar. It may not be unlikely that after the passing away of the tide of Khāravela's invasion, he might have extended his sway considerably and ruled peacefully. After his death his successors might have continued to rule, exercising control over a limited area, hence nothing is known of them. It is quite likely that several independent petty rulers, belonging to different dynasties might have sprung up all over South Bihar. Another possibility is that
the Licchavis of Vaiśālī occupied a portion of South Bihar which remained under them till the extension of the Kushāṇa rule there.

The Licchavis

Licchavis were a political force of great significance in North Bihar who from time to time influenced the politics of South Bihar also. They were a freedom-loving tribe, but had been forced to accept the authority of Magadha by Ajātaśatru after a protracted struggle. They must not have forgotten this insult and may have paid off their old scores by capturing Pāṭaliputra under favourable circumstances as V. A. Smith thinks. There was no powerful dynasty ruling in Magadha during the beginning of the first century A. D. Dr. Jayaswal suggests Licchavi rule in Magadha during this period on the basis of the Nepal inscription of Jayadeva II, dated in the 153rd year of the Śrī Harsha era. It is just possible that the Licchavis might have brought the Mitras under their subordination.

The Kushāṇas

Pāṭaliputra had the unique privilege of becoming the capital of an empire like that of the Mauryas, and hence any ambitious king did not regard his conquests complete unless it was stamped with the occupations of the Magadhan capital. The Indo-Greeks marched upto Pāṭaliputra, so was also the case with Khāravela; probably the Sātavāhanas also raided the capital of Magadha, and now it was the turn of a new tribe which had succeeded in occupying the north-west India to fulfill its political ambition by conquering Pāṭaliputra. In the north-west India, the Indo-Greek princes were replaced by the Śakas and the Parthians, who in their turn were supplanted by the Kushāṇas, a branch of the Yue-chi race (as told by the Chinese historians).
Kujula Kadphises was the first Kushāṇa king to extend his authority in the region south of the Hindukush, but it was Kadphises II or Wema Kadphises who conquered Tien-Chu or Indian interior. This king identified himself with the culture of the land which he conquered by embracing Śaivism. In the opinion of Dr. A. S. Altekar Wema Kadphises extended the Kushāṇa rule upto Bihar. But this is a far-fetched conclusion. The most celebrated and renowned as a great conqueror among the Kushāṇa kings was Kaṁishka I, the successor of Wema Kadphises, and he seems to have ruled upto Pāṭaliputra in the east.

There is sufficient proof, mostly numismatic to establish that South Bihar was brought under the sway of the Kushāṇas during the second half of the first century A.D. There is no doubt about the extent of the Kushāṇa rule upto Vārānasī which was the headquarter of the Kushāṇa governor in charge of the eastern province. A large number of copper Kushāṇa coins found all over Bihar suggest that the whole of Bihar was included in the Kushāṇa empire.

The major find of Kushāṇa coins in Bihar comes from Buxar where a hoard of 402 coins was found, out of which 23 are the issues of Wema Kadphises, 159 of Kaṁishka, and 172 of Huvishka. Spooner found 45 Kushāṇa coins belonging to the above rulers in the excavations at Kumhrar and Bulandibagh in 1912-13 A.D. Recently (1969)80 Kushāṇa copper coins have been found in stratified Kushāṇa layer at Chirand. The Kumhrar excavations of 1954-55 A.D. yielded seven Kushāṇa coins. Kushāṇa coins found both at Pāṭaliputra and Buxar are very much worn out, and hence seem so have been in circulation in Bihar for a long time. An impression of a gold coin of Huvishka was noticed by Cunningham while conserving the Mahābodhi temple. The Kushāṇa coins travelled as far as Ranchi, the
southernmost district of Bihar. The widespread finds of the copper Kushāṇa coins in Bihar cannot be explained as a consequence of mere trade. Four terracotta figurines with typical Kushāṇa peaked head-dress unearthed at Kumhrar appear to be significant, as they reveal that even the potter was influenced by the presence of the Kushāṇas at Pāṭaliputra. The numismatic evidence on the Kushāṇa rule in South Bihar is supported by the Chinese and Tibetan accounts. The Śrīdharmapitākanidānasūtra which was translated into Chinese in A. D. 472, narrates how Chen-t'ān Kia-ni-Cha defeated the king of Pāṭaliputra and demanded a large indemnity, but agreed to accept Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddha's almsbowl, and a naturally compassionate cock instead. The Chinese translation of Kumāralatā's Kalpa- nāmaṇḍiṭkā, composed shortly after the reign of Kaṇishka says, "In the family of the Kiu-sha there was a king called Chen-t'ān Kia-ni-Ch'a. He conquered Tung Tien-Chu (Eastern India)". He is said to have passed through a broad, flat land in course of his return journey from the eastern expedition. The broad, flat land may be identified with plains of Uttar Pradesh. This account apparently refers to Kaṇishka's campaign of Eastern India and the Tibetan account of the achievements of this Kushāṇa king are to the same effect. Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian tells us that the king of the little Yue-chi invaded Magadha and carried away the bowl of the Buddha. Thus, the available evidence shows that in the time of Kaṇishka Magadha became part of an empire extending from Kapiśa, Gāndhāra and Kaśmīra to Bihar.

It is evident from the Sarnath inscription belonging to the third regnal year of Kaṇishka that the eastern portion of this empire which included Bihar also was ruled by Mahākṣatrapa Kharapallāna and Kṣatrapa Vanasphara. Vanasphara seems to be identical with Viśvaphani (or ni),
Vināṣapaṭīka and Viśvaphūrja of the Purāṇas", described as the king of Magadha. He must have been in charge of Magadha proper as a governor. It appears from the Purānic account that he was a powerful ruler and forced the petty chiefs of South Bihar to accept Kushāṇa's suzerainty. He is described as one who made his subjects un-Brahmanical, depressed the high caste Hindus and raised low caste men and foreigners to high positions, abolished the Kṣatriyas and created a new ruling caste out of Kaivartas, Pañcakas, Madrakas, Śakas and Pulindas. From this Jayaswal concludes that the Kushāṇas followed a policy of social tyranny and religious fanaticism, both actuated by political motives. It is probably because of the presence of foreign elements among the officials of the Kushāṇas and the latter's Buddhistic leanings that the Purāṇas are critical of them.

The duration of the Kushāṇa rule in Bihar is not known precisely. In the opinion of Jayaswal Bihar was under the Kushāṇa rule from the time of Kaṇiṣhka I to Vāsudeva I. Altekar on the strength of the Buxar hoard thinks that the Kushāṇas ruled over Magadha from the time of Wema Kadphises to the end of Huviska's reign and allots a period of about 70 years. If Jayaswal is taken to be correct, then the Kushāṇas continued to rule in Magadha till c. 176 A. D. (Vāsudeva I). But only one gold coin of Vāsudeva I was found at Patna. At the same time the beginning of Kushāṇa rule in the time of Wema Kadphises is also doubtful. The Buxar hoard would suggest simply the time of the burial of the hoard to be the reign of Huviska and not necessarily the beginning of Wema Kadphises's reign. There is no stratigraphical evidence of the hoard as it was not found in an archaeological excavation. But there seems to be no doubt about the continuation of the Kushāṇa rule in
Magadha from the reign of Kanishka (78 A.D.) to Huvishka (c. 138 A.D.). It is not unlikely that even after the death of Huvishka Kushāṇa suzerainty in a feeble form may have continued there for sometime. We may assign a period of at least 60 years (c. 80 A.D.—140 A.D.) for the Kushāṇa domination of South Bihar.

The history of South Bihar after the withdrawal of the Kushāṇa suzerainty is much confused and obscure. The Muruṇḍas, the Nāgas, and the Koṭas are said to have ruled in Magadha. But to establish the chronological sequence of these dynasties is a difficult task due to lack of material. The political situation seems to have been altogether unstable and nothing can be said definitely. Probably several petty chiefs held sway over small territories, and when any one of them became powerful, he might have extended his authority over a wide area. But all these are conjectures.

The Muruṇḍas

It appears that sometimes after the decline of the Kushāṇa empire the descendants of the Scythian governors (Kshatrapas = Satraps) at Pāṭaliputra known as Muruṇḍas established an independent kingdom in South Bihar44, who are mentioned in the Purāṇas among alien races45 and described as rulers belonging to the 2nd-3rd cen. A.D. by the Jain and Chinese writers and Ptolemy. The Jain tradition46 refers to a Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra who was a pious Jain and whose widowed sister had also embraced the same faith. Probably he is the same king referred to in the Chinese account, ruling during the reign of the Wu dynasty and in whose court the king of Fu-Nan (Siam) had sent envoys.47 According to the account of Ptolemy, the Mandalai ruled over Pāṭaliputra and Tāmralipti in the second century A.D.48 He also informs us that in his time there existed an extensive
kingdom of the Maruṇḍi, including Gorakhpur and upper Bengal. It appears that at one time Muruṇḍa kings held sway over territories extending from eastern Uttar Pradesh to Bengal, with their capital at Pāṭaliputra. But for what duration the Muruṇḍas continued to rule in South Bihar is a matter of uncertainty. If the Chinese account of sending an emissary from Siam to the court of a Muruṇḍa king is authentic, then they seem to have reigned till the first quarter of the third century A.D. It may be suggested that Magadha was under the Muruṇḍa rule till c. 230 A.D.

The Nāgas and the Koṭas

According to Jayaswal the Nāgas, in c. 2nd-3rd century A.D. established an empire extending from Mathurā to Bhāagalpur and that a Koṭa dynasty flourished in Magadha under them. The existence of a Nāga empire as envisaged by Dr. Jayaswal is now no longer tenable, but the possibility of a Nāga family ruling with its capital at Campā is not unlikely. From the Allahabad Pillar inscriptions of Samudra Gupta it would appear that Pāṭaliputra was under the Koṭas till 350 A.D. But Koṭa coins are found in Delhi and east Punjab only. The Guptas who are known to have flourished from 275 A.D. had undoubtedly occupied Magadha by 325 A.D. It is just possible that the Koṭa family had accepted the suzerainty of the Guptas, but under the disturbed conditions towards the closing years of the reiga of Candra Gupta I and immediately after his death a prince of that family usurped power at Pāṭaliputra. Later on he was captured by Samudra Gupta who re-occupied the Magadhan capital.

The Āṭavikarājās of the Chotanagpur region

The southernmost region of Bihar, the Chotanagpur Plateau was from very early times detached from Magadha, owing to its geographical situation. With the Āryan
occupation of Magadha, the non-Āryans seem to have taken shelter in the wild tracks of Chotanagpur where they may have felt secured. Even in the time of the Buddha the region does not seem to have a large number of Āryan settlements. The Buddha did not go further south beyond the northern portions of the Hazaribagh district. It is obvious that during the period under review the region was mostly inhabited by tribes whose political and cultural traditions were not identical with those current in Magadha. The whole region seems to have been divided into several tribal principalities, ruled by kings, known as the ātavikarājās. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta refers to eighteen ātavikarājās among whom must have been included rulers belonging to the forest track of Chotanagpur also, and many of them may have been non-Āryan chiefs. The ancestors of these kings must have been ruling during this period, but due to the lack of data nothing is known of them. Extensive explorations work and archaeological excavations are needed, in order to throw light on the history of this region.\textsuperscript{38}

Administration:

Very little is known about the administrative set up of this period on account of the lack of material. It is quite natural to expect that certain aspects of administration of the days of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas must have been retained in South Bihar for a long time. As in the earlier period, the king of Magadha was known as Rājā during the reign of the Mitras.\textsuperscript{39} He seems to have been assisted by a Council of Ministers which was an important feature of ancient Indian administration (even provincial viceroys were having a council of minister under the Maurya administration). When the Kushāṇas annexed Magadha they introduced the satrapal system of government in Bihar, as they had done in other regions under
them. They could not evolve any sound provincial government either on the Mauryan or Roman lines, though they were influenced by the latter.\textsuperscript{41} The Satrap (Kshatrapa) used to be generally a scion of the royal family (the conquered princes were also made Satraps). A Satrap may have been posted at Pātaliputra. The Sarnath inscription of Kaṇṭhishka’s reign mentions a Kṣatrapa and a Mahākṣatrapa who were in charge of the eastermost province of the Kushāṇas which included South Bihar also. If we are to believe the Purānic tradition, it can be inferred that a Kṣatrapa ruled Magadhā. What exactly were the civil functions of the Kṣatrapa are not known. Inscriptions refer to the erecting of Buddha images and the establishing of relics. From the Purānic account he seems to have been wielding powers of an autocrat, with very little control by the centre. As the Kushāṇas considered themselves devaputra, the royal authority seem to have become stronger, curtailing the powers of the muntriparishad, both in the centre and the provinces. They also associated in the administration the near and dear relations of the king like sons, grandsons, brothers, and nephews who had sometimes equal powers with the king. It is probably due to these that the Purāṇas are so critical of the rule of Viśvaphani (Vanasphara). Inscriptions refer also to the dandanāyako (dandanāyaka)\textsuperscript{42} through which the Kṣatrapa seems to have exercised his military functions. The system introduced by the Kushāṇas might have been continued by the Muraṇḍas too.

As regards the district, town and village administration, there is no information available. Village administration was not likely to undergo any appreciable change, as it has generally remained unaffected by the change of governments. Town and district administrations may have remained as during the Maurya period with certain modifications.
References

   According to the Purānic tradition it was Simuka, the founder of the Śatavāhana dynasty who replaced the last Kāñca ruler and established himself at Pātaliputra. There are considerable difficulties in accepting this tradition that Simuka was the contemporary of the last Kāñca King.
   Balamitra and Bhānumitra are mentioned as kings of Magadhā in one of the works of Merutūṅga, a famous Jain author (IHQ, Vol. V, p. 398).
7. Dhanadeva of the Ayodhyā pillar inscription was a Śuṅga ruler and is described as the sixth in descent from Pushyamitra (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I. p. 96.) some of the Kāñcayāna kings and also some tribal (e.g. Audumbaras, Kulutas etc.) rulers had adapted Mitra endings with their names.
10. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 96.
13. For the Hathigumpha inscription see *JBORS*, III, IV, XIII, XIV; *EI*, XX, 72f.; Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 205. Allan objects to the reading Bahasatimitra in the Hathigumpha inscription and suggests bahu (sa....) idita (CAI, XCVII). But most of the scholars have accepted the reading Bahasatimita. Dr. D. C. Sircar prefers the identification of Bahasatimita.
with Bṛhaspatimitra of the Pabhossā inscription (Age of Imperial Unity, p. 214).


16. There are two main views on the date of king Khāravela of Kalinga: according to the one, maintained by Rapson, Jayaswal, Sten Konow (IHQ, 1929, p. 587-594, JBORS, Vol. III, pp. 473-895, 425-72; Acta Orientalia Vol. I, p. 29) and others, he flourished in the second century B.C. and was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śunga; the other view places him in the first century B.C. Sri R. P. Chanda after examining the agreements of scholars assigning him to the days of Pushyamitra, places his accession in c. 80 B.C. (IHQ, 1929, pp. 587-613). According to Dr. H.C. Ray Chaudhary king Khāravela was anointed Maharāja of Kalinga in c. 28 B.C. (PHAI, VIth ed., p. 419). He invaded Magadha twice, in the 8th & 12th years of his consecration (Hāthigumpha inscription, lines 7, 8), i.e. in c. 21 B.C. & 17 B.C. respectively.

17. Sircar, D. G., Select Inscriptions, pp. 208-9, lines, 7, 8, 11, 12 of the Hāthigumbha inscription.

18. It is said in the inscription that Supushpa, an ancestor of Jayadeva (330-355 A.D.) was born in Pushpapura, 23 generations before him. Dr. Jayaswal allotting an average of 15 years reign period for a king places Supushpa in the first century A. D. (History of India, 150-330 A.D., pt. III; for the inscription see IA, Vol. IX, p. 178; Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 184-85).


20. JNSI, XII, 1950, pp. 122.

21. An inscription occurring on the Buddha image at Sārnāth states that it was inscribed on the 22nd day of the 3rd month of winter in the 3rd regnal year of Kanishka. It also mentions Kharatrapa Vanashpara and Mahākharatrapa Kharapallana (EI, VIII, p. 176 and plate).

22. P. L. Gupta (IHQ, 1953, 'Eastern Extension of the Kushāṇa Empire) opposes the view maintaining the existence of Kushāṇa rule in eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. He maintains that the Kushāṇa rule did not extend beyond Kānyakubja to the east. His main objections to the acceptance
of Kushāṇa rule beyond Kānyakubja are, (1) the Kushāṇa inscriptions are very few in eastern U. P. compared to their provenance in the west of Kānauj; (2) Vanasphara and Kharaspallana are not described as governors stationed at Sārnāth; (3) coins found in U. P. and Bihar do not suggest Kushāṇa domination; they are found because of trade and being in circulation over a wide area in the country. But there are other factors which appear to have been neglected by Gupta. He has attached no significance to the Chinese account about the conquest of eastern India by the Kushāṇas and the evidence of the Purāṇas regarding Vanasphara. Kushāṇa records are not found in large numbers in the east, because the main centre of the activities of the Kushāṇas was in the north-west, and the eastern region remained under them for comparatively a shorter duration. Tradition connects Vanasphara only with Magadha. Large circulation of copper coins in eastern U. P. and Bihar cannot be explained as the result of mere trade. (It is to be noted that hoard of eighty or so Kushāṇa copper coins were discovered in the Kushāṇa strata in excavations at Chirand in the Saran district in north Bihar.—Ed.)

23. The 23 coins, the issues of Wema Kadphises show Śiva standing with His Bull. Out of 159 coins attributed to Kanishka, 44 are of the Vata type, 7 bear four-armed, Śīva, and 108 have unidentified deities. Among Huvishka’s issues, 88 are of the elephant-rider type and on 84 the king is seen seated crosleged. 33 coins are undeciphered, and the rest belong to other dynasties (Altekar: JNSI, XII, 1950). All the coins are in the collection of the Patna Museum.


26. Dr. A. S. Altekar allots at least 50 years as the circulation period of the coins in the Buxar hoard (JNSI, XII, p. 121) and at least 60 years for all Kushāṇa coins current in Bihar (JNSI, XIII, p. 146).
27. Mahâbodhi, p. 20, pl. X, 11. Probably a coin was placed beneath the Vajrásana when it was re-established in the reign of Huvishka. Later on the coin was stolen, but its impression remained.

28. Kushâna coins were found in the Karra and Belwâdag thanas of the Ranchi district (JBORS, I, pp. 231-32, V, p. 78; IHQ, XXVII, p. 297). They also travelled up to Bengal and Orissa where they have been found in Tamulk, Murshidabed, Bogra, Mayurbhanj and Sisupalgarh (IHQ, XXVII, ‘Eastern Expansion of Kushâna Empire by A. Banerjee). But this does not lead to the conclusion that Bengal and Orissa also had been included within the Kushâna empire for a time as thinks A. Banerjee (Ibid), because there is no corroborative evidence to support this.

29. Kumbrar Excavations Report (1951-55), p. 113. As these terracotta figurines are ‘indigenous in manufacture their Kushâna Characteristics cannot be explained as a result of trade transaction. The potter who moulded the figurines must have been Kushânas in their typical dress.

30. IA, VIII (1836), pp. 475 f; XXXII (1903), p. 382. CII, II, LXXIX. ‘Sri Dharmapitakanidhanâtra (Fou-fa-ts’ang-in-iuen-k’ing, Nanjio, 1940) is a anonymous history of the twenty three patriarchs from Mahâkâsyapa to Sthita. The stories from the work form a biography of A’svaghosha. The greater part of it has been reproduced or simply copied in the Fou-tsou-teung-ki, (Nanjio, 1661)’—IA. 1903, p. 382. The king of Pâtaliputra is said to have offered the Kushâna conqueror 900,000 pieces of gold as indemnity, and unable to amass this huge amount presented the bowl of the Buddha (JOR, IX, p. 50).

31. CII, II, lxxv.

32. CIII, II, lxxvii.

33. Vassiliéf’s Târanâtha, Trans. M.La Comme, p. 210, referred to in JOR., IX, p. 49. According to another tradition, Kanishka took away the almshowl of the Buddha from North Bihar (JBORS, VI, p. 3).

34. IA, 1918, p. 298; JBORS, 1920, p. 150. The Pûrânas may be regarded as referring to Vanaśphara himself or one of the members of the family known after him
who may have become powerful. But as he is described as the king of Magadha, Purāṇas seem to be referring to the Kushāṇa Ksatrapa Vanasphaṭa stationed there.

35. Vāyu Purāṇa, 371-74; Dynasties of Kali Age; IA, 1918, p. 298.

36. Pargiter, Dynasties of Kali Age, p. 52.


38. JBIORS, VI, p. 22.

39. JNSI, XII, p. 122. In one place Dr. Altekar has assigned 80-85 years for the duration of the Kushāṇa rule in Bihar Kumhara ex Report, p. 10.


41. Prabhudāma, a sister of the Śaka king Rudrasena I was probably married in Vaiśali. Two seals found at Vaiśali describe her as Mahādevī. ASR, 1918-14, p. 136. If her husband was a Śaka ruler, it would appear that Śaka rulers continued to rule both in southern and northern Bihar till the third century, A.D. But the Śaka princess may not have been married only to a Śaka prince, as they were intermarrying with Kahatriyas. The western Ksatrapas had established matrimonial alliance even with the Sāvatvāhanas of the Deccan who were Brāhmaṇas.

42. Pargiter: DKA p. 46; The Purāṇas tell us that 13 Muruṇḍas ruled in the country for 200 years (IC, III, p. 49).

43. Vīkaṭāla paṭrittis, 3; Abhidhānav-Rajendra, VI, p. 320: IC, III, p. 49. In the Jain work Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi of Merutunga (Bombay, 1883) the Muruṇḍajarāja is said to have been residing at Paṭaliputra.

44. The Chinese source tells us that in the third century A.D. there was an embassy from China to Fu-Nan (Siam). Just at that time the envoys sent to India by the king of Fu-Nan had returned. The Chinese met the Siamese envoys and received an account of India from them which they recorded. The account mentions a king Meou-loun ruling somewhere in India. S. Levi identifies Meou-loun with Muruṇḍa. The Chinese account represents the Muruṇḍa king as a suzerain of great power, to whom kings from distant regions paid allegiance and whose capital was probably Paṭaliputra (IC, III, p. 729, see also Journal of Greater India Society, 1943; IHQ, XXVII). All the available information regard-
ing the Murunças have been collected by S. Levi in his paper "Deux Peuples Mecounus in Melanges Charles de Harlez," Leiden, 1896, pp. 176-85 ref. to in IC, III, p. 729.


47. *History of India*, 150-350 A.D., pp. 55, 123.

48. The Vāyu and *Brahmanda Purāṇa* describe Campāvati as a capital of the Nāgas (Pargiter's *Dynasties of Kali Age*; K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150-350 A.D., p. 55). Moreover South Bihar was from very early times a centre of Nāga worship and Nāga families flourished here. It is just possible that a Nāga prince carved out a principality at Campa.

49. If proper attention is given to the region, one may be able to trace back the history of many of the surviving royal families of the region to very ancient times. It is not unlikely that the royal Nāga dynasty of Chotanagpur is proved to have descended from one of the important branches of the Nāgas. Nāgas seem to have played an important role in the history of the region, which derived the name Nagpur due to her Nāga settlements. It is just possible that the Nāgas, who have been described as hostile to Āryans from the Vedic period onwards, when driven by them, took shelter in the forest of Chotanagpur.

50. Ṣāttīgampha Inscription, line, 12.


52. JRAS, 1907, p. 645; CII, II, 1.
CHAPTER XXII

Political History of North Bihar
(C. 187 B.C.-319 A.D.)

The Mauryan empire formally came to an end with the severing of the head of King Bṛhadratha by Pushyamitra Śuṅga. However, no definite evidence of the Śuṅga rule over North Bihar is available. The occurrence of silver coins of Sumitra in Western Nepal may suggest that the Śuṅgas exercised their sway over parts of Nepal since the time of Agnimitra. It may be presumed, then, that the Śuṅgas must have controlled North Bihar which could have served as a base of operations against Nepal. Three Vaišāli terracottas have been assigned to the Śuṅga period. Śuṅga terracottas have been discovered in Jaimangalgarh and Naulagarh in the Begusarai district. If Patanjali is to be relied upon, Vaiśāli was relegated to a most insignificant position of a janapada while Videha continued to be a republic. The Śuṅgas were the followers of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda and as such they could be popular in Mithilā. Pushyamitra belonged to the well-known family of Bhāradvāja. Since Mithilā was the centre of the Yajurveda, typified by the present village named Yajaur, the rise of the Śuṅgas could have been acclaimed by the people of North Bihar. However, this hypothesis of the Śuṅga rule over Mithilā due to lack of any positive evidence is conjectural. The Śuṅgas were overthrown by the Kāṇvas; about the extent of their rule little is known definitely. There is a reference in the Purāṇas that their feudatories owed them allegiance. After the Kāṇvas, the Āndhras came to power, but there is no evidence that they raided North Bihar also.

An Oriya MSS of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa gives a statement to the effect that Khāravela led an expedition to
Nepal. It is difficult to make much of this unconfirmed statement about his expedition into Nepal. In the twelfth year of his reign, he brought treasures from Aṅga and Magadha (EI-XX-79-80). Since Anga might have included a portion of North Bihar, it is likely that the tremor of his terrible campaign might have been felt in North Bihar. On such uncorroborated conjectures it is hardly fair to hold that Pāṭaliputra and the adjoining territories (Tirhut etc.) were subordinated by Khāravela and the rulers of northern India probably ruled as vassal kings and paid tributes to the Kaliṅga rules.  

The Nepal inscription of Licchavi Jayadeva II of 758 A.D. informs us that one of his ancestors Supushpa Licchavi was born at the city of Pāṭaliputra in the beginning of the Christian era. This particular inscription hints at the possibility of the occupation of Pāṭaliputra by the Licchavis of Nepal in the beginning of the Christian era. The Licchavis had aspired to do so for centuries. Jayaswal has suggested that the disturbances caused to the Sātavāhana empire by the appearance of Kadphises and Wema Kadphises in northern India afforded an opportunity to the Licchavis to fill up the vacuum at Pāṭaliputra. The Licchavis continued to advance till they were checked by Vanasphara, the Kushāṇa viceroy of Magadha. The Sātavāhana conquest of Magadha does not seem to have resulted in permanent occupation. If they ruled at all, they ruled for a very brief period and ultimately left Magadha to its own fate. For the present we have no evidence to suggest the occupation of Tirhut by the Sātavāhanas. If the Licchavis filled up the vacuum at Pāṭaliputra, as is generally believed, the natural conclusion seems to be that they (Licchavis) were possibly in possession of Vaiśālī at that time.

The extent of Kushāṇa rule in North Bihar

The rise of the Kushāṇas in Indian history constitutes a landmark in the annals of our cultural progress. Kanishka
was the most important king of this dynasty. It was he who extended the frontiers of the Kushāṇa empire from Khoṭan to Pāṭaliputra. Epigraphic evidences tend to show that he came into conflict with the rulers of Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra in eastern India. The traditions regarding the Kushāṇa rule in eastern India are preserved in the Chinese sources. Kanishka is credited by the Buddhist writers to have invaded Magadha. Kushāṇa relics and inscriptions have been recently discovered at Kauśāmbī and Kushāṇa coins and amulets have been abundantly found at Gorakhpur, Buxar, Pāṭaliputra, Belwa, Vaiśālī, Chirand and Nepal. A gold coin found at Mahasthan in West Bengal represents the standing bearded figure of Kanishka possibly in imitation of the Kushāṇa coinage. The extension of the Kushāṇa rule in north and west Bengal would suggest the existence of the Kushāṇa rule in the easternmost part of north Bihar. Jayaswal holds that the occurrence of Kharoshṭhyi writing on the Bodhgaya plaque, fire-altar and other Iranian marks discovered at Patna and Basarh by Spooner and at Belwa (Saran) by H. Pandya, may be best explained by the continuance of the Kushāṇa rule in Bihar from the time of Kanishka to that of Vāsudeva. The Chinese sources confirm the existence of the Kushāṇa rule in Bihar. The Śrīdharapitakaṇidānasūtra records that Kanishka defeated the king of Pāṭaliputra and accepted Asvaghosha as indemnity. Kanishka also took away Buddha’s alms-bowl from north Bihar. It is believed that the venerated alms-bowl of Buddha was taken away from Vaiśālī to Purushapura. Vaiśālī was celebrated in the early ages of Buddhism for the possession of the alms-bowl of the Buddha which he had given to the Licchavis at Kesariya. Fah-Sien and Hsüan Tsang mention this point. Tāranātha says “The king of the little Yuechi invaded Magadha and carried off the bowl of the Buddha.”
The Chinese translation of Kumāralāta’s *Kalpanā-
maṇḍiṭīka*, composed shortly after the reign of Kanishka, suggests that Kanishka conquered *Tien-Chu* or Eastern India and pacified the country. *Kiu-sha* is the family name of the Kushāṇas. Kumāralāta has been identified with Kuśa-
dvipa of the Purāṇas. Kanishka has been described as a man of awe-inspiring power. The *Satralankara* of Aśva-
ghosha seems to refer to the wide extent of the Kushāṇa empire. The Tibetan and the Chinese writings contain traditions of his conflict with the king of Magadha. The king of Pātaliputra offered nine hundred thousand pieces of gold to purchase peace and being unable to amass this huge amount, gave the conqueror the alms-bowl of the Buddha. This would suggest that the ruler of Pātaliputra was also the ruler of Vaiśālī. This may also, therefore indirectly suggest that North Bihar besides South Bihar felt the weight of the Kushāṇa overlordship.

E. H. Walsh has recorded that a hoard of Kushāṇa coins was dug out in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu. They were coins of Wema-Kadphises and Kanishka. Jayaswal believed in the extension of the Kushāṇa rule in Nepal. It has been pointed out that this meagre evidence does not indicate any real political subjugation of Nepal to the Kushāṇas. Regmi, on the other hand, believes that the coins of Kadphises I and II proved that these two Kushāṇa emperors had Nepal under their control. Possibly it was through Champaran that the Kushāṇa extended their sway upto Nepal. The discovery of the Kushāṇa coins in Champaran may indicate their authority in that region. A hoard of sixty pieces of copper coins of the early Kushāṇas was dug out at the village Radhiya. Kushāṇa coins have also been discovered from Belwa in Saran district. Kushāṇa copper coins in stratified Kushāṇa layer have been found at Chirand in Saran district. Some
pieces of Kanishka type of coins and a coin of Kadphises II were discovered from Basarh in 1913-14. Altekar has pointed out that the Kushāṇa copper coins did not travel to central or western India by trade and "if therefore, they are found to be fairly numerous at Vaiśālī and Paṭaliputra, if a hoard almost exclusively consisting of them, is found at Buxar consisting of coins extremely worn out, the conclusion seems to be irresistible that Magadha was conquered by the Kushāṇas early in their dynastic history." On the same ground Chirand find of a hoard of Kushāṇa copper coins in excavations proves the rule of Kushāṇas over North Bihar. It was probably Wema Kadphises who conquered north India. Seals, bearing the inscription 'Hastadevasya' in Kushāṇa script, have been discovered from Vaiśālī. Kanishka gave patronage to and spread the teaching of the Buddha not only in India, but also in Kashgar, Kucha, Nepal, China, Yunan and other countries. Even the coins of some kings of Nepal show unmistakable adaptations of such familiar Kushāṇa type as a "king sacrificing at the altar." All these evidences tend to support the view that "they (Kushāṇas) extended as far as Tirhut and its neighbouring tracts."

For the administrative convenience the Kushāṇa empire was divided into provinces and kept under the imperial viceroys. The eastern portion of the empire was apparently governed by Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna and Kshhtrapa Vanasphara. Jayaswal believes that Vanasphara has been described in the Purāṇas as a barbarian ruler in Magadha with Mongol features. These two governors are known to us from the Sarnath Inscription. Vanasphara was the governor of Oudh and Magadha with headquarters at Vārāṇasī and in the year 81 A. D., he was incharge of the province of the north-east. Vanasphara has been spelt in the Purāṇas as Viśvapataṭika, Viśvapahāṇi and
Vimśaphäti. He ruled Magadha between 90 and 120 A.D. He was incharge of the north-eastern provinces.

It would be profitable to refer to the Muruṇḍas at this place. Geographer Ptolemy supplies us with some interesting details about a people, with a definite area, known as Maroundai. Among the tributaries to the Gangā Ptolemy refers to Bepyrrhos. He also refers to Kauśiki. Maroudai occupied an extensive territory which comprised Tirhut. The Muruṇḍas may be related to the Śaka-Muruṇḍas, mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. According to the Vayupurāṇa, the Muruṇḍas belonged to the Mleccha tribe. The town of Maroundai lay possibly between Maldah and lower valley of the Bagmati and the Gaṇḍakī. Ptolemy brings to light the specific features of the hill tribes of north India and says, 'Between the Imaos and Bepyrrhos ranges Takoraioi are the farthest north and below them are Korangkaloi, then the Passalai (identified with Vaiśālī by Cunningham.),' after whom to the north of Maiandros are Tiladai, such being the name applied to Beseidai, for they are short of stature and broad and shaffy, and broad-faced but of fair complexion.' Passalai is to be identified with Vaiśālī, a kingdom stretching from the Gangā along the banks of river Gaṇḍakī. Ptolemy has also referred to a small village of Salempur on the Gaṇḍakī and another place connected with this river was Kondota.

Line 23 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription refers to the Śaka-Muruṇḍas. Dr. Sten Konow has pointed out that Muruṇḍa is the later form of a Śaka word meaning lord or master. According to Hemacandra, the Lampakas were also known as Muruṇḍas (lampakastu muruṇḍah syu). Lampaka was the capital of the Śakas. According to Ptolemy the Śaka-Muruṇḍas seem to have extensive territory, probably the whole of north Bihar on the east bank of the Gangā to
the head of the delta. They had six important cities.\textsuperscript{10} Purāṇas mention Śakas and Muruṇḍas separately.\textsuperscript{11} The Chinese sources give a brief history of the Muruṇḍas of Kipin.\textsuperscript{12} From the combined testimony of the Jain and the Chinese writers as well as Ptolemy, it appears that the Muruṇḍas held sway over a considerable part of eastern India. In the age of Ptolemy, Gangaridae confronted a powerful tribe, the Maroundae. The limits of the region occupied by the Maroundae at this time may be defined with some precision. They lived to the south of the territory from Uttarakośala to the upper course of the Sarayū or Ghāghara. The Maroundae lived along the eastern side of the upper Gangetic course which included Mithilā, extended from the Gaṇḍakī to the Mahānandā and reached the apex of the Gangetic delta.\textsuperscript{13} Levi has given very interesting details about the Muruṇḍas in India.\textsuperscript{14} L. Renou does not consider the six cities, referred to by Ptolemy, B. C. Law and Levi, as belonging to the Muruṇḍas.\textsuperscript{15} The Jain tradition maintains that Paṭaliputra was under the rule of the Muruṇḍas.\textsuperscript{16} According to the Purāṇas, Visvaphani ruled over Magadhā before the rise of the Guptas.\textsuperscript{17} Some MSS of the Vāyu-purāṇa bring the Kaivartas into prominence.\textsuperscript{18} We learn from the Jain version of the Simhāsanadvatrimśikā that the city of Paṭaliputra was under the sway of Muruṇḍarāja. We learn that Padalipata cured king Muruṇḍa of Paṭaliputra of his terrible headache.\textsuperscript{19} Levi has shown that an echo of the Jain tradition is also found in the Chinese works. According to another legend, a Muruṇḍa king was the master of thirty six hundred thousand people of Kanauj.\textsuperscript{20}

In our opinion, the Maroundae of Ptolemy cannot be connected with Lampaka Muruṇḍa nor with the Munḍás, but they can be connected with the Maladas, and Maṇḍas of the Epics and the Purāṇas.\textsuperscript{21} They are also mentioned
in the Rāmāyana as Malajas occupying the district of Shahabad originally but dislodged by demoness Taḍakā and then migrated to the east and settled in the district of Maldah." Takoraioi of Ptolemy seems to be a tribe and may be identified with one mentioned in the Brahmi inscription at Basarh, which reads as—"Anusamayakatakare". This has been translated as "seal of the Vaiśāli Police at Takara". Reading of this particular seal has been done in a peculiar manner and hence it cannot be taken as certain. The reading of another seal is—"Amratakeśvara". This seal bears the figure of a dhaga with a triśūla. No definite conclusion from these seals can be presented at the present state of our knowledge. Though there is no definite evidence to show that the Śakas ever conquered North Bihar, Ptolemy’s reference to the occupation of North Bihar by the Śaka-Muruṇḍas might have been based upon some solid evidence now lost to us. We cannot reject Ptolemy outright. The author of the Gārgī-Saṁhitā had possibly some faithful record of a historical chronicle before him and the point stands further confirmed when we see that Varāhamihira quotes him as an established authority. The association of the Kirātas with the Śakas enables us to infer that the Śaka-Muruṇḍas were in occupation of a very thin strip of land in the north-eastern India stretching from the hills of the Himalāya to Maldah in North Bengal.

B. C. Sen has identified 'Mandaloy' of Ptolemy with Maṇḍalādhhipati but his findings have been rightly questioned by another scholar on the ground that 'Mandaloy' and 'Maroundae' are one and synonymous," and they may have played no insignificant part in the politics of eastern India after the disintegration of the Kushāṇa empire." From the combined testimony of the Jain, the Chinese writers and Ptolemy, it appears that a considerable portion of ancient India was under the Muruṇḍas in the second and third
centuries A.D.** Half a century after Ptolemy, Oppien mentions “Muruandien” people as a Gangetic people living in the Indian plains. Levi’s account of the Murunças is not supported by Renou who mentions six cities of Ptolemy as lying between the country of Marundai and that of the Gangaridae.** An echo of the Jain tradition of the occupation of Pataliputra by the Murunças is also found in the Chinese works. During the rule of the Wu-dynasty (220-277 A.D.), the king of Funan (Cambodia) named Fanchen sent one of his relatives Su-Wu as ambassador to India. The mention of “Meou-Loun” is important here in the sense that Levi identifies it with the Murunças.** Sen holds that the Murunças were in possession of an extensive territory extending from Gorakhpur to Bengal. They were possibly viceroys under the Kushānas and they took the earliest opportunity in carving out an independent kingdom after the decline of the Kushānas. As soon as the bow of Ulysses was weakened the provinces raised their heads and asserted independence.

In Vaiśāli excavations of 1913-14, an inscribed seal bearing the following legend was discovered (RASIA-1913-14 Plate XLVII No. 248) “Rājña Mahākṣhatrapasya Svāmī Rudrasimhasya Duhitā Rājña Mahākṣhatrapasya Svāmī Rudrasenasya Bhaginyā Mahādevyā Prabhudamaya**; that is, the seal of the great queen Prabhudamā, sister of the Mahākṣhatrapa Svāmī Rudrasena and daughter of Mahākṣhatrapa Rudrasimha. This has led Thakura to assert that “the place must have been under Rudrasena I, the son of Rudrasimha, the Mahākṣhatrapa of Ujjain.”**

In the beginning of the third century A.D., the political influence of the Western Satrapas was still very high and Rudrasena was considered to be a very powerful king (200-222 A.D.). In view of their political position, matrimonial alliances with them were sought by chiefs and
rulers far and near. From the Basarh clay sealing, written in Brāhmī script, it is not clear whose Mahādevī this Prabhudamā was, for her husband’s name is omitted in the seal. Altekar says, “It is not unlikely that he was either a hitherto unknown Hindu ruler of eastern India, who had married a Scythian princess, or a Hinduised Kushāṇa chief, ruling over a small principality in Magadha which had survived the collapse of the Kushāṇa empire.” Whoever he (husband of Prabhudamā) might have been in political importance, he certainly compared unfavourably with Rudrasena, as Prabhudamā preferred to recite her paternal connections and not her husband’s name. We learn that another relation of Rudrasena I or II was Mahādevī Rudrabhattārikā of Ujjain. It is not improbable that Prabhudamā was married to a chief of the Licchavis who appear to have dominated in the region before the rise of the Guptas.” Rudrasena, brother of Prabhudamā may be identical with Kshatrapa Rudrasena I. Since Rudrasena is called Mahākshatrapa, Rudrasimha, the father of Prabhudamā, was apparently dead at the time of clay sealing and was succeeded by Rudrasena. The Vaiśālī seal, therefore, seems to fall within the period between 200 and 222 A.D. The seal does not seem to have been carried to Basarh from outside and so the great queen Prabhudamā must have lived there. It has been held that the region probably formed a part of the Muruṇḍa dominion and Prabhudamā was probably a Muruṇḍa queen. She boasts of her paternal glory. She might have been given in marriage to a Muruṇḍa chief and by this matrimonial alliance, the Śakas of western India hoped to strengthen their hands.” The Bull-figure on the seal possibly shows the respect of the Śaka-Muruṇḍas for god Śiva, though we have hardly any archaeological evidence to connect these alien Muruṇḍas with Śaivism.
The difficulty is all the more increased when we view things historically. The Licchavis seem to have come to power in Vaiśālī in the third century A. D., when Prabhudamā is believed to have been a Mahādevī at Vaiśālī. We cannot preclude the possibility of the fact that there were some Śaka trade centres in Vaiśālī and it is probably they who brought the seal of Mahādevī Prabhudamā for their use in business transactions at Vaiśālī. On the basis of a stray solitary seal it is impossible to deduce that she wielded any political influence in Vaiśālī as some scholars seem to uphold. Darsath Sharma has tried to prove that she was a Gupta queen. The view seems to be untenable. Mr. Jagannath has tried to show that the husband of Prabhudamā was an Āndhra king. If we accept this proposition, it would mean that up to 220 A. D. Magadha was held by the Āndhra dynasty which came to an end in 228 A. D. R. D. Banerji held that in the opening decade of the fourth century A. D., Magadha was ruled by a Scythian satrap. K. P. Jayaswal and P. L. Gupta have tried to show that the predecessors of the Guptas in Magadha were the Varman kings. This view has been totally rejected by a number of scholars. It is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion about the identification of Prabhudamā of the Vaiśālī seal.

Jayaswal has suggested that the Kushāṇa empire collapsed owing to the onslaughts of the Brāhmaṇas. He bases his Nāga-Bhāraśīva theory almost entirely on numismatic evidence. Altekar has shown how the numismatic data do not support the theory at all. It has been held that immediately following the Kushāṇas in Bihar, a clan of Bankhara (or Banaphara) Rajputs wielded imperial power. The Nāga-Vākāṭakas are said to have ruled between the fall of the Kushāṇas and the rise of the Guptas. According to Jayaswal, the family history of Ganapatiṇāga has been in-
cluded in a MSS of a poetical work in Mithilā claiming to have been written in the reign of Gaṇapatipāga and dedicated to him.38 Jayaswal relies mainly on the Purāṇas and considers the Nāgas to be the rulers of both eastern and western Bihar.79 There is nothing definite to show that the Nāga-Vākaṭaka ever succeeded in establishing their suzerainty over north-eastern India in general and north Bihar in particular. The Bhārs of north Bihar are said to be associated with the Nāga-Bhāraśivas. The Bhārs are even to-day found in U.P. and Bihar. It is believed and preserved in their folk-tradition that they were once the rulers in the plains. According to Crooke, they were of Dravidian origin.77 Risley believes that the Bhārs of Bihar were a Hinduized branch of the original stock. The Bhārs of Bihar claim affinity with the Bhārs of North-western provinces. Mythic tales and legend have surrounded their origin. The Uberae of Megasthenes have been identified with the Bhārs.39 The reference to Maroundae is particularly interesting in as much as it shows them linked up with north Bihar in the second century A.D. According to Megasthenes, as reported by Pliny, the Molindae formed a group with the Modubae, Uberae Galmodreesi, Preti, Catissa, Sasuri, Passulae, Colubae, Orxulae, Abali and the Taluctae. These tribes may have chiefly occupied the “regions between the left bank of the Gaṅgā and the Himālayas.”78 The Bhārs were thus, known even as early as the days of Megasthenes. They are said to have been the former rulers.38 This connects them with the Bhāraśivas. According to Smith, some Rajputs are descended from the Bhārs and Candella Rajputs are originally Hinduized Bhārs. Smith does not accept the Dravidian origin of the Bhārs. It has been rightly pointed out by Magrath that they are now one of the most degraded races of Bihar. Oppert has pointed out that their sway continued till the twelfth century A.D. According to a popular tradition, a
Bhār chief established a Phallus of Śiva in the Barabar hills of Gaya district. The Bhārs in north Bihar claim to have been descended from the Bhāraśivas who are said to have reached the Gangā through Beghelliand. Smith took them to be former rulers. A popular tradition, current among the Bhārs,\(^{11}\) says that the responsibility of driving the Śakas out fell upon the shoulders of the Bhārs.\(^{12}\) They not only saved India but also preserved the Śiva cult. The remains of the Bhārs in north Bihar are in Champaran, Begusarai, Madhepura and other parts of Tirhut. The north-eastern portion of Begusarai is believed to have been long under the sway of the Bhārs, traces of which are still found in the ruined forts of tappa Saraunja. Raibhir in Madhepura subdivision was probably another centre of the Bhārs and there were about six mounds which were only recently eroded by the river Kosi. There is even now a good number of Bhār population at Rabindra, near Singheshvarasthan in Madhepura subdivision of the Saharsa district. The place is important from the point of view of religion as well. Stray objects are occasionally found. Though there is no positive evidence to show whether the Nāga-Bhāraśiva ruled over North Bihar or not, it can be suggested with some amount of certainty that the Bhārs played some important part in North Bihar. But it is difficult to connect them with the Bhāraśivas.

The Licchavis of Vaiśāli and Nepal

The defeat of the Licchavis at the hands of their arch-enemy Ajātaśatru left them powerless and we know very little of their subsequent history. Kauṭilya’s reference to the Licchavis, living under a Saṃgha form of government, enables us to suggest that they probably maintained their democratic institution, even under the Mauryas. The remains of the time of Aśoka have been found at Vaiśāli. The happenings of Vaiśāli, contemporaneous with Aśoka,
have been preserved, though inaccurately, in the Tibetan tradition and by Tāranātha. Vaiśālī, till then, continued to be an important Buddhist centre but was under the Mauryas.

The Licchavis and the Mallas figured as prominent republican clans in north Bihar in the early Buddhist and Jain literatures. In the early Christian era, these clans probably sought the safety of the hills of Nepal during the periods of political troubles in India caused by foreign inroads and internal wars. Jayaswal believes that seven rulers before Jayadeva I were rulers obviously in the plains at Vaiśālī. They had annexed Nepal in about 200 A.D., and established a direct government. Thus there seems to have been a gap in the history of Nepal between the Kirāta and the Licchavi epochs (110-205 A.D.). It is not filled up by the written history of Nepal.

From the Vamśavali and other sources, it appears that the Kirāta rule in Nepal was followed by the Somavamsī and Śūryavamsī rulers. It is with the Śūryavamsī Licchavis that the historical period of Nepal begins. They ruled over a considerable portion of Nepal till 1879 A.D. The date of the foundation of the Licchavi power in Nepal cannot be determined with any amount of precision. The inscriptions of the Nepalese Licchavis range between 386 and 535 of an unspecified era. D.C. Sircar favours referring them to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and he believes that the Licchavis must have established themselves in Nepal long before the middle of the fifth century A.D. because the earliest dated inscription is 386 (464 A.D.) referring not only to the Licchavi king Mānadeva but also to his three predecessors Dharmadeva, Śaṅkaradeva and Vṛshabhadeva. According to Sircar, Kumāradevī was a daughter of a Licchavi king of Nepal. The important Licchavi rulers of Nepal were
Jayadeva, Vṛshabhadeva, Śaṅkaradeva, Dharmadeva, Mānadeva and so on. Rulers nos. 2 to 12 in the Vaiśāvali are omitted in the inscriptions. The inscription of Jayadeva II refers to the illustrious Licchavi. Fleet suggested that verse 6 of the inscription of Jayadeva II is of immense importance showing that in addition to the appellation of the Licchavīvamsa or the Licchavikula, the family had another original name which is however recorded. At the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8, it is mentioned that king Supushpa was born at Pāṭaliputra. Fleet believes that this part of the inscription relates to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Licchavis of Nepal. After Supushpa, omitting 23 kings, there was Jayadeva I who is regarded by Bhagwanlal as the first ruling and really historical member of the family. As no previous Jayadeva is mentioned, apara seems to introduce another branch of the Licchavi family not directly descended from Licchavi and Supushpa.

It is not definitely known when and how the Licchavis entered the valley of Nepal. It has been pointed out by a Nepali scholar that the Newars of Kathmandu were included in the Vṛjji clans and they retain the usual designation of Vṛjji. There was close co-operation between the people of Nepal and Vaiśāli. It becomes evident from the different Nepali sources that the Licchavis ruled for about eight hundred years with short breaks at intervals. The following Licchavi rulers with their tentative dates are known to us:

1. Manaksha—205 A.D.
2. Kākavarman—230 A.D.
3. Paśuprekshadeva—255 A.D.
4. Bhāskaravarman—280 A.D.
5. Bhūmivarman—305 A.D.
6. Candravarman—330 A.D.
7. Jayadeva—340 A.D.
According to Jayaswal, the administration of Nepal from 205 to 305 A.D. was in the hands of the Licchavis and they ruled from the plain with capital somewhere in Vaiśāli. Regmi" has questioned the validity of the findings of Levi and Fleet and has suggested that "Nepal lost its independent status for a period of three hundred years from 50 to 350 A.D. Dr. S.C Sarkar has suggested on the basis of a Tibetan account that Bharsa, a son of king Simha of the Licchavis ruled over Magadha. He says— "In fact the Gupta dynasty is in constitutional law only a Licchavi dynasty"." We may suggest that the Licchavis after the retirement of the Kushāṇas had stabilised their position not only in Vaiśāli but had extended their authority upto Nepal. Bhāskaravarman seems to be a historical person of Nepal who conquered a part of North India and was possibly the maternal grandfather of Samudragupta and the father-in-law of Candragupta I. He was still probably the president of the Republic of Vaiśāli " The seat of the government then changed from Vaiśāli to Nepal. Some scholars believe that Candragupta I's alliance was with the ruling family of Nepal" or of Pātaliputra." That the Licchavis were one of the most important ruling dynasties is evidenced by the coins of Candragupta and also by the fact that he consolidated his position with the help of the Licchavis. Jayaswal suggested that the Kumāradevi was the daughter of Bhāskaravarman and hence the kingdom of the plains was given to his son-in-law Candragupta, and Nepal to his son Bhumivarman. The Licchavis of Nepal had assumed by this time the title of Mahārāja.

References

1. HC, (T) p. 193.
2. JBOSS XX, p. 301 (The hypothesis of the Śuṅga sway over Nepal rests on no good evidence. Coins are portable and Mitra--coins may not be of the Śuṅga Kings at all.—Ed.).
3. ASIAR. 1915-16; T.M. p. 174. (Stray finds of terracottas of the Śuṅga style of art do not point to any political sway by the Śuṅga kings—Ed.).
4. JBRs XLI pp. 131-32.
5. PHAI (6th edn.) pp. 3 9-70.
6. IC. II. p. 191.
7. IHQ. p. 481 ff.
8. TM. p. 177.
11. HIJ, pp. 112-13.
14. JBORS, VI. p. 22.
17. AIG, p. 2; ASR XVI, pp. 8-11; JRAS, 1913, pp. 627 650; 1914, pp. 79-88; 369 382; 403-4 0; 748-71; 1915, pp. 95-108.
20. IA XXXII, 385.
22. CHN, pp. VI-VII.
23. HCI, II 142.
26. Information from the Director of Archaeology and Museum, Govt. of Bihar.
27. JNSI, XII. 122; 43, R. Sankritayana, Purāntattvavibhandhāvalī, pp. 16-7.
29. TM. 180.
30. AIG 2; EI VII. 176, 179.
31. JHI, pp. 41-42; JBORS 1920 p. 150; Cl. IA. 1918, p. 298.
32. DKA p. 52.
33. JRAS. 1908 p. 677.
34. MBH, VII. 4847; Cl. Reinaud, Mémoirs Sur l’Indes, p. 353.
35. Ancient Geography of India, p. 717.
37. Ibid, 227.
38. Ib d, 212;
41. DA, p. 72.
42. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland, Vols. X, XI.
43. Historical Aspects of Inscription, Sl. p. 3.
44. Deux Peuples méconnus in Melanges charles des Harlez, pp. 176-185.
45. La Geographie de La Ptoleme—L'inde, VII, I-4.
46. Malaviya Commemoration Volume.
47. LA, 1918, p. 298; DA, p. 52, fn 28, 29. p. 73. fn 12 et bi of Haribhadra.
48. DA, p. 52 fn. 48.
51. HOS, XXVI, p. 251; XXVII, p. 223.
52. Sabhāparva, XXIX, 1081, 2; Drona—VII, 183; Vayupuruṣa, XLV, 122; Mark. p. LVII, 430.
54. RASIA, 1911, 12, pp, 18-19; 1913-14, pp, 98ff.
55. Ibid. 1903-4.
56. JBORS, XIV, 398-99.
57. IC, III, 727.
58. IHQ, XXVII, pp. 298-99.
59. S. Chattopadhyaya, Śakas in India, p. 9.
60. La-Inde, VII 1-4.
62. TM, 182.
63. NHIP. VI. p. 51 and also footnote; Cf. El. XX. 37.
64. D. C. Sircar, Successors of the Satavahanas, p. 23.
65. HCIP. II. p. 187.
66. S. Chattopadhyaya, The Śakas in India, pp. 66-67; 95.
67. PIHC, XIX, 146-48.
68. PIHC. XI, 93.
69. AIG, p. 2.
70. IC, XI, 137 ff.
IHQ, XIV, 582; JAHRS, VI. 139.
73. JNSI, IV, pp. 111-134.
74. HAI B, 199.
76. JHI. p. 32.
77. Crooke, Native Races of India.
78. McCrindle, Ancient India, p. 139, fn.
79. Ibid. 137-38.
80. JHI. p. 219.
81. EHI (4th edn.) p. 429.
82. I collected this information myself from some Bhār youths of Railbhā and Singheshwarasthan at Madhepur. I examined the ruined sites over there now destroyed by Kosi. Broken pieces of bricks and other stray antiquities were shown to me some years ago.
83. HCIP, III. 82.
84. R. K. Chaudhary (Ed.): G. D. College Bulletin Series No. 4. "Bihar & Nepal". Between 110 and 205 (date of the establishment of the Licchavi power) is practically blank. On the basis of the Kushāpa coins it has been suggested that the Kushāpas filled up the gap. In the Byakatatha of Guṇḍāya, there is a reference to Rāja Yaśakeṭu ruling in the city of Śiva in Nepaladeśa (cf. Somadeva, Kathāsāraṣāgar, V. 3, XII; 22; Kshemendra, Byakatthamaṇḍati, katha IX. V, 728; Cf. Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, XIII; 32). How and when the Kirata rule came to an end we do not know and nor the fact as to who succeeded them. It is believed that Nepal was conquered by an Indian king, Nimisha whose dynasty ruled for about 145 years. The five important kings of this dynasty were Nimisha, Manaksha, Kākavarman, Paśuprekshadeva and Bhāskaravarman. Paśuprekshadeva is said to have founded the temple of Paśupati-nātha. The so-called Nimisha dynasty was overthrown by the Licchavis.
85. Homage to Vaiśālī, p. 72.
86. Ibid. p. 73.
87. IA, IX. 178 ff.
88. IA, IX. 168; 173.
89. Ibid. 180.
90. Ibid XIV. 346 fn.
91. IA, XIII. 424; The Licchavis might have captured Pataliputra which they had aspired to do so for centuries. (Fleet, GI, Intr. 135, 191; IA, XIV. 350) Kielhorn suggests some connection between Licchavī and Pushpapura (List No. 541). Indraji refers the year of Nepal Inscriptions to the Vikrama era, Fleet to the Gupta era, Levi to an unknown era and Sircar to the Śaka era.
92. IA XIV. 346 fn.
94. Ibid p. 48.
95. JBORS, XXVII. 225 ff.
96. CHN. pp. 102-3.
97. JRAI 1889 p. 55.
98. Ibid. 1893, p. 91; PHAI (6th edn.) p. 380.
CHAPTER XXIII

Economic Condition of Bihar
(c. 187 BC-319 A.D)

Agriculture

During the Vedic period a great importance was attached to agriculture. Various hymns in the Rgveda are prayers for rain for the fertility of the soil. At one place in the Rgveda a gambler is advised to take to the profession of agriculture which would bring him prosperity in the shape of cattle, wealth and wife. We are also introduced to detailed methods of agriculture. During the Samhitā period agriculture prospered. The Brāhmaṇas also have got references to agriculture and its various processes. Agriculture was thus an important profession during this period.

During the Buddhist period, agriculture continued to be an important avocation of the people. As to the arable land, individual ownership was fully established and the owners or occupiers of the plots cultivated their own fields, aided by their family or with the help of slaves or hirelings.

During the Mauryan period also, great importance was being attached to agriculture. Even the fallow lands were made fit for agriculture. The owners of the land had to pay land tax to the king and in return it was the duty of the king to protect agriculture. There was considerable income to the state out of land.

During the period under survey, however, agriculture was not considered an ideal profession. According to Manu "even depending upon a profession for living a Vaiśya, a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣhatriya should avoid with care the
work of tilling the land which is dependent upon other's labour and which brings pain to sentient creatures". 10

Manu further says; "agriculture is regarded as good by some but (at the same time) it has been despised by the best of men because that brings death to so many earthly creatures" at the iron point of the plough. 11 It is thus clear from the statement that agriculture was not considered an ideal avocation for the high classes during this period. Nevertheless some people had to depend on agriculture only as means of their subsistence and according to Manu himself agriculture was one of the ten means of sustenance. 12 Let us now discuss the various aspects of an agricultural life.

Irrigation

The rain-fall was not uniform throughout the region. Sometimes there was drought somewhere and somewhere floods. So irrigation was very much desirable for agriculturists.

During the Maurya period the irrigational work had become a state affair. Candragupta Maurya was maintaining a special irrigation department which was entrusted with the duty of regulating the irrigational system in order that every one should get his due share. 13

During the period under review the irrigational facilities were to be provided. 14 According to Muir there were artificial water-ways constructed to irrigate the lands of paddy and after they were watered, a good harvest could be expected. Manu had prescribed even the capital punishment for those who would destroy the tank of a dam meant for irrigation purposes. 15

Miliṅḍapañho, a book of the 2nd-1st century B. C, also informs us that fields were well provided with conduits for bringing water into them and embankments (Mariyāda)
to keep the water in. Thus we find a developed system of irrigation during the period.

The land

The problem as to whether there was individual ownership of land or state ownership is very controversial. However, from the available data it appears that there was private ownership of land during the period. Patañjali, who flourished during the reign of the Śuṅga king Pushyanittra, has thrown some light on the topic and his statement is corroborated by Manusmṛti and Milindapañho.

Patañjali says, "the land of Devadatta is extended up to a certain limit, say the boundary is marked by a river and beyond that may be the land of some one else." This passage clearly suggests private ownership of land. At many places in the Manusmṛti, boundary disputes are referred to.

Manu at one place says, when a quarrel ensues between two villages regarding their boundary line, the king then should decide the matter during summer when the earth is dried up and the boundary line becomes visible. Manu gives a number of devices to mark out such boundary lines. One is boundary line with stone chips, bones, ashes, skulls, bricks, coal, pebbles, sands, etc.

Sometimes the dispute arose due to a piece of a plough land, or a well, tank, park or house.

Agricultural products

Rice was perhaps the staple food of the people of Magadha. It was known by different names, such as, taṇḍula, salī dhānya and vrīhi. The possessor of a large quantity of rice was probably considered to be rich, because the possessor of a small quantity of rice was considered low in status and such persons were usually termed as possessors of one jar of rice."
Yava or barley was another crop. Patañjali has referred to this crop at various places in his Mahābhāshya. Another agricultural product was Mudga. It was a type of pulse. Māsha was probably another variety of pulse, as Mudga and Māsha, both of them have been referred to by Patañjali at one place in the same line. Another agricultural product was the "Tila" (sesamum). It was the oil-producing seed. It was usually sown along with the seed of Māsha.

Patañjali has also made a reference to 'drāksha', i.e. grapes, but this was probably not grown in Bihar. According to Greek writer Strabo Kapiṣā was an important centre of vine creepers. Pāṇini has also referred to Kapiṣā as the centre of wine of grapes or the vine creepers.

Industry

Industry is an important aspect of the economic life of a country. In the early times, the majority of the population no doubt depended upon agriculture for their livelihood, but a small section, however, also followed some kind of industry for their subsistence. As a matter of fact, even those who were agriculturalists required cloth, agricultural implements, utensils and certain other things for their daily use and these were supplied to them by the artisan class.

Textile Industry

From a statement of Manu it appears that the state probably had some control over the textile industry. According to Manu, the king had the right to impose fine of 12 Panas on those weavers who gave less quantity of cloth to the thread makers in return to their supply of thread. Patañjali, the great grammarian of the 2nd century B. C., also testifies to the existence of the spinning industry during his time.
Process of Spinning

The process of spinning thread for making cloth followed by a weaver during this period was practically the same as that of today. The thread was placed on the loom first in a straight line-wise and then they were crossed by another set of threads.

According to *Milinda-panha⁴⁹*, the raw cotton had to undergo five operations of manufacture before it became fit for spinning cloth. These are,

(a) Pinjana i.e. carding or ginning.
(b) Sindina i.e. pressing.
(c) Pothita i.e. beating.
(d) Katina i.e. winding on drums and then lastly
(e) Wiyana i.e. spinning.

Nothing is definitely known about the kinds of cloth manufactured in Bihar during the post-Mauryan period. But there is no doubt that cotton cloth was manufactured here. As a matter of fact the use of cotton was fully known to the people.⁵⁰ Most probably woolen cloths were also manufactured. Patañjali, the great grammarian, has referred to the principle underlying the manufacture of blankets.⁵¹ At several places in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, reference has been made to blankets.⁵² Patañjali has also referred to the use of turban⁵³ and śārce⁵⁴.

The art of dyeing cloth was fully known to the people. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali bears testimony to the existence of this art.⁵⁵ We have also reference to the coloured clothes.⁵⁶

As regards the colours for dyeing the garments, red⁵⁷, yellow⁵⁸ and blue⁵⁹ were used. Of these colours, the red colour was probably regarded as the auspicious one.⁶⁰

In the group of dyes, lāc also was used as colour, the reference to which has been made in the *Mahābhāṣya*.⁶¹
Pot and Toy making Industry

The excavations at Pātaliputra\(^7\), Lauriyānandangarh\(^8\) and Basārh\(^9\) (Vaishālī) have brought to light a large number of terracotta figurines (human and animals), beads and various types of earthen wares. Stylistically some of them are definitely post Mauryan. A good collection of these are displayed in the Patna Museum. From these objects we can very well infer the existence of the potter who made earthen pots and terracotta figurines during this period.

Goldsmith's Industry

Workers on gold were known as goldsmiths (Svarṇa-kāra). Gold was used for making ornaments. Patañjali refers to gold for the ear-ornament i. e. ear-ring.\(^{80}\) Necklace and Kirita\(^81\) i. e. head-ornaments were in use. The material used for making these ornaments is not known but in all probability these might be of gold as they are mentioned in connection with gold ornaments.

The terracotta female figurines discovered in the excavations at Lauriyānandangarh, Pātaliputra and Vaisālī display a variety of ornaments used by the women folk during the post-Mauryan periods\(^82\).

No reference to carpentry is met with though Patañjali refers to a 'carpenter'.\(^83\) Carpentry must have flourished in this period. Some people were engaged in the work of making mats.\(^84\) They used to prepare fine, beautiful and long mats.\(^85\) Mats were made of ropes and straw\(^86\).

Blacksmithy

Patañjali has referred to a class of people known as Lohakāra\(^87\). He was the black-smith, engaged in the work of melting and shaping iron.

Glass Industry

Excavations at Kumhrār and Bulandibāgh during the years 1914-15 and 1915-16 have brought to light some
glass seal matrices with legends in Brāhmi letters. They were found at a depth of between 7’ 6” and 13’ 6” below the surface level. The glass of the seal is greenish and is almost transparent. From stratification and palaeographical grounds these glass seal matrices may be placed in between the Mauryan and the Kṣapa periods.

Weights and Measures

By about the end of the 4th century B.C. we begin to get tangible evidence of the existence of a definite system of weights and measures.

For trade purposes weights and measures were in use in India from very early times. Kautilya refers to control of weights and measures by the state. During the period under review the state appears to have continued to control the use of weights and measures as suggested by Manu. The king had to inspect every six month the weights and measures. Patanjali also informs us about various kinds of ‘measures’ that were in vogue during his time. The ‘khāri’ which was a kind of jar used for measuring a thing in volume during the Vedic period continued to exist in the time of Patanjali also.

Besides ‘khāri’, there were two other types of measures and they were known as ‘droṇa’ and ‘āḍhaka’.

These two types of measures were probably some kind of jars used for measuring a thing.

There is a passage in the Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali which clearly suggests that ‘āḍhaka’ was a kind of jar used for measuring cereals.

Let us now examine the kinds of weights that were in use during the period under review. The excavation in the neighbourhood of Patna College for sewerage brought to light five small cylinders of stones. Four of them are of white semi-diaphanous and of hard stone (probably quartz) and the fifth one is of deep red and yellow shaped
They all are cut in a very systematic manner and have got highly polished ends. They were discovered at a depth of between 12 and 14 feet below the surface level. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that these polished stones were probably used by the jewellers for weights just as they are now used in the delicate laboratory balance. The unit of such stone weights was something between 1.33 and 1.35 guñjās (grams). The unit of these weights is almost the half of Dharaṇa which generally weighs according to Dr. Banerjee Sastrī, 42 grains or 2.73 grams i.e. approximately double the above unit. The excavation at Vaishali in the year 1950-51 also brought to light a good number of polished and well cut stone weights. They are the multiple of 1:2:4:8:16.

Besides these stone weights, a few other types of objects were also serving the purpose of weights. According to Manu, six sarshapa (mustered seed) was equal to one middlesized barley (yava—a type of grain), three such ‘yavas’ were equal to one Ratti (i.e. one Krshnāl—a kind of grain), and five such krishnālas were equal to one māsha (a kind of seed) and sixteen such māshas were equal to one tola (i.e. suvarṇa).

Currency

The silver punch-marked coins, if issued during this period, were of the same weight standard as of coins of the Maurya period, and had five symbols on the obverse, of which the first three are different from those of the Maurya. Here, in place of the sun, the six-armed symbol and three arched hill with crescent at the top found on the Mauryan coins, we have either three human figures stamped with one punch or with three different punches in one series and in another series, they have three arrows on pole, pup on a railing-post and six-arched hill in a narrow form. The following types are thus known in these series from Bihar.
Series I

 Variety A**: Three human figures (punched separately) tree in railing and the fifth symbol not clear.

 Variety B**: Three human figures (punched separately) with pup in its mouth and the fifth one is a bud like object in centre flanked by a gate and a flag on either side.

 Variety C**: Three human figures (punched separately); three branches of a tree on the corners of a four-squared railing and the fifth one, elephant and spider.

 Variety D**: Three human figures (punched separately); Cadecues and the fifth one, hare with pup over a tortoise with three taurines.

 Variety E**: Three human figures (punched separately); peacock on the hill and the steel yard to left.

 Series II

 Variety A**: Three arrows on a pole; pup on a railing post; six arched hill in a narrow form; hare with pup in its mouth and the fifth one is a bud like object in centre flanked by a gate and a flag on either side.

 Variety B**: First three symbols as above; three branches of a tree on the corners of a four-squared railing; elephant and spider.

 Variety C**: First three symbols as above; Cadecues and the fifth one, hare with pup over a tortoise with three taurines.

 Variety D**: First three symbols as above; Peacock on the hill and the fifth one steel yard to left.

 It is very likely no doubt that the above-mentioned silver coins, commonly known as the Kārshāpanas (i.e. 64
silver punch-marked coins) might have continued to figure as a legal tender during this period but this time under different nomenclature. They were probably now known by the name of dharana or purana. This dharana or purana, according to Manu\textsuperscript{16}, was the silver currency of his time and in weight it was equal to that of the well-known silver kārshāpana. According to Manu, two kṛṣṇalas (i.e. 2 pattis) were equal to one silver māshaka and that 16 such silver māshakas were equal to one dharana or purana, which means thereby that one dharana or purana was equal to 32 rattis or 56 grains in weight. And we know that the weight of the well preserved silver kārshāpana discovered from Bihar or elsewhere is equal to 56 grains or 32 rattis. Thus in all probability the well known silver kārshāpana is the same as dharana or purana of Manu’s time. 32 rattis or 56 grains were perhaps the standard weight of these coins.

Manu has also referred to kārshāpana or paña in the context of currency but here kārshāpana stands for the copper currency (i.e. tamrikah karshikah pañah). Patañjali also has referred to “kārshāpana\textsuperscript{17}” and says that a kārshāpana was equal to 16 māshas.\textsuperscript{17} And according to Manu, one māsha was equal to 5 kṛṣṇalas\textsuperscript{19} (i.e. 5 rattis) and sixteen such māshas thus would be equal to 80 kṛṣṇalas or 80 rattis and this is approximately the weight of the copper punch-marked coins of this period. So Patañjali also probably has referred to the copper kārshāpanas. According to Patañjali, kārshāpana and its small denominations were being used in the day-to-day transactions of the people. During his time the daily workers were being paid only one pāda i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$ of a kārshāpana.\textsuperscript{19} Servants were also paid only one pāda as their wages.\textsuperscript{80}

Besides these copper kārshāpanas, copper-cast coins have also been discovered which are assignable in between
1st cent. B. C. and 1st cent A. D. About them Dr. Altekar writes, "The most numerous types at Pāṭaliputra is the square or the rectangular one having four symbols both on the obverse and the reverse. They are usually tree in railing, crescented hill, hollow cross and taurine on one side and banner, elephant, taurine and svastika on the other, corresponding to the varieties j and k of the B M. C. A. I. Cunningham has observed that these coins were found chiefly near Banaras. They were later found at Besnagar excavations and now we know that they were most common at Pāṭaliputra in the Maurya and the Śunga period."

Excavation at Nandangarh in L. trench in 1935-36 have also yielded a few copper-cast coins which may be assigned to the 2nd-1st century B. C. The coins are described as follows:—

A. Obverse:—Tree in railing.
   Reverse:—A taurine enclosed on three sides by a line so as to form an apses.

B. Obverse:—Tree in railing, hill, hollow cross, and taurine.
   Reverse:—Elephant to left, triangular headed symbol, taurine and svastika.

C. Obverse:—Horseman.
   Reverse:—Tree in railing.

A large number of Kushāṇa copper coins have been found at various places of Bihar such as Lauriyā-nandangarh, Buxar, Kumhrār, Vaishāli and Karrāthana of Ranchi district. The excavation at Nandangarh in the year 1936-37 yielded two copper coins of the Kushāṇa kings—one of Kaṇiṣhka showing the king standing on the obverse and the Sun God on the reverse and another of Huvishka
showing the king on an elephant on the obverse and the reverse having the four armed Śiva. The Kushāṇa copper coins found at Kumhrār and Bulandibāgh are all told 45, out of which 3 are of king Wema, 12 of king Kaṇīśka and 30 of king Huvishka. The Buxar hoard (published in JNSI. XII, Pt. II, p. 121) has yielded about 400 coins, out of which three hundred and ninety coins belong to the Kushāṇa rulers and 10 of the Ayodhyā kings who issued cock and bull type. As these Kushāṇa coins (found at Pāṭaliputra and Buxar) are very much worn out, Dr. Altekar, is of opinion that they were current in Bihar probably for about 60 years. He further holds the view that the Kushāṇa coins were the principal copper currency in Bihar for about 40 years even after the disappearance of the Kushāṇa rule in Bihar; otherwise we cannot explain how the coins of Kaṇīśka and Huvishka should be found in several places of Bihar in so much worn out condition. Cast square and round coins were found in large numbers in the Kumhrar excavations. But not a single such coin was found included in the Buxar hoard. This would tend to show that the copper currency of the Kushāṇas succeeded completely in ousting the indigenous currency of cast coins. This took place in c. 75 A. D.

Some gold coins have also been discovered at Pāṭaliputra. The Ratan Tata excavation at Pāṭaliputra in 1912-13 brought to light two gold coins of the later Kushāṇas. One of them had got the figure of king Vāsudeva standing and offering sacrifice on the obverse side, and on the reverse, Śiva with bull. The other one had got the figure of king standing and offering oblations on one side and the goddess Ardoksho seated on a high backed throne on the other side.

Besides the above mentioned type of coins, ṣatamāṇa, suvarṇa, hiranya, nishka, pāda and kākaṇikā also served
the purpose of currency during the 2nd-1st century B.C. Patanjali, the great grammarian, in his commentary Mahabhāshya has referred to all these coins. Hiranya, whose meaning hitherto was interpreted as simply gold, was now a sort of currency. Patanjali says, “he has purchased the horse for one thousand hiranayas” (Mahabhāshya of Patanjali, Sūtra II. 3 18). Patanjali has also referred to various denominations of kākanī coins—such as dvikākanī and adhyardhakākanī. Manu has also referred to suvarṇa and nishka which were some variety of coins. The weight of suvarṇa according to Manu was about 80 rattis or 16 māshas and that of satamāna was about 320 rattis as one satamāna was equal to 10 dharaṇa or purāṇa i.e. 32 rattis x10 = 320 rattis. Nishaka also weighed about 320 rattis as one nishka was equal to 4 suvarṇa i.e. 80 rattis x 4 = 320 rattis. Coins of these denominations, however, have not yet been discovered.

There was probably a special officer called Rūpatarka who used to supervise the issue of coins.

During the period under survey, metallic currency was in wide use, still the barter system was prevalent during the Śuṅga period.

Patañjali refers to cloth purchased for five cots. The most interesting part of the barter system was the exchange of women for certain things.

H. C. Raychaudhuri writes, “The conquests of the Kadphises kings opened up the path of commerce between China and the Roman empire and India. Roman gold began to pour into India in payment of silk, spice and gems. The commercial activities of the merchants mentioned before were with regard to distant countries. Now within the country also the trade was going on very briskly.
There was trade relation between Magadha and Sialkot. Sialkot (Sākala) at that time had become a great trading centre, where traders of different places used to crowd the bāzārs. In the Milinda-pañha, a merchant of Pātaliputra is seen on his way back to his city home with his five hundred wagons of goods, probably it was his return journey after finishing his trade business. At another place in the Milinda-pañha it is stated, “And the Pātaliputra merchant sent on his wagons in advance and followed himself after them. And at a place, where the road divided, not far from Pātaliputra, he stopped and said to Nāgasena, this is the turning to the Asoka park. Now I have here a rare piece of woolen stuff, sixteen cubits by eight, do me the favour of accepting it.”

The above statements clearly suggest that merchants of Pātaliputra were trading in woolen cloth of very fine quality and for such trades bullock carts were the main vehicle of transport. A trade relation might have also existed between Banaras and Magadha and the merchants of Banaras might be coming to Magadha for selling sandalwood. This fact is indirectly mentioned in the Milinda-pañha. There it is stated, ‘Venerable Nāgasena, is there any layman living at home, enjoying the pleasures of sense, occupying a dwelling encumbered with wife and children, enjoying the use of sandal-wood from Banaras and of garlands, perfumes and ointments, accepting gold and silver with an embroidered head-dress on, set with diamonds and pearls of gold.’ For local trades, there were shops in towns or in villages where articles of every day use were sold. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali refers to a shop of Sattu, weighing about one āḍhaka. Another reference is made to a wine-shop. There were also markets where elephants, cows and horses were sold. Thus, in short, we can say that the local shops and markets were centres of every day activity.
Trade Routes

The main land route ran from Pāṭaliputra to Sāgala or Siālkot. There must have a good wide road, because merchants each with caravans of 500 wagons of goods could move easily. This was probably the main route by which the invading Greeks had come up to the gates of Pāṭaliputra. The halting places were probably Pāḍcāla, Mathurā, Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra. But on the way they must have also crossed Kauśāmbi. Between Siālkot and Magadha (Pāṭaliputra) the road measured 100 yojanas or roughly 700 miles. This distance given in the Milindapāñho seems to be correct because the road from Sāgala to Pāṭaliputra probably passed through Mathurā as observed by Patañjali was far from Pāṭaliputra. Probably about this very route Mr. Havell writes, "The king's road which ran from Pāṭaliputra to the N. W. Frontier of India was the main high way of commerce." Sāketa must have had a direct road from Sāgala passed through Sāketa and ended in Pāṭaliputra. From Pāṭaliputra to Rājgrha also there was a road connection.

For commercial purposes bullock carts and carts drawn by camels were the chief vehicle of transport. But sometimes carts were also drawn by horses and by mules. Such vehicles were known as Aśvaratha and Gardabharatha.

Guilds in Bihar

In Bihar during the post-Mauryan period, the existence of guild organisation is made known by the discovery of seals. The excavation at Basārh (Vaiśālī) and at Pāṭaliputra have yielded quite a large number of seals. They were discovered at varying depths ranging from 6'3" to 15'8" below the surface level. From stratification and on palaeographical grounds they were probably in use from
the Mauryan to the Gupta periods. One of the seals discovered at Vaiśāli at a depth of 6'3'' bears the legend Śresthi-nigamasya which means the seal of the guild of bankers. There are also other seals which refer to the guilds of traders and merchants.

Seals discovered at Kumhrār excavations are both of glass and terracotta. The glass is greenish in colour and is almost transparent. They appear to be private seals. Most probably they belonged to some headmen of certain guilds. They were a kind of modern cheques issued by those headmen or they were probably used for sealing documents concerning trade business. Therefore, they might be the seals of authority (Probably vested in the hands of those guilds headmen).

The guilds had their own laws and constitutions which were binding on traders and artisans.

References

1. Ṛgveda IV. 57. 1; X. 50. 3; X 105. 1; VII. 101. 3.
2. Ṛgveda X. 34. 13.
3. Ṛgveda X. 48. 7; X. 94. 13.
4. Taittiriya-Sākhāta VII. 2. 10.
5. Śatapatha Brähmana I. 6. 1. 3.; Kausītaki Brähmana, XIX. 3.
6. Jātaka II. 109; IV. 167; VI 479.
8. Arthaśāstra, Book 2. Chap. I,
10. Mānimsīti X, 83.
11. Ibid X. 84.
12. Ibid X. 116. "It appears that while the higher castes lived on agriculture, they depended on labourers for agricultural work in the fields. (Ed).
15. Prof Muir took the word "कुल्ला:" to mean artificial waterways which propelled the water into reservoirs (Muir's Sans. Text V pp. 465-466).
19. Manusmṛti, viii. 245.
20. Ibid, VIII. 246 to 249.
22. Ibid, VIII 262.
25. I. 2. 51; IV. 3. 166.
27. Ibid.
31. Strabo XV. 1. 6.
33. Manusmṛti, VIII. 397.
34a. Vide: Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.
34b. Milindapañho trans. in S. B. E. XXXVI, p. 52.
37. Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, ed. by F. Kielhorn. Sūtra I. 3. II. I. 4. 49; II. 1. 51; II. 1. 1; III. 1. 105.
38. Ibid I. 1. 27.
39. Ibid I. 1. 45.
41. Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali I. 1. 27, I. 2. 29-30.
vide: Ibid.

Mahābhāṣyā of Patañjali. Sūtra I. 1. 27.

Ibid Sūtra III. 1. 46.

A.S.I. AR. 1912-13; 1925-26; 1914-15; and 1915-16, also cf. the terracotta objects brought to light in the excavations at Kurshar during the years 1950-51; 1951-52, 1952-53 and 1953-54.


Mahābhāṣyā of Patañjali. Sūtra I. 3. 2.

Ibid

A.S.I. AR., 1935-36, Plate XXII. h to O 1935-37 XXII-XXIV.

1913-14

1914-15

1915-16

1925-26 &

1926-27

Mahābhāṣyā Sūtra III. 1. 26, and I. 3. 3.


Mahābhāṣyā of Patañjali Sūtra III. I. 7.


J.B.O.R.S. X, Pt. III, 1924 pp. 199-200 and 192-93, also cf. ASL AR. XV, Plate III. All these glass seals, matrices are in the Patna Museum and bear the following Reg. Nos. (a) Art 4488, (b) 4490, (c) 4491, (d) 4492, (e) S. SK. 35, (f) 4. Ks. 5.

Manasāmṛti, VIII, 405.

Mahābhāṣyā of Patañjali, Sūtra II. I. 69.

Ibid II. 3. 18; I. 4. 23.

Mahābhāṣyā of Patañjali Sūtra II. I. 1.

They are now kept in the Patna Museum. Also cf. ASIAR. 1903-4, p. 100

Manasāmṛti, VIII. 136.


Manu. VIII. 134.
65. I am very thankful to Dr. P. L. Gupta for this information.
66. Vide Patraka hoard, Dist. Purnea (Bihar) only 2 coins; and Goroghat hoard, (Bihar) one coin.
67. Vide Patraka hoard, Dist. Purnea (Bihar), 3 coins only.
68. Vide Patraka hoard, Dist. Purnea (Bihar) 2 coins and Taregna hoard, Dist. Patna (Bihar) one coin only.
69. Vide Patraka hoard, Dist. Purnea (Bihar), 4 coins only.
70. Vide Patraka hoard, Dist. Purnea (Bihar), sixteen coins only; Machuatoli hoard, Dist. Patna (Bihar) one coin only.
71. Vide Patraka hoard, 9 coins only.
72. Ibid. 4 coins only.
73. Patraka hoard, 14 coins and Machuatoli hoard, 3 coins
74. Patraka hoard, 4 coins.
75. Manusmrti, VIII. 135; 136.
76. Mahabhashya of Patanjali Sutra II. 4. 31; V. 2. 45; V. 1. 25 & V. 1. 29.
78. Manusmrti VIII. 134.
80. Ibid
81. JNSI. XIII, Pt. II, 1951, p. 145
82. ASIAR, 1935-36, p. 63. Plate XXIII. J.
82a. Ibid. p. 64, Plate XXIII. i.
83. Ibid. Plate XXIII, d.
86. ASIAR., 1936-37, p. 50.
87. Ibid, p. 145
89. Ibid.
90. These coins are now stolen away from the Patna Museum. Their stock nos. however are 2091 and 2092 respectively.
93. Suvarṇa and śatamāna in Sūtra V. 1. 29; Nishka in V. 1. 20; Kakanika in V. 1. 33 & V. 1. 30: He has also referred to a few small denominations of coins such as ardhasuvarṇa and ardhaśatamāna in Sūtra V. 1. 29. He has also referred to devatamāna in V. 1. 29 & Pāda in I. 3. 72.

94. Manusmiṭṭhi VIII. 134.
95. Ibid. VIII. 137.
96. Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali I. 4. 52 Paśyatirūpatakāraḥ.
102. Ibid.
104. Also cf. Milindapañho. S. B. E. XXXV, p. 27-28 and XXXVI, p. 49; Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali VI. 3. 46 (3).
104a. Milindapañho in S B. E. XXXVI, p. 244, N. B. Here the passage refers to the layman of either Pātaliputra or Rājagṛha.
105. Mahābhāṣya. II. 1. 1.
108. Ibid.
111. Ibid p. 17, S. B. E. XXXV, p. 27.
114. Ante foot note above (1)
119. Buddhist INDLA, by Prof. Rhys Davids, p. 103.

122. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali IV. 3. 120-27.


125. ASIAR. 1913-14, p. 124, Plate L. No. 404.


CHAPTER XXIV
Religion and Philosophy
HINDUISM

Śaivism

Śaivism or the worship of Rudra-Śiva seems, in origin, to be older than that of Bhāgavatism or Vaishnavism. Śiva is a complex product; Śaivism is not a single cult but a bundle of cults. The historic Śiva has many early elements: one seems to be the Mohenjo-dāro male god (seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of Yoga and surrounded by animals), described by the archaeologists as Śiva-Paśupati; among others are the various Rudras of the Vedic and post-Vedic literature, in whom were absorbed certain local or village deities of similar nature.

Complexities in Śiva’s character are fully brought out in the Vedic verses. The Ṛgveda describes him both as ‘Rudra’ (fierce) and Śiva (gracious and auspicious). He wields lightning and thunderbolt, and is armed with bow and arrows. He is destructive as a terrible beast and his worshippers implore him not to injure them, their men and cattle with his wrath, his malevolence may be diverted towards others. On the other hand, he is also described as benevolent, easily invoked, and gracious as a protector of creatures, and the lord of this vast world. He possesses the healing remedies and is called the greatest of the physicians. The Satarudriya hymn of the Vājasaneyī Samhitā describes him as a patron of craftsmen, potters, hunters, watermen, foresters, thieves, free-booters, brigands, Vṛāyas etc. He is a god of the brave and his voice echoes in the war-drums in the thick of the battle. He is present everywhere, in the house, in the fields, in the rivers and in the mountains.
When his wrath is appeased, he becomes Śiva, Śaṅkara and Śambhu. As portrayed here, there appears with him an amalgamation of a forest or a mountain deity.

The importance of Rudra-Śiva grew further and further in the later Vedic and subsequent times. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to the incest of Prajāpati and the determination of the gods to punish him. From their most dreaded forms arose Bhūtapati who pierced Prajāpati and for this act received the name of Paśupati. This clearly shows that during this period old polytheism was declining and Śaivism was growing in importance—Śiva was successfully contending with Prajāpati as creator. His position was also extolled in the Upanishads, especially in the Śvetāsvatara and the Atharvavedas, describing him as a supreme god. The importance of Rudra-Śiva is immensely increased in the Epics. The epic legends not only show his superiority to other gods, sometimes including Kṛśna or Vishṇu, but also the distribution of his worship all over India. Many important kings and other people of the north and the south—Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, Jarāsandha, Rāvana and Indrajit—paid homage to him and sought his boons. Of special interest to us is the story of Jarāsandha, who had his capital at Girivraja or Rājgir. He conquered all the kings who came to fight against him and designed to sacrifice them in the temple of Paśupati. This would show, beyond doubt, that Bihar became an important stronghold of Śaivism since an early period of her history.

As to the history of Śaivism in Bihar and other places in India, during the historical times, there is ample literary and archaeological evidence.

The names, Bhava, Rudra and Mrḍa occur in the aphorism of Pāṇini, IV. 1.49. Megasthenes, who lived in India towards the close of the fourth century B.C.,
tells us a lot about the Indian representatives of Herakles (identified with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva) and Dionysus (identified with Śiva). The worship of Dionysus (or Śiva), he says, was popular in the hill regions where grew the vines. Kauṭilya, a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya (fourth century B.C.) refers in his Arthasastra to the apartments of various gods including Śiva, which should be made in the centre of the town. It is interesting to note that the Śaivic emblems, like the bull and Nandipada, occur very frequently on punch-marked coins, the earliest coinage of India (much of it going back to the fifth century B.C.).

The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (second century B.C.) furnishes important data regarding the history of Śiva worship. From his commentary on the Pāṇini-sūtra V. 3.99 (Jivikārthi capaṇya) it is evident that the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were made in his time for the purpose of worship. We are told that the Mauryas sold the images with a view to earning money. Further, Patañjali refers to the Śivabhaṅgavatas (devotees of Śiva) and mentions the various names of Rudra-Śiva, viz. Rudra, Śiva, Giriśa, Mahādeva, Tryambaka, Bhava, Śarva etc. The term ‘Śaiva’, the name under which the sectarian Śiva-worshippers are known, also finds mention in the Mahābhāṣya. The above evidence is supplemented by other archaeological sources. Śaivic emblems and figures occur on a large number of ancient coins (third century B.C. to second century A.D.), distributed all over India.

One of the important aspects of the Śiva-cult, enjoying very wide popularity during the period, is the worship of the Linga or phallus (the symbol of creation). The association of the phallus-worship with the cult of Śiva who is often regarded as a god of generation (inspite of the destructive function assigned to him in Hindu Trinity) has played an important role in the religious life of the
people. The phallic worship seems to be of pre-Aryan origin. With the growth of Neo-Brâhmanism, however, the non-Aryan phallic rite came to be associated with the Aryan beliefs as an essential element of historic Śaivism. As narrated in the *Anuśasana-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa proceeded to the Himalayas to propitiate Śiva, to have a son for Jāmbavatī through Śiva’s grace. On the way he met Upamanyu, an ardent follower of Śiva, who described the glories and attributes of the god: “Is Īśa (Mahādeva) the cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the *Līṅga* of any other person is worshipped by the gods....He whose *Līṅga*, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and....Indra, with the deities, continuously worship is, therefore, the most prominent”. These and other references to the worship of the *Līṅga*, including those in the Purāṇas, which speak of great popularity of the *Līṅga* cult with the epic-purāṇic people (though the cult was held in abhorrence during the Vedic period as the reference to the ‘Śiśnadevas’ in the *Ṛgveda* would show). In support, attention may be drawn also to the representations of the *Līṅgas* on some cast coins of Taxila and Ujjainī (third-second century B.C.). The *Līṅga*, discovered at Bhita, is one of the earliest so far found. It is attributable to the first century B.C. It has five faces, corresponding to Īśāna, Tatpurusha, Sadyojāta, Aghora, and Vāmadeva. The inscription on it would show that this *Līṅga* of the son of Kajahuṭṭī was dedicated by one Nāgasiri, the son of Vāseṭṭī. About the existence of the *Līṅga*-worship and its close association with Śaivism, there is an interesting reference in the Vākāṭaka copper-plates, dealing with the rise of the Bhāraśivas. The copper-plates in question say that the *Rājavanīśa* (the royal family) of the Bhāraśivas owes its origin to the satisfaction of Śiva inasmuch as they carried on their shoulders the load of
his (Śiva's) Līṅga. This reminds us also of the later practices of the Vīraśaivas of the Ganarāse country.

The popularity of Śaivism, during the period under review, is also attested by certain seals discovered at Bhita in Uttar Pradesh and Basarh or Vaiśālī, north Bihar. These seals belong roughly to the fourth century A.D. Five of the Bhita seals refer to the cult of Śiva under the names: Kāleśvara, Kālaṇja-bhaṭṭāraka, Bhadreśvara and Maheśvara. These are seals nos. 14, 15, 16, 17 and 23, as described by Sir John Marshall (Annual Reports, Archaeological Survey of India, 1911-12, pp. 46 ff.) The seal no. 14 shows a trident-axe and a figure (may be Śiva) with the legend: Kāleśvaraḥ priyatām (may Kāleśvara be pleased). Kāleśvara is the name of a Śiva-līṅga according to the Skandapurāṇa. The seal no. 15 has a Śiva-līṅga with an umbrella on one side and a trident on the other. The legend reads Ka(ā)laṇja-bhaṭṭārakaśya, i.e. 'of the lord of Kālaṇja'. Kālaṇja is a hill in Bundhelkhand which has been a resort of Śaiva saints since an early time. The seal no. 16 is a Śiva-līṅga on a pedestal with representation of a hill on one side and a trident-axe on the other. The legend reads: Kālaṇja(b). The seal no. 17 shows a male figure with two arms, described in the legend as Bhadreśvara. According to the Vāmana-Purāṇa, Bhadreśvara is the name of the Śiva-līṅga of a place called Kalpagrama. The figure seems to be thus Śiva in Bhadreśvara aspect. The seal no. 23 shows a standing male figure with the legend 'Bhagavato Maheśvarasya', i.e. of his worshipful Maheśvara. These seals and a few others with Śaivite personal names such as Rudrācārya and Gauridāsa show how popular the cult was during the late Kushāṇa and early Gupta times. In Vaiśālī itself, in north Bihar, a number of important Śaivite seals of the very same period have
been found leaving no doubt as to the continuity and uninterrupted popularity of the cult also in Bihar.

The Basarh seals, described by Bloch and Spooner (in Annual Reports, Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4 and 1913-14) contain many personal names of Śaivite affiliations, such as Bhavasena, Iśānadāsa, Bhavadāsa, Gauriddāsa, Rudracandra, Rudrarakshita, Sarvadāsa, etc. An interesting Śaivite seal with bull facing in the centre is of the great queen Prabhudamā, sister of Mahākṣatrapa Śvāmi-Rudrasena, and daughter of the king Mahākṣatrapa Śvāmi Rudrasimha (A.S.I. A. Rep., 1913-14, p. 124 ff.). Of particular interest to us are the seal nos. 30A, 32, 37, and 39. The seal no. 30 shows a linga and jōni with a trident on either side. The legend is Āmrātakēśvara’, which is the name of the eight guhya Lingas of Banaras. The seal no. 32 reads jayatyananto bhagavān sāmbaḥ, i.e. victorious is the lord Ananta (Śiva) with Ambā (Durgā). The seals nos. 37 and 39 have also interesting legends, respectively [jitaṁ/bha] gavatontasya Nāmde īśvā]rt vara-svāmina [u], i.e. victorious is the lord Ananta (Śiva), the chosen husband of Nandesvārī (Durgā); and namaḥ pasupate (taye), i.e. adoration to Paśupati (A.S.I. A. Rep. 1903-04).

**Vaishnavism**

Vaishnavism, as the name indicates, is the religion in which Vishnu, or, to be more precise, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, as identified with Vishnu, is considered to be the highest object of worship. As is well known, Vishnu and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva were originally different from each other, but in the course of time there took place an amalgamation of these two deities and their cults, and this brought into existence Vaishnavism, as understood in its broad sense. Vishnu is an older god, he is a god of the Rgveda and seems to have been a personification of the Sun. Though
few verses are addressed to him in the Ṛgveda, he occupies quite an important place in the Vedic pantheon. His importance rests chiefly on his three strides, with which he strode over the universe. His greatness is inconceivable, and his highest place is the abode of the departed ones, where he dwells inscrutable. The importance of Viśṇu grew more and more during the later periods. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, he came to be recognised as the personification of sacrifice. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa assigns him the highest place among the gods. He, however, rose to the highest distinction in the epics. In fact, the whole of the Mahābhārata is permeated by Viśṇuite influence. The Mahābhārata mentions five current religio-philosophical systems, viz. the Sāṁkhya, the Yoga, the Pañcarātra, the Vedāraṇyaka (Vedāḥ) and the Pāṣupata, and in all these systems, Viśṇu is declared to be the nīśṭhā or the chief object of worship.

The Mahābhārata describes several incarnations of Viśṇu, and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva is one of them. It is as Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa that Viśṇu has the highest distinction in the Epic. In other words, Viśṇuism becomes full-blooded only when it is identified with the Vāsudeva cult. Although Viśṇu maintains a separate existence (apart from Kṛṣṇa), the most attractive feature is his transformation into the supreme personal god as Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva.

The Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva or the Bhāgavata cult is the basis of the Bhagavadgīta and has proved to be the chief source of inspiration of modern Viśnāvism. It appears to have grown outside the pale of orthodox Brāhmaṇism, as the epic-purānic traditions would tend to show. Its founder and cult-god, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, belonged to the Yadava or Viśṇi or Sāttvata tribe of the Kshatriyas, with Mathurā as original home, and he was the same as Kṛṣṇa-
Devakīputra, mentioned as a disciple of Ghora Āṅgirasa in the *Chāndogya-Upanishad*, (iii,xvii, 6). This cult taught *bhakti* or single-minded devotion to the supreme one (Bhagavat) as the best means of salvation. In the initial stages, its influence was limited, but gradually, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva became deified and identified with the Bhagavat (whence the name Bhāgavatism), the supreme lord, and it became widely known in different parts of India. As mentioned above, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was ultimately regarded as the same as Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa of the Brāhmaṇic theology.

The Bhāgavata cult exercised a profound influence in the domain of Indian religious thought. When Brāhmaṇism was confronted with the dissenting movements of Gautama Buddha and Mahāvīra, and when it was found that the abstract and impersonal absolute (i.e. Brahman) of the *Upanishads* was more than what the mind of the average people could grasp, Bhāgavatism offered a personal god in Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, a god of love and grace and provided an easier means of salvation through *bhakti*. As we find in the *Bhagavadgītā*, Kṛṣṇa is a living personality of god, who appears on earth to extend his grace and love to his devotees, to save the righteous and punish the wicked. God condescends to become man for the benefit of mankind. This is a great assurance to humanity and is the beginning in the practical sense of the doctrine of Avatāras.

The early history of the Bhāgavata cult is not clear. It is, however, definite that Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva came to be regarded as a divinity as early as Pāṇini's time (*circa* 500 B.C.), or some time earlier, as the interpretation of his *sūtra*, *Vāsudevārjunabhāyām vun* would tend to show. The authorities are agreed that Vāsudeva here is not the designation of a Kṣhatriya, but a designation of Tatra Bhagavat or tatrābhavat, i.e. a divine being. The identi-
fication of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa is an accepted fact in the Mahābhārata, though it is difficult to say when first the amalgamation of these two deities took place, owing to the uncertainty of the date of the major portions of the epic. Further, in the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, the date of which goes as far back as the 4th-3rd century B.C., Keśava (another name of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva) occurs as an epithet of Viṣṇu. Patañjali, in his Mahābhāṣya, notices under Pāṇini sutra 11, 234, a verse in which it is stated that the musical instruments were played in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava. Rāma and Keśava are the names respectively of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. All this makes it clear that the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult had become gradually popular since the days of Pāṇini, and it was amalgamated with Viṣṇuism about the 3rd-2nd century B.C. This is supported by many others facts, including the epigraphical sources.

Bhāgavatism originated at Mathurā, the original home of the Yādava, Viṣṇi or Sāttvata family to which Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva belonged. Since Kṛṣṇa’s political and intellectual superiority was acknowledged by his contemporaries, it is quite possible that his religious faith also met an equal success during his lifetime. Coming to historical times, we find that the Greek writers, Megasthenes and Arrian refer to Herakles as being held in special honour by the ‘Sourasenoi’, an Indian tribe, who possessed two large cities, namely Methora and Cleisobora. Bhandarkar correctly points out that the ‘Sourasenoi’ were the same as the Sāttvatas, and Herakles was the Greek god closest to the conception of the Indian hero—god Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. McGrindle, Lassen, Hopkins and others have proved, beyond doubt, that Methora and Cleisobora stand respectively for Mathurā and Kṛṣṇapura. The popularity of the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, during the period, is also
corroborated by the statement of Q. Curtius that an image of Herakles was carried in front of the army of Porus as he advanced against Alexander. It is quite natural that Porus, as a Paurava prince, descended from the epic family of Arjuna, the incarnation of Nara and counterpart of Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa should have carried before his war-chariot an image of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, the hero of Kurukshetra.

The Bhāgavata sect or the cult does not, however, find any conspicuous mention in the literature of the third century B.C. The Aṅguttara-nikāya which mentions various sects, including the Ājīvikas, the Nagaṇṭhas, the Munḍasāvakas, the Jaṭilakas, the Paribbājakas, the Aviruddhakas, the Gotamakas and the Devadharmikas, is silent about the Bhāgavatas. There is a solitary reference to them only in a passage in the Culla-Niddesa and the Maha-Niddeva, mentioning the Vāsudeva-vāṭikā and the Baladeva-vāṭikā.

Whatever it may be, Bhāgavatism attained great popularity during the second century B.C. and subsequent periods, as is evident from the archaeological and literary sources. The bulk of the Bhāgavata inscriptions and monuments, belonging to the Śunga Kanva period, are from central India. The most important Bhāgavata record of the period is the inscribed Garuḍa column of Besnagar, which was erected in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of the gods (devadeva) by Heliodoros, son of Dion. Heliodoros is described as an worshipper of Bhagavat (i.e. Vāsudeva) and a resident of Takshaśilā. He came to the court of the Śunga king, Kāśīputra Bhagabhadra during the 14th year of his reign, as an envoy from the Greek king Aïntalikata (Antialkidas). The date of the inscription is somewhere in the middle or later part of the second century B.C. This shows that Bhāgavatism became so popular during this time that the foreigners too were attracted by it.
The other Bhāgavata remains, discovered at Besnagar, include (i) a fragment of another inscribed Garuḍa column, and (ii) a capital of a column and a makara (the makara might have originally surmounted the capital). The former contains a broken Brāhmi inscription, recording the erection of the column for the Bhagavat by one Gautami-putra (a devotee of Bhagavat) during the 12th regnal year of Mahārāja Bhāgavata. Mahārāja Bhāgavata, as Bhandarkar supposes, is the Śunga king of the same name, as mentioned in the Purāṇas; he, being the last king of the Śunga family, flourished in circa 100 B.C. The latter objects, viz. the capital of a column and a makara were found a few yards away from the well-known Garuḍa column of Heliodorus. The capital and makara taken together, would constitute a makaraśhuja. In the epic-purānic literature, Pradyumna, son and successor of Krṣṇa, has been attributed the makara symbol. Pradyumna is one of the four vyūhas of the Pañcarātra or Bhāgavata cult. On the basis of these facts, it can be presumed that there stood at Besnagar a shrine of Pradyumna during the second-first century B.C.

Bihar, like the other parts of northern India, seems to have been influenced by the Bhāgavata or Vaishṇava cult quite early in its history. The defeat of Jarāsandha at the hands of Bhima, helped by Krṣṇa, perhaps indicates a major step towards the introduction of Vāsudevism in Bihar. The Arthasastra of Kauṭilya and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, both of them closely associated with Bihar, refer to the prevalence of Viṣṇu and Krṣṇa worship. In fact, the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali constitutes a valuable evidence as to the different aspects of the Bhāgavata cult, as hinted above. Further, it should be mentioned that Bhāgavatism seems to have found a special favour with the rulers of Magadha. As shown above, two important Garuḍa columns were erected at Besnagar during the reigns
respectively of the kings Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra and Bhāgavata. The name Bhāgavata itself is indicative of the fact that the Śuṅgas who upheld the Brāhmaṇical cause had special leanings towards Vaishnavism. The Kāṇvas, too, seem to have been equally interested in this cult. The Hāthibāḍā-Ghosūndī inscription refers to the erection of a stone enclosure round the Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā (at Nagari) by Pārāsārīputra Sarvatāta, who was a member of the Kāṇva family. Again, such names of the Kāṇva kings, as Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa would indicate that the Kāṇvas were probably devoted to Vaishnavism.

The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali not only refers to the divinity of Vāsudeva, and the temples of Rāma (Balarāma) Keśava (Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva) but also to the worship of the four vyūhas with Vāsudeva as the head. The broad features of the vyūha cult are as follows: Vāsudeva, who is Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, is looked upon as the supreme Being, Purusha Paramātman or Kṣetrajña. That Being divides himself and becomes four by successive production, From Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva emanated Śaṅkarāṇa, from Śaṅkarāṇa emanated Pradyumna, and from Pradyumna emanated Aniruddha. This is a chain of emanation, something like that of one flame proceeding from another flame. Further, Śaṅkarāṇa has been identified with Jīva (living soul), Pradyumna with Manas (intelligence) and Aniruddha with Ahārākāra (egotism, consciousness).

The vyūha system has been described in detail in the Nārāyaṇya section of the Mahābhārata, the date of which is not certain. It, however, appears that the system was formulated earlier than the 2nd century B.C. One of the earliest accounts of the doctrine is to be found in the Brahmasūtra, ii, 2.42-45, as explained by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. The date of the Brahmasūtra also is not correctly known to us, but on various grounds, it can be supposed
that it was composed somewhere near the 2nd century B.C. The use of the Bahuvarthī compound in the example, Janaṁ-
danastvātmacaturtha eva, in the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali, proves beyond doubt that the vyūha-system was well estab-
lished by Patañjali’s time (2nd century B.C., it is now a well-recognised fact that Patañjali was a contemporary of
Pushyamitra Śuṅga).

The popularity of the Vaishnavaism seems to have continued in Bihar also subsequently (Three images of
Krṣṇa, Balarāma and Ekānamsā have been found in Bihar. They belong to the Kushāṇa period—Ed.). As is
evident from the seals, discovered at Basarh, Vaishnavism
was in a flourishing condition in Bihar during the 3rd-4th
century A.D. A large number of seals bear the Vaishnavaite
symbols, like the śaṅkha (conch), cakra, (wheel) etc.; further,
the personal names, occurring on them include Hari,
Harigupta, Varāha, Varāhadatta, Keśava, Keśavadatta,
Lakshmana, Krṣṇadatta, Vāsudeva, Viśvarūpa, and
several other similar names, point to the Vaishnavaite
affiliations of the authors of the seals in question. Again,
one seal contains the legend: Śrī Viṣṇuyaśa-svāmi-
Nārāyaṇa. This is evidently a seal of the temple of Viṣṇu-
pāda at Gayā.

BUDDHISM

Bihar happens to be the birth-place of Buddhism, though not of its founder, Gautama Buddha. It was at
Bodh-Gaya that the highest Truth (Bodhi) was visualised and
the fourfold truth along with the Law of Causation Paṭicca-
samuppaṭtī) were propounded by Buddha and it was at
Rājgir that the foundation was laid of monastic institutions,
which later developed into magnificent academic and
religious centres, producing learned and well-disciplined
monks, capable of diffusing the message of the Teacher far
and near. Introduction of monasticism marked a radical departure from the age-old systems of religious life. Among the monks there was no distinction of high and low, caste or creed, all being treated as equals.

For about two centuries from its inception, Buddhism had a number of centres in Magadha, Kosala and Avanti and it was at Pātaliputra with the patronage of Emperor Aśoka that the religion attained its pre-eminent position among the various religious systems, extending its area of influence almost all over northern India and a large portion of southern India up to the borders of Cola (Trichinopoly and Tanjore), Pāṇḍya (Madura), Satyaputra (Mangalore) Keralaputra (Malabar). In those days the remarkable achievement of the religion was its successful missionary work among the Sinhalese (of Tāmrāparṇī), Yonas (Graeco-Bactrians) Kambojas and Gandharas (people of northwestern Frontier Provinces). Through the efforts of Mahinda and Sanghamittā, son and daughter of Aśoka, the Sinhalese rulers espoused its cause and made it almost a state-religion, while among the Indo-Bactrians there were some who became monks and lay-devotees.

Aśokan period

After the holocaust of Kalinga, Emperor Aśoka became an admirer of the Buddhist principles, and as his edicts show, his faith in Buddhism gradually increased and he became its ardent lay-devotee towards the end of his reign.

In his Edicts, Aśoka propounded certain moral and religious principles, which were of a universal character and were evidently intended for his subjects in general. There is nothing in them particularly Buddhistic, but the terms, language and the form of enumeration of ethical principles bear a close relation to the Pāli texts, such as the Dhamma
pada, Suttanipata, Lakhayasuttanta, and the Gahapativaggas in the Majjhima, Samyutta and Anguttara Nikayas.1

As the imperial head of a vast empire, he wanted his subjects to be religious-minded and morally pure, and he deliberately avoided revealing his bias towards Buddhism and interfering with the existing religious systems. In the 12th year of his reign (256 A.D.) he himself dedicated the caves of Nigrodha and Mount Khalatika to the Ajtvikas. He directed his officers to give equal treatment to the followers of all religions, mentioning particularly Brahmanism, Ajtvikism, Jainism and Buddhism. Inspite of his universalism, Asoka did not hesitate to express his personal regard and devotion for Buddhism and his interest in the well-being of the Buddhist Sanga, e.g., in the Bhabara Edict issued in the 13th year of his reign he conveyed reverence to the Sangha and expressed his faith in the Triratna and stated that whatever was uttered by Bhagavan Buddha was well said. He then recommended a few particular pieces of the Tripiṭaka for special study by the monks and nuns, as also by the male and female lay-devotees. In the 14th year of his reign, he enlarged the stupa of Kanakamuni at Nigliva (Nigali Sagar) and again in the 20th year he paid a visit to the same stupa to offer his reverence to the same, marking his visit by erecting a pillar at the site. In the same year (20th) of his reign, he went to Lumbini, the birth-place of Sakyamuni, and made the village free of tax for the benefit of the monks residing there.

In the Brahmagiri Edict I, he declares himself not only as a lay-devotee (upasaka) of Buddhism but also resided in a monastery evidently as an advanced lay-devotee, observing the eight itlas prescribed for them. In many Edicts the Emperor referred to future existence and heavenly bliss and never mentioned Nibbana as the goal of
life. This shows that Aśoka was only a lay-devotee and that he did not become a monk at any time of his life. In view of this fact, it is not improbable that he appreciated the principles of the Mahāsāṅghikas, who recognised lay-devotees as partakers of the Dhamma more than those of the Theravādins, who insisted upon the recluse-life of a monk and a nun.

In the seventh Pillar Edict, the Emperor says that he planted banyan trees on the road-sides to give shade to the wayfarers and animals. He provided also mango-groves, wells for drinking water and shops (evidently for food and other requisites) on the wayside for the convenience of travellers. Such public works of utility for the benefit of the common people are recommended to the kings and princes for earning merit in the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghikas (vide T. 1425, k. 4, p. 261 a). Likewise the provision of medical treatment for men and animals and the procurement and production of medicinal herbs in order to make them available to all are mentioned in the Maṇjuśrīmulakalpa: (Vs. 540, 545, 548-9, 685-6)* as works of merit. It seems therefore that Aśoka was more in favour of the Mahāsāṅghikas, the forerunners of Mahāyānism, than of the orthodox Theravādins.

In the 25th year as also towards the end of his reign, the emperor was distressed to notice schisms in the Saṅgha and so he issued three Edicts, one at Sarnath, the second at Kauśāmbī and the third at Sanchi. In the Sarnath Edict he referred particularly to the Saṅgha of Pāṭaliputra, forbidding the monks and nuns to bring about schisms in the Saṅgha. He threatened the schismatic saying that he would have them even disrobed. He knew that the lay-devotees, who supplied the Saṅgha with the sinews of life, could effectively avert such schisms and so he directed his officers to place one Edict in their office and another in the
vicinity of the residences of the lay-devotees. This Edict partially corroborated the Sinhalese tradition that after the Third Council, some monks at his instance were disrobed and compelled to put on white dress.

Schisms in the Saṅgha

During the two centuries preceding the reign of Aśoka the monks were divided into a number of sects and there was a good deal of acrimony among the followers of the great Saint. The number of sects is said to have been eighteen, divided into two broad divisions, viz., Theravāda and Mahāsāṅghika. There were eleven sub-sects of the former, and seven of the latter. The former represented the orthodox school and the latter the heterodox, which became ultimately the forerunner of Mahāyānam. Of the eleven sects of the orthodox group, three, viz., the Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins and the Vātsiputriya-Sammitiyas attained prominence. These differed in doctrines but not very much in the monastic rules. Of the seven sects of the heterodox group, three, viz., the Mahāsāṅghikas, Caityikas and the Śailas became prominent. These differed from the orthodox group both in doctrines and disciplinary rules.

All the sects accepted the fundamental principles of Hinayāna, viz., (i) the world of beings is constituted of five elements (skandhas). (ii) The constituents are substanceless (anatman) and dynamic in nature (anitya), in consequence of which, (iii) they are sources of suffering (dukkha). (iv) The only means to obtain release (Nirvāṇa) from this changing world is perfection in the eightfold path to purify one's body, mind and intellect. (v) In order to attain such purification a being has to be born several times in order to go through the spiritual practices prescribed in the texts. (vi) The accumulated effects of one life pass on to the next ceaselessly until they
are fully neutralised, leaving no scope for further existence.
(vii) It is only after such neutralisation of *karmaic* effects
and attainment of perfect knowledge that one attains
*Nirvāṇa*.

Inspite of such general agreement, there arose sectarian
 differences in the interpretation of technical and
 philosophical terms and expressions as also of the Vinaya
 laws. The broad differences among the prominent sects
 are as follows:—

*Theravāda*: The oldest and the most orthodox sect
 was Theravāda. According to this sect, impermanence
 and substancelessness imply complete cessation of the
 constituents every moment (*kianika*). Immediately after
 death, appears a new set of constituents. There is no
 transmission of anything from one set of constituents
 to another, i.e., the seed must rot and cease completely
 to give rise to the sprout. In disciplinary matters, they
 strictly followed the literal conservative sense, e.g. in the
 rule “meal before noon”, the term “noon” is defined as
 the time when the shadow of a man is just beneath his
 feet, and not later. This sect had its original home in
 Magadha and later developed another centre in Avanti,
 and still later it passed on to the south of India and ulti-
mately to Ceylon.

*Sarvāstivāda*: This sect claims Madhyāntika, the
 missionary sent to Kashmir at the time of Aśoka, as its
 founder, and his disciple Upagupta as its propagator. The
 main contention of this sect, as against that of the Theravā-
dins, is that the term “Anitya” does not mean complete
 cessation of the five constituents but only their disintegra-
tion. The constituents no doubt undergo momentary
 changes but one set of constituents transmit imperceptible
 forces to the next set of constituents, and thereby maintains
 the continuity of the effects of *karma*. In short, this sect
asserts that the past exists in the present and the present contains the future potentially, in short, all exists (sarvam asti), from which formula is derived their name Sarvāstivāda. This contention of Sarvāstivāda is criticised by its opponents, saying that it is a re-orientation of the Sānkhyā philosophy of “satkāryavāda” (cause in effect), which was rejected by Gautama Buddha. According to the Thera- vādins the relation of cause to effect is always samānāntara (immediately preceding), cause and effect are consecutive and not simultaneous. This sect originated in Magadha but settled down in Mathurā with Upagupta as its spiritual head. According to the Sanskrit tradition, Upagupta was the spiritual guide of Asoka. With the patronage of Kapishka it became very popular in the north particularly in Gandhāra and Kashmir. Later, it attained popularity in Central Asia, wherefrom it passed on to China.

Vātsiputryas (Sammitiyas): The Vātsiputryas were very likely the Vajjiputtakas of Vaiśāli, who submitted to the decisions of the Second Buddhist Synod and did not join hands with the seceders, the Mahāsāṅghikas. This sect claims Mahākaccāyana as its founder. The main doctrine of this sect is that in a living being there is a sixth constituent called “pudgala” allied to the Vedāntic conception of “ātman”, apart from the five usual constituents, but the “pudgala” is not unchanging and ever existent like the Vedāntic Ātman. It undergoes change along with the other constituents every moment but it is an entity persisting in the series of existences of a being and serving as the carrier of its karmaic effects and finally ceasing when the being attains Nirvāṇa. This sect contends that Buddha’s references to his past, saying that he was so and so in such an existence implies that he admitted an entity, which formed the basis of I-ness and maintained the link between two existences. This fundamental doctrine of the Vātsiputryas was vehemently criticised by the other sects as it
went against one of the three watchwords of Buddha, viz., \textit{anattā}. The Vātsiputriya-Sammitiyas however became very popular in western India during the reign of Harshavardhana, who happened to be its strong supporter.

\textit{Mahāsāṅghika}: This sect had its origin in Pātaliputra where the Vajjiputtakas of Vaiśali assembled after seceding from the orthodox group at the Second Buddhist Synod. It derived its name from the fact that it allowed all monks of all ranks as also the lay-devotees to take part in the proceedings of the Synod. It permitted a slight laxity in the disciplinary rules, known as the ten deviātions, one of which, for instance, was that it allowed the monks to take meals shortly after noon provided that the shadow of the man did not extend beyond two fingers’ breadth on the west of his feet. The remaining nine deviations were also not serious except the one permitting the monks to accept gold and silver. From the \textit{Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya} it appears that this last deviation was later cancelled by the Mahāsāṅghikas.

This group of sects introduced the following changes—
(i) Deification of the Buddha and conception of Gautama Buddha as a mere reflection of the real Buddha.

(ii) The ultimate object of attainment is Buddhahood and not Nirvāṇa of the Arhats.

(iii) The attainment of virtues, e. g. of \textit{Paramitās}, as depicted in the Jātakas and Avadānas in addition to the virtues mentioned in Theravāda texts.

As a corollary to the above three view-points, the lay-devotees were given recognition as acquiring virtues leading to Buddhahood. A lay-devotee could become a Bodhisattva. As Buddhahood was the goal of this sect, the Hīnayānic Arhats were not admitted as perfect. The down-grading of Arhats was attributed to a monk called
Mahādeva. They, however, subscribed to the fundamental principles of Hinayāna Buddhism.

This sect had its earliest centres in a few places in Magadha and the northern countries but its sub-sects the Caityika and the Śailas established magnificent centres in the Andhra country round about Amarāvatī and Nagarjunikonda. The sub-sects developed the new teachings of the Mahāsāṅghikas further and paved the way for the advent of Mahāyānism.

In the wake of such sectarian wrangles, Aśoka became a patron and devotee of the religion and made an attempt to bring together the sects in order to make the Saṅgha stronger and more effective in the propagation of the sublime teachings which had appealed to his heart. He first tried to unite the inmates of the Kukkuṭārāma (Aśokārāma) in his capital but he met with failure which led to the session of the Third Buddhist Synod by the Therāvādins.

The Third Buddhist Synod: The third Synod was held at Pāṭaliputra under the auspices of Aśoka, with the main object of settling the sectarian differences and to avert further dissensions in Saṅgha. As a matter of fact, there were no further dissensions, after the Synod and the number of sects dwindled gradually.

In his Edicts, emperor Aśoka, condemned Saṅghabhēda in strong terms. It is said in the Mahāvamsa (V. 228f.) that Aśoka was distressed to learn that for seven years the monks of the different sects failed to perform the Uposatha and Patimāna ceremonies on account of differences among the sects in their Vinaya rules. He instructed one of his ministers to see that in the Aśokārāma at Pāṭaliputra the Uposatha ceremony was performed at one sitting with monks of all sects. The orthodox Therāvāda monks declined to comply with the king’s behest as they considered
the non-Theravāda monks impure in accordance with their Vinaya rules. This led to certain unhappy incidents, which made Aśoka yield to the Theravādins and act, according to the advice of their leader, Moggaliputta Tissa. It is stated in the Mahāvamsa that the leader with the support of Aśoka ousted from the Saṅgha all the non-Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda monks, including probably the monks of another orthodox sect, Sarvāstivāda. At this Synod, he compiled a treatise, called the Kathāvatthu, in which he refuted many doctrines of the non-Theravādins.

The tradition about Aśoka’s supporting one sect against other sects is not corroborated in the Edicts or in the Sanskrit tradition. In the latter, on the other hand, Aśoka is claimed as the patron of the Sarvāstivādins, and Upagupta as his spiritual guide. It has been pointed above that in the Edicts there are certain instructions regarding works of public utility, which can be traced in the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghikas and in a late Mahāyāna text. The fact that the emperor mentioned only heavenly life (svarga) and not Nirvāṇa shows that he agreed more with the ideal of the Mahāsāṅghikas than with that of the Theravādins. His concern was the well-being more of the householders than of the recluses. In this respect also, it seems, he appreciated the standpoint of the Mahāsāṅghikas. Fa-hsien records, though of a date 600 years later than that of Aśoka, state that Mahāyānism had its beginning in Pāṭaliputra. He states that in Pāṭaliputra resided a great Brāhmaṇa named Rādhāsvāmi, a professor of Mahāyāna, of clear discernment and much wisdom, who understood everything, living by himself in spotless purity.... "By means of this one man, the Law of Buddha was made widely known".... "By the side of the tope of Aśoka, there has been a monastery, very grand and beautiful; there is also a Hīnayāna one." It is not possible to identify the Mahā-
yānic teacher Rādhasvāmi except that there is the probability of his being the same person as the chief minister of Aśoka called Rādhagupta, who, according to the Dīvyāvadāna always supported Aśoka in his munificence to the Buddhist Saṅgha. It may be that Rādhagupta, after the demise of Aśoka, became a semi-Mahāyānic teacher with the appellation of Rādhasvāmi (alias Anuruddha).

Aśoka’s successors

According to the Tibetan tradition, Aśoka had eleven sons, of whom four are known to us through various sources. They are

(i) Tivara, son of Kāruvāki, mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions;

(ii) Kuṇāla son of Padmāvati, according to the Sanskrit Buddhist texts;

(iii) Mahinda, son of the Vidisā lady, according to the Mahāvanśa;

(iv) Jalauka, according to the Rājatarangini. Jalauka probably outlived Aśoka and ruled in Kashmir. He believed in Nāga and Śiva cults. In the legend of Kṛtyā, he is described as a persecutor of Buddhism, particularly Hinayāna. He appreciated the Bodhisattva ideal and built the Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra, which he dedicated not to the Buddhist Saṅgha but to the sorceress Kṛtyā. He patronised Śaivism, for which reason Buddhism waned in Kashmir in the post-Aśokan days.

Among the grandsons, Daśaratha, as his inscriptions prove, was a supporter of the Ājivikas while Sampadi, son of Kuṇāla, stood against the unending largesse of Aśoka to the Buddhist Saṅgha. Both of them evidently did not look upon Buddhism with favour.
Pushyamitra

Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, which succeeded the Mauryas in Magadha, revived Brāhmaṇism. In the Divyāvadāna he is described as one who wanted to surpass Aśoka by undoing the work done by him. He had the stūpas and vihāras built by Aśoka razed to the ground. He put the price of 100 dināras for the head of a Buddhist monk. This account of Puṣhyamitra's vendetta against the Buddhists seems to be exaggerated because a similar vengeance against the Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas is attributed to Aśoka in the same text where it is stated that he put the price of a dināra for the head of a Nirgrantha. It is not known exactly what happened to Buddhism in Magadha, but there are ample inscriptive and sculptural evidences outside Magadha, e.g., at Sanchi to show that large donations poured in for the benefit of the Saṅgha. Inspite of Pushyamitra's love and devotion for Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism did not suffer a set back. Stūpas and monasteries were erected in many parts of India during the Śunga and post-Śunga periods. From the coins of Bhasatimita of Kauśāmbī it appears that he became a Buddhist while his maternal uncle Āśaḍhhasena dedicated a cave to the Kāśyapiya monks.

Graeco-Bactrians

Among the missionaries sent out during Aśoka's reign, there was a Greek monk called Yonaka Dhammarakkhita, who propagated the religion in the western parts of India (Aparantaka) while another monk called Mahārakkhita was sent to the dominion of the Graeco-Bactrians (Yonavishaya) for missionary work. Hence, it is apparent that the seed of Buddhism was laid in the Yona territory during the reign of Aśoka. According to the Divyāvadāna Pushyamitra's vandalism against the Buddhists was retaliated by the Buddhist inhabitants of Damśhtrā, who according to
Dr. Bagchi,16 were the Graeco-Bactrians of the time of Demetrius. Later Menander, became a strong supporter of Buddhism. The Greco-Bactrians remained mostly confined to the northern countries and had very little to do with Magadha.

The Sakas

The Sakas who succeeded the Greco-Bactrians, were at first not very friendly towards Buddhism but under Hellenic influence they later changed their attitude and gave freedom to the Indian religions to have their own course. Like their predecessors they also remained confined to the northern and western countries of India.

The Kushāṇas

In the first century A.D. the Kushāṇas entered into India. The most noted ruler of this dynasty was emperor Kanishka (78 A.D.). He rendered signal services to the cause of Buddhism but these were confined mostly to Gandhāra and Central Asia. It is said that he defeated the king of Pāṭaliputra but he left the city on the king’s agreeing to part with Aśvaghosa, the famous Buddhist poet and dialectician, and the alms-bowl of the Buddha. He made Aśvaghosa his spiritual instructor. He was perplexed by the different sectarian interpretations of Buddhavacana. At his instance, a convention of the monks of all sects was held in Gandhāra or Kashmir with a view to ascertain the correct meaning of Buddha’s words. Aśvaghosa was the vice-president of the convention. The deliberations of the convention decided in favour of the views of the Sarvāstivādins. While residing at Pāṭaliputra, Aśvaghosa had established his reputation as a great dialectician by defeating a very distinguished Brāhmaṇa teacher, and thereby securing the patronage the then king of Magadha.16 It seems that about this time, the Brāhmaṇas of Magadha were very learned and proficient in dialectics,
and the Buddhist monks were no match for them. They won also the support of the ruler. Learning about the discomfiture of the monks of Vaiśālī at the hands of the Brāhmaṇas, Nāgarjuna, the renowned dialectician of the south, deputed his disciple Āryadeva, after giving him a thorough training in dialectics, to Vaiśālī. With some difficulty Āryadeva persuaded the king to call an assembly of learned men to contest with him in controversies. The king complied with his request. Āryadeva defeated the learned Brāhmaṇas in arguments and convinced the king of his great erudition. From that time the monks regained their position. Another monk, who came to Magadha after Āryadeva, was Guṇamati, who was also very proficient in dialectics and was able to defeat his opponents.

Advent of Mahāyāna

About the 1st century B.C., Buddhism underwent a distinct change towards Mahāyānism. The conceptions of Maitreya, the future Buddha, and of Amitābha, the eternal Buddha, were engrafted on the existing form of the religion, converting it gradually to a devotional one. Mahāyānism owes its origin to the Mahāsāṅghikas, who deified the Buddha and made many consequential changes as shown above.

The Mahāyānists incorporated most of the views of the Mahāsāṅghikas in their teachings and developed them further, e.g., they introduced the conception of three kāyas of the Buddha, viz., the real body (Dharmakāya), a divine and refulgent body (Sambhāragakāya) and an apparitional body (Nirmāṇakāya). The Mahāyānists accepted the disciplinary rules of the Hinayānists but with emphasis on dedication of one's own self to the service of others. Extreme altruism was the keynote of Mahāyānism and so the strict observance of the disciplinary rules was not insisted upon its followers. The Mahāyānists attached more
importance to the fulfilment of the six perfections (Pāramitā) than to the observance of the monastic rules. As their goal was Buddhahood and not Arhathood, they added two more stages to the eight stages of sanctification of the Hīnayānists. Their basic philosophy was non-existence of worldly beings and objects in reality, that the only Reality was Śūnyatā which was beyond all attributes. The Mahāyānic conception of Śūnyatā threw out of gear all the analytical studies, spiritual practices and acquisition of knowledge dealt with in the Tripitaka, the canon of the early Buddhists, as all these were relegated to the non-existent phenomenal world. Nevertheless they did not deny their value and efficacy in normal worldly life, and so they incorporated everything Hīnayānic in the Mahāyānic scriptures with the proviso that all the acquisitions of a man or monk should be regarded as ultimately non-existent.

The fundamental difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna was that the former sought emancipation through the realisation of the absence of individuality in the five constituents (pudgalaśūnyatā), of which they admitted existence though only in a fleeting form; while the latter held that emancipation could be obtained by the realisation of both pudgala-śūnyatā (non-existence of individuality) and dharma-śūnyatā (non-existence of all phenomenal beings and objects). They stated that by realisation of pudgala-śūnyatā a person eliminated the veil of mental, physical and intellectual impurities (kleśāvaraṇa), while by the realisation of dharma-śūnyatā, he removed the veil, which covered the Truth (Jñeyavaraṇa). They held that Arhats eradicated only Kleśāvaraṇa while the Buddhas both kleśāvaraṇa and jñeyavaraṇa. The whole life of the Buddha from his birth to demise as also his previous existences as depicted in the Jātakas and Avadānas was taken as the ideal by the followers of
Mahāyānism, who regarded themselves as Bodhisattvas after the initial ceremony of taking the Bodhicitta, i.e. the vow that they would dedicate their lives in all of their present and future existences to the service of others.

**JAINISM**

**Jainācārya tradition**

In Jainācārya tradition that begins after Lord Mahāvīra, Gautama Gaṇadhara became the spiritual leader after the Nirvāṇa (salvation) of the former in 527 B.C. He attained salvation after twelve years and then Sudharmācārya succeeded him. He also led the Saṅgha for twelve years. After Sudharmācārya the leadership of the Saṅgha went to Jambuśvāmi and he was leader for thirty eight years. After the above three Kevalis, the following five Śrutkevalīs, Nandi, Nandimitra, Aparājita, Gobardhana and Bhadrabāhu became leaders in succession and the total period of their leadership covers one hundred years. All these Jain spiritual leaders were born in the sacred land of Bihar, though the sphere of their religious preaching extended widely beyond its modern political boundary. Gautama Gaṇadhara even attained salvation at Gunava (Gomame) near modern Navada in the Nawada district. Likewise the Pārśvanātha hill of Hazaribagh district is credited to have been the place of salvation for many others.

Then Viśākhadatta, Proshṭhila, Chatriya, Jaya, Nāga, Siddhārtha, Sthitīsena, Vijaya, Buddhila, Gangdeo and Sudharmā, these eleven became the possessors of ten Pūrva-Jñānavid. These led the Jain Saṅgha for one hundred eighty three years. After these Nakshatra, Jaipāla Pāṇḍu, Dhruvasena and Kaṁsa, became the Ācāryas of eleven Aṅga Jñāna. The period of their leadership is two hundred twenty years. After one hundred and eighteen years Subhadra, Yaśobhadra, Yaśobāhu and Lohācārya...
became the knowers of partial knowledge of Aṅga-Pūrva. Thus the tradition of Ācāryas continued from 527 B.C. to 56 A.D. Though they travelled throughout India and preached Jain Religion and Jain Philosophy, Magadha was their main centre of activities. Rājagṛha, Campā and Pāṭaliputra were the important places where they delivered sermons.

Digambara and Svetāmbara

Both the Digambara and the Svetāmbara Jain traditions agree that the separation into the two sects took place in Pāṭaliputra. But it is essential to trace out the historical events which culminated in the birth of these two sects.

From 365 B.C. to 300 B.C. Bhadrabāhu Śrutakevali was associated with samrāt Candragupta Maurya. It is well-known that the empire of Candragupta extended all over India. His palaces stood both at Ujjayini and Pāṭaliputra. It is evident from the inscriptions in Hāthigumpha of Khāravela that the kings of Nanda dynasty were the followers of Jainism. Nandivardhana of this dynasty conquered Kaliṅga and took away the idol of Rshabhadeva, the Kula Devatā of Kaliṅga-Jina from those and enshrined the same in his own capital. According to legends, Candragupta was also a follower of Jainism. Being influenced by the preachings of Bhadrabāhu he was initiated into the Jain Religion. It is told that once Bhadrabāhu went into the city of Ujjayini for procuring food. The moment he entered into a lonely room, voice of a child was heard saying "Go away at once". Divya-Jñānī (super intellectual) Bhadrabāhu after analysing the voice came to the conclusion that after a few days a famine was to overtake the place and it would continue for twelve years. He told all the Munis of the Samgha that it would be difficult to maintain the Jain way of life there during
the time of the impending famine. Therefore, he asked them to go to South India or to Sindhu or to Sauvitra etc. Samrāṭ Candragupta Maurya was ordained by Bhadrabahu and he also joined the Saṅgha. After the initiation he was given the name Viśākhācārya. Their Saṅgha reached Śravaṇa Belagola in the South and Bhadrabahu embraced death in Samādhīmaraṇa. There Muni Viśākhācārya (Candragupta Maurya) performed penance on a mountain. Hence that mountain is still called Chandragiri and the cave in which he meditated is called Candragupta-Vastī. There is also an old inscription to this effect.

When the famine ended, Viśākhācārya, disciple of Bhadrabahu came back to Magadhadeśa with all the members of his Saṅgha. The three Munis, Rāmilla, Sthavirāsthūla and Bhadrācārya had gone to Sindhudeśa during the time of the famine. When they came back they told that the people there could not have their meals during the day time due to the clamour raised by the famine-stricken people. As they used to take their meals at night they asked the Munis also to have their food at night from their houses and thus they began to bring their food at night. Once a lean and thin Muni went to a householder with a bowl in his hand. Seeing the Nirgrantha Muni in the dark the householder’s pregnant wife became unconscious. So on the request of the householders they covered their nudism with a piece of cloth by one hand and taking the bowl in the other, they began to go to the houses. Now the famine was no more, some Munis resumed the Digambara code and conduct but those who were spiritually weak continued to use the piece of cloth and thus started the Ardhafalaka Sampradāya.

There lived a king named Vaprapāda at the city of Valabhi in Saurāśṭra. The name of his Paṭṭarāṇī was Swāmint. She was a devotee of Ardhafalaka Munis.
Seeing an Ardhaśālaka Muni the king was curious and he told his wife that Ardhaśālaka Saṅgha did not appear to be justified for they were neither fully clothed nor were they quite naked. Hence they should either clothe themselves or remain naked. Henceforth was thus started Kāmbala Tīrtha by the orders of the king and in the south this very Kāmbala Tīrtha was modified into Yāpaniya Saṅgha. The Munis belonging to Yāpaniya Saṅgha remained naked like the Digambara Munis, kept Mora-picchā and took their meals on their palms, worshipped the naked idols and blessed the devotees while on the other hand, like the Śvetāmbaras they believed in principle of Strīmukti, Kevaltikavalāhāra and Saṅgranthāvasthā. Thus this Saṅgha was a connecting link between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras.

It is evident from the Saṁbodha Prakāraṇā of Haribhadra that till the 7th and 8th centuries Śvetāmbara Munis too used to wear only colpaṭṭā and those who used to wear colpattā without reasons were known as kusāḥdhu. This colpattā consisted of one yd. of cloth for old men and two yds. for young ones.

In the Viśeṣāvāṣyaka Bhāṣya there is a mention of Voṣṭika Saṅgha’s emergence. It has been mentioned in this context that a brave Kshatriya named Śivabhūti lived in Ratnapura. Being disgusted with the family life he was ordained as a Muni. Hearing about Jinakalpa from the chief Ācārya of the Saṅgha and knowing that after Jambūsvāmin the Jinakalpa had ended. He re-established it after becoming Digambara again. Thus according to the Viśeṣāvalāṣyaka in 609 Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat i.e. 82 B.C. the Voṣṭika sect was brought into existence by Śevabhūti and it was called the Digambara Dharma. It is evident from the above that due to the re-establishment of the disintegrated Jinakalpa after Jambūsvāmin the Digambara Dharma was reinstated.
According to the views of Harisena and Devasena\textsuperscript{iv}, it was because there was difference of opinion about Stry-
mukt\textsuperscript{i}, Kevalibhakti and Savastras\textsuperscript{s}dhumukti that the Śvetāmbara sect came into existence at Vaḷabhipura. There were no difference in the creed till 136 of the Vikrama Era. The fact is that during the famine slack-
nesses came and the Śvetāmbara sect came into existence in Paṭaliputra.

Though the slackness developed outside Bihar the separation of the two sects in Jainism was finalised in Paṭaliputra. Here after the return of the Jain Sādhus at the end of the famine an attempt was made to revive the old austerity in the Saṅgha, but it failed. Thus those who continued the looseness in practice adopted under compul-
sion during the famine, formed a sect separated from those who returned to the old order.

\textbf{Anthology of Jaināgama}

When studying the legends and traditions it is known that after the famine Sthūlabhadra called a conference of Jain Munis at Paṭaliputra and tried to give a systematic form to the Śruti Jñāna. In this conference fortyfive canons were compiled but the contents of Drishiṭivāda were not known to them. Hence no compilation of the Pūrva was possible. So in order to acquire the knowledge of the Pūrvas some of the Munis were sent to Bhadrabāhu,\textsuperscript{m} the knower of fourteen Pūrvas who was in Nepal at that time. The Munis could not stay there for long. Sthūlabhadra alone stayed there. Out of the fourteen he acquir-
ed the knowledge of ten Pūrvas and these were theoretically incorporated with the Jain cannons at the conference at Paṭaliputra. This happened in about 300 B. C.

With the passage of time a second conference of the Jain Munis was held at Mathurā in about 300 A.D. under the leadership of Āryaskandila to give a systematic form to
the Jain canons. The knowledge of the Āgamas was observed for the six hundred years therefore on the basis of the Pātaliputra conference. Āryaskandila presented a compilation of the Āgamas which was known as Māthurt Vācanā in memory of the Munis of that time.

The third edition of the Āgamas was compiled at Valabhi under the leadership of Nāgārjuna Sūri. The Sūtras which were forgotten were recalled and were included in the text. This one is called the first Valabhi Vācanā. Under leadership of Devardhi Gaṇṭ Kshamāśramaṇa the last edition of the Āgamas was produced on the basis of Māthurt Vācanā. According to the Digambara sect these original Āgamas are now no more. Only a partial knowledge of Drśṭivāda remains but the Śvetāmbara sect considers the above mentioned Āgamas as the real knowledge imparted by Mahāvīra. Thus it is evident that the form of the Jain Āgama as now available is based on the compilation of knowledge perfected in the meeting at Pātaliputra.

Jain Scholars

In between 270 B. C. and 300 A. D. there were many scholars of Jain Religion and Jain Philosophy who spread the ideas of Jain Religion and Jain Philosophy in Bihar. A brief mention of some of them is made below.

Guṇadhara was well versed in Kasāya Pāhuḍa. He has written a book titled Pejjadosa Pāhuḍa. Guṇadhara explained his writings to Nāgahasti and Ārya Maṅkshu. Nothing can be said definitely about his time. Out of many Saṅghas referred to by Arhadbalt one is called Guṇadhara Saṅgha and as such Guṇadhara lived before Arhadbalt. According to Prākṛta Paṭṭāvali the time of Arhadbalt is Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat 565 or 38 A. D. Hence the age of Guṇadhara preceded
that of Arhadabhi. It is easy to suppose that after gaining much popularity the Guṇadhara tradition must have been known by the name of Guṇadhara Śaṅgha. If the popularity has been gained in hundred years the time of Guṇadhara comes to 2nd century B.C. Guṇadhara was the author of Pejjadasa Pāhuḍa. The meaning of Pejja is Rāga and Dosha is dvesha. Hence it is clear that Rāga and Dvesha have been analysed in this work. The modifications of Kashāya like anger etc. into Rāga and Dvesha and there characteristics of Prākṛt, Sthiti, Anubhāga and Pradeśa has been chiefly discussed in this work. There are 233 Gāthā Sūtras in this. The sūtra has been defined as below:

suttam guṇaharakahiyaṁ tahe'va
patteyabuddhakahiyaṁ ca /
Sudakevalipā kahiyaṁ abhinnadasa
puvvakahiyam ca //

It means that a Sūtra is that which is interpreted by Guṇadhara Pratyeka Buddha, Śrutakevali and Abhinnadasa Pūrvavid. There are sixteen chapters in Pejjadosa Pāhuḍa, or Kasāya Pāhuḍa and the first chapter is named Pejjadosa-vibhatti. According to this chapter the bondage is responsible for the birth cycle and Rāja-Dvesha are the causes of this bondage. Kashaya is another name of Rāga-Dvesha. The remaining chapters deal with Sthiti, Anubhāga, Bandha, Samkramaṇa, Vedaka Upayoga, Catuḥ Sthāna, Vyañjana, Darśana, Mohopāsamaṇa, Saṁyamasāmyama-
labdhi, Saṁyamalabdhi, Cārita Mohopāsamaṇa, Cārita Mohiakshapaṇa etc. Evidences regarding the birth place of Ācārya Guṇadhara is not traceable but this much can be ascertained that he devoted a large part of his wandering period in Bihar and he stayed at Sammed Śikhara (Pārśva-
nātha Hill) and Rājagṛha. Many of his books must have been written in Bihar while for others he must have got materials and inspiration from this land of Jain tradition.
It is admitted on all hands that Bihar has been the seat of spiritual activities of almost all the Jain saints even though they hailed from outside. The caves of Rājagṛha bear testimony to several such instances. These caves had been the abode of Jain saints from 300 B.C. Bhūtabali and Pushpadanta, though they finalised their works outside Bihar, got their ideas and materials during their long journey to Rājagṛha and Campā. Famous saints like Sthūlabhadra and Bhadrabāhu also passed a good portion of their ascetic lives in the caves of Rājagṛha. These caves have won the credit of editing many sūtra collections.

**Dharasena**

After Guṇadharacārya, came Dharasenācārya, who acquired the knowledge of Deśavid of Anga-Pūrva. His abode was in the Candra cave in Üjayanta mountain situated near the city of Giri in Saurāshṭra. He was like a strong lion which destroys the pride of a band of elephants.

According to Indranandl Kundakunda is the commentator of Shaṭkhandāgama. The period of Kundakunda is the 1st century A.D., therefore Shaṭkhandāgama must have been written prior to the above.

The time of Arhadabali as pointed out in Prākrit Paṭṭāvali is 38 A.D. The chronological order of Ācāryas establishes that Arhadabali was contemporary of Dharasena. Hence the Shaṭkhandāgam written by his two South Indian pupils Pushpadanta and Bhūtavali must have been composed in 1st century A.D.

Bihar has no connection with the authorship of the Shaṭkhandāgama. But the Paṭṭāvali proves that before going to the Tāmila land, Bhūtabali and Pushpadanta visited Rājagrha. Even in the first century B.C. several Jain Ācāryas stayed at Rājagrha and Pāṭaliputra. Pushpadanta had also paid a sacred visit to Sammeda Śikhara. So it
can be conveniently assumed that these teachers got their inspiration for their works in Bihar.

**Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama Sūtras**

There are six sections in the book and hence is known as Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama. The sections are Jivatthāna, Khuddabandha, Bandhasamitvavica, Vedanā, Vargaṇa and Mahābandha (1). Jivatthāna is again divided into eight chapters each dealing with one aspect of Jīva. Besides these eight aspects there are nine sub-divisions of Jīva position. It contains a total of 2375 sūtras divided in seventeen chapters.

(2) Khuddābandha (Chudrabandha)—The second section is very important from the view point of Karma doctrine. There are eleven chapters in this and contains a total of 1582 sūtras (3) Bandhasamitvavica—In this section there are 324 sūtras giving in detail the various aspects of causes of bondage. (4) Vedanākhaṇḍa—divided into sixteen chapters containing a total of 1449 sūtras elucidates on the actions of Karma. (5) Vargaṇākhaṇḍa contains 727 sūtras, and the last Mahābandha, also called Mahādhavata, contains forty thousand sūtras composed by Bhūtabali and is divided into four parts.

(1) Praktī bandha (2) Sthitibandha
(3) Anubhāgabandha and (4) Pradeśabandha

Again these four parts are sub divided into many different divisions.

Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama is very important and valuable book of Jain-āgama. From different points of view Karma philosophy has been propounded in it.

Ācārya Kundakunda’s father’s name was Karmanḍu and that of his mother Śrīmatt. There are divergent views among the scholars regarding his period. From old manuscripts we know that he became Ācārya at the age of 36 years. In the last stanza of Bodha Pāhuḍa, he had
mentioned himself to be a pupil of Śrutakevalī Bhadrabāhu. According to another Paṭṭāvalī (as compiled by Haruley etc.), he became Ācārya in 92 B.C. A third source places him in 243 A.D., being contemporary of Umāsvamī. Dr. A. N. Upadhye[1] taking into consideration the views expressed by Dr. Pathak, Prof. Chakravarti, late Pt. Nathūram Premi and Ācārya Jugal Kishore Mokthar came to the conclusion that Kundakunda must have flourished between the latter half of the 1st century B.C. and first half of the 1st century A.D., as there is no mention of Kundakunda’s name in inscriptions etc. after 2nd century A.D.

Kundakunda has used Śaurṣeṇī Prākrit language in his books. Pravacanasāra, Samayasāra and Pañcaśikāya are the three most respected books of his which throw light on Jain metaphysics. Besides the above, there are other works also written by him. In the Niyamasāra Samyak darśana, Samyak jñāna and Samyak Cāritra have been well-defined as the way of attaining salvation. In the Bārao Anuṭekkha the twelve Bhāvanās like Anitya, Aśarana Akatva etc. find place in detail. Kundakunda had come to the Videha country (North Bihar) and had stayed in Bihar, and so could not remain unaffected by the attraction towards the religious traditions of Rājagṛha.

Thinkers and scholars like Indrabhūti, Agnibhūti, Vāyubhūti, Sudharmā, Mandima Mauryaputra, Akampika, Prabhāsa, and Jambu Swāmi[2] have adorned the land of Bihar and interpreted the doctrines of the Jain religion and philosophy. It is this land that has attained the glory of giving a legitimate form to the Jain Prameyas well discussed in the Āgamas by writing the Tatvośrthasūtra. It is beyond doubt that the attempt to combine the forty-five Āgamas like the eleven Aṅgas, twelve Upāṅgas, four Mūlasūtras, two Cūlikasūtras, six Chedasūtras and ten Prakīrṇa-
kasūtras was made for the first time in Pāṭaliputra. Similarly, in order to make a brief exposition of the Jain Metaphysics, Ethics, Geography, Astronomy (Khagola), Physics etc. Umāsvami wrote the Tattvārthasūtra. It is the first pioneer book on the Jain philosophy and metaphysics. In it, prameya (objects), jñāna (knowledge) and Śrṣṭividyā (cosmology) have been discussed in the style of Kanāda.

It is very difficult to say what place Umāśwāmi originally belonged to. According to the inscriptions of Śravaṇabelagolā, he belongs to the school of Kundakunda. In the Dhavalāṭikā Virasena says that Ācārya Gṛdhrapiccha is the author of the Tattvārthasūtra. According to the inscriptions at Śravaṇabelagolā and other ancient manuscripts, Gṛdhrapiccha is an adjective applied to Umāsvāmi. It is reasonable because Kundakunda himself was Gṛdhrapiccha and Umāsvami who belonged to his school was also called Gṛdhrapiccha. Pandit Sukhalālji Samghavī thinks that the Tattvārthādhigama Bhāṣya is the commentary by its author.

According to the colophon (Praśasti) in the book his father's name was Swāti and his mother's name was Vātstī. He was born in the Kaubishanā gotra. A place named Nyagrodhikā has been said to be his birthplace. After studying the Āgamas (Scriptures), he came to (Kusumapura), Patna and it was here that he wrote the Tattvārthasūtra.

Sāmantabhadra was born in South India, but he engaged in debate the monist vedāntists at Pāṭaliputra and established the supremacy of Anekāntavāda. After Pāṭaliputra, he went to Rājagrīha and Sammedaśikhara where he got the incentive for popularising Anekāntavāda. So we see how intimately connected Sāmantabhadra was with Bihar. No doubt, the name of Sāmantabhadra ranks fore-
most among the pioneers of anekāntavāda (non-absolutism). He has evaluated the different ekāntavādas and stressed the importance of manifoldness as a doctrine combining them all. He is supposed to be the scion of the Kadamba dynasty. His father was the last king of Uragapura. Situated on the bank of the Kāverī, this place was very prosperous. It is said that his real name was Sānti Varman. Sāmantabhadra was very sharp-minded from his very childhood. He was a great seer and philosopher. Though born in the remote corner of South India, he was connected with Pāṭaliputra. He defeated the pluralists here. He lived in 2nd century A.D.

**Development of the Principles of the Jain Religion**

It is imperative to indicate as to how the tenets of the Jain religion came to this age in a well organised form. The holy land of Bihar has made invaluable contributions to the development and organisation of the Jain religion and philosophy.

The Jain philosophers have thought in details over the form of dharma (religion). To elevate the soul and attain the pure form of ātman is the goal of dharma. In the Jain scriptures the word ‘dharma’ has two meanings—nature of things and conduct. The nature of a thing is its religion, for example, fire is hot and water is cold. Thus their dharmas are also hot and cold. This natural dharma is found both in inanimate and animate objects, but the ethical dharma is found only in the living things. The Jain philosophers have dwelt on ethical dharma and natural dharma. While thinking over dharma, they have also tried to solve the problems relating to soul, god, the world, the other world, rebirth and weal and woe. In his Pravacanasāra Kundakunda has defined dharma in the following words—
Caritra is dharma and this dharma is poise and attained by resistance of all temptations. In fine, dharma is self-realisation, devoid of attachment. The moment Kashāya or passions like anger, pride, deceit and greed spring up, the soul is polluted and the nature of the soul is changed into vibhāva. In the absence of the passions, poise is born in the soul that attains ācāra (right conduct).

According to the āgamas, non-violence, self-restraint and penance are dharmas. Acting on these things the soul becomes stainless and tries to deliver itself from the bondage. Samyaktva (right attitude) is to believe in the efforts to be free from the blemishes of the soul. According to the scriptural definition, Samyagdarśana is the faith in the sevenfold elements like Jīva, Ajīva etc. The right knowledge of these sevenfold elements is Samyagjñāna. The right angle of vision is more important than the knowledge of the good and the bad. The practice of knowledge, self-restraint and penance is impossible without the faith in the soul. This faith is the ground on which the colossal edifice of non-violence is built. In its absence knowledge is fruitless and Samyakcaritra cannot be attained.

In the absence of śīla (modest conduct) even wise men become the slaves of the senses and are born and reborn again and again. Only those who are not dominated by the senses, have modest conduct. All mental, verbal and physical activities of man are connected with śīla. Śīla has two phases—positive and negative. Positive śīla means to be wilfully engaged in an action and negative śīla means to check this tendency. Positivity is both good and bad. Thus śīla or right and modest conduct is to be employed in an action with good thoughts. Self-restraint
poise and sāmayika are the best tendencies that are helpful to the deliverance from bondage. Kindness to living beings, conduct of the senses, truth, non-stealing brahmacarya, contentment and penance are the chief characteristics of 'śīla'.

There are five mahāvratas (great vows) for an ascetic namely, Non-violence, Truth, Non-stealing, Brahmacarya and Aparigraha (non-possession). There are five samitis viz. to walk cautiously, to speak and take meal with restraint, to keep up things with care and to respond to the call of nature at proper places. Over and above all these, there are the conquest of the five senses, six necessary rituals keśaluncā (rooting out the hair), nagnatā (nudity), non-bathing, sleeping, sleeping on the ground, non-washing of the teeth, eating while standing up, taking meal at one time. There are also twenty-two parishahas (austerities) like hunger, thirst, mosquitoes etc. Svādhīṣyā (self-studies), Šānyama (self-restraint) are indispensable to the conduct of an ascetic. He should gradually kill the passions. Besides, he should observe the ten dharmas and practise the twelve tapas (penances) and think of the twelve anuprekkhas. Anupreksha means thinking of the mutability of all things in order to attain the state of detachment from the world and its temptations.

A householder observes the vows of Non-violence, Truth, Non-stealing, Brahmacarya and Aparigraha. He does not abstain from killing the sthāvara (non-moving) jīvas. He tries his utmost to abstain from violence to the trasa (moving) jīvas. He also observes friendship, recreation, pity and neutrality. Similarly, he gives up Untruth, Stealing, and Parigraha. Samyagdarsana (right attitude) and true faith are necessary for a householder. Inspite of living with his family, house, wealth and property, a householder tries to practise self-restraint in his life.
Eleven grades have been fixed for the observance of the Śrāvakadharma. These grades are called Pratimā. In the first Pratimā the individual has the tendency towards his spiritual uplift. He gives up wine, flesh and such uneatables and strives for rising spiritually. The other grades of Pratimā are vratapratimā, samayakapratimā, ovadhopavasopratimā, sacltyāgāpratimā, rāthrnhojanatyaagapratimā, brahmacaryapratimā, arāmbhathyāgaprati- timā, parigrahatyāgapratimā, anumatityāgapratimā. In the second pratimā, the householder observes the five anuvratas, three guṇavrata and four śikshāvrata in order to attain the sāmyabhāva (poise). In the third he practises proper self-meditation in order to win over the kashāyas or passions. In the fourth he observes fast on every ashtami and caturdāstī. In the fifth he gives up eating green vegetables and practises ahiṃsā. In the sixth he gives up eating all kinds of food. In the seventh he practises brahmacarya. In the eighth he gives leaves and other means of livelihood to his sons. In the ninth he practises aparigraha. In the tenth he refrains from giving permission or counsel to his sons and in the eleventh pratimā he reaches the culmination of the śrāvakadharma and does not even accept the food prepared for him. Now he leaves home and in order to observe the vrata of an ascetic he observes the sullama and aḷaḷa vrata. The sullam puts on only one dress but the aḷaḷa wears only a loin cloth. Now the householder observes the eleven pratimās with steadfastness, practises self-restraint and is all the time alert to remove his short-comings. The householder should also endeavour to have sallekhanā-death. Sallekhanā means the giving up of the body on the arrival of an unavoidable calamity, distress and disease. It is non-suicide. It is undertaken only when the body is no longer capable of serving its owner as an instrument of dharma and when death is inevitable.
It is the definite view of the Jain philosophers that only a purified soul can gain the knowledge of the perfect Truth. Consequently, from mithyātva (predilection for the untruth) to salvation (moksha), the soul has to pass through many stages for its spiritual development. These stages are known as guṇaṣṭhāna. Under the impact of the karmas feelings arise in the soul and are connected with the mohaniya (intoxicating) karmas and under their different conditions fourteen spiritual stages arise in the soul. Under the impact of the mohaniya karmas mithyābhāvas (false beliefs) spring up in the soul and it develops a distaste for the true doctrines. This is the first stage known as mithyātva. In this stage the soul develops samyagdṛṣṭi. The second stage in which he falls from samyaktva down to mithyātva is known as sāsadāna. This is an intermediate stage. When a man falls from the heights of a mountain but does not come to the level of the ground, he is neither on the mountain nor on the ground. Similarly, the soul in this stage has neither samyakata nor mithyātva. The third stage is known as samyagmithyātva. When we mix curd and sugar together, we get a mixed taste. Similarly, in this stage samyaktva and mithyātva are mixed up and produce a mixed effect. In the forth-stage, known as aviratasaamyagdṛṣṭi, the soul believes in the true doctrines but is unable to control the kashāyas or passions to a great extent. In the fifth stage called samyataśaṁyata the soul has self-restraint to a greater extent that he has in the fourth stage. But it lacks perfect self-restraint. In the sixth stage called pramattasaṁyama, the soul practises perfect self-restraint but due to pramāda (carelessness) it is a bit stained. In the seventh stage named apramatta, the soul shakes off pramāda, practises unobstructed self-control and is immersed in contemplation. In order to go ahead of this guṇaṣṭhāna the karmas are averted in two ways. They are known as Upaśamana (suppression) and Kṣhapaka (destruc-
tion). Upāśamana means to suppress the rise of the karma. And Kshapaka means to destroy them completely. One who subdues the karmas subdues them with pure thought. One who destroys them also does it with pure thoughts. In the eighth stage named apūrvakarma unprecedented effects are enjoyed and the soul spiritually rises higher and higher, minute by minute. In the ninth stage known as anivṛtikarma all the Kashāyas except the subtle ones are either subdued or destroyed. In the tenth stage named sūkshmasamparāya he subdues or destroys the subtle forms of Kashāya and gains self-purification. Just as the colour is there in the cloth dyed in saffron even if it is properly washed, the spiritual colour leaves an indelible stamp on the soul. In fine, the meditating ascetic in this stage retains but the subtlest forms of Kashāya. And when the meditating ascetic subdues the subtlest forms of Kashāya, he enters the eleventh stage known as Upāsāntakashāya. In the twelfth stage known as Kṣiṇamoha all the passions and mohanīya karmas disappear and the soul attains the stage of perfect self-purification. In the thirteenth stage called Sayogakāvala all the three Ghatiyā (destructive) karmas called jñānāvaranīya (knowledge-loving), darśanāvaranīya (intuition-covering) and Antarāya are destroyed and the soul attains omniscience and jīvanamukti (emancipation in life). The Tīrthankaras preach their gospel after the attainment of this stage. Afterwords the cessation of all the activities of mind, speech and body in order to destroy nāma (body-making) gotra (status-determining), vedaniya (feeling-producing) and āyu (longevity-determining) karmas is named āyoga that is fourteenth stage.

Rebirth and karma are admitted by all spiritual Indian systems: None denies that the jīva has to reap the harvest of its karmas. In the Jain philosophy the form of Karman and its relationship with the soul have been
expounded in a different way. According to the Jain philosophy karma is that which is attracted by råga (attachment) and dvesha (repulsion) towards the jìva and mingles with it. Though it is a material thing, yet it is bound to the jìva through the latter's action. The difference lies in the fact that according to other systems every action of the jìva who is free from attachment and repulsion is karma and they regard the karma as temporary and samskāra (impression) to be lasting but according to the Jain Philosophy there comes to the unliberated jìva with its mental or verbal or physical action a material substance that is bound to the jìva by attachment and repulsion and latter on produces a good or bad effect.

According to the Jain Philosophy the relation between the soul and karman is beginningless. Kundakunda says: Attachment and repulsion rise in the jìva as a result of which new karmas are bound to it. With the rise of karmas the jìva is born in the form of god or a man etc. After being born it gets the body. After the body, the senses are born. The objects of the senses are attracted and this produces the effects of attachment and repulsion. Thus, rolling with the cycle of the world, the jìva gets karmabandha (bondage) from attachment etc, and vice versa.

Yoga (vibration) and kashāya (passions) are the causes of karmabandha. Yoga that is the vibration of mind, speech and body brings the karmic matter into the soul and passions bind it to the soul. The filtering of the subtle karmic matter into the soul due to the unsteadiness of mind, speech and body is known as āsrava (influx) and its relationship with the soul through passions is known as bandha (bondage). Yoga is compared to the wind, kashāya to gum, the soul to a wall and the karmic matter to dust. If the wall be painted with gum, the dust flying with the
wind will stick to it. If the wall be dry, the dust will stick but fly off very soon. The quantity of the dust depends on the force of the wind. The greater the force, the more the dust and vice versa. If the wall be painted with gum or oil, the dust will stick to it longer. Similarly the karmic matter is more or less in proportion to the force of Yoga and the duration of the karma as is determined by the force of passions.

There are four varieties of karmabandha, namely prakṛtibandha (type-bondage), sthitibandha (bondage of duration), anubhāgabandha (bondage of intensity) and pradesabandha (space-bondage). The nature of obscuring or distorting the jīva’s knowledge and vision that is to be found in the influxing karmic matter is type-bondage. ‘Sthiti’ means duration, with the influx of the karmic matter its duration is also fixed. The fruit-producing power of the karmas is called anubhāga. The moment the karmic matter enters the soul, it gets the strength of producing strong or weak effects. This is known as space-bondage.

Prakṛtibandha is of eight kinds, namely, jñānāvaraṇa, darśanāvaraṇa, vedantya, mohantya, āyu, nāma, gotra and antarāya. Jñānāvaraṇa distorts knowledge. It is due to this that some are more enlightened and some less. Darśanāvaraṇa obscures the spiritual vision. Vedantya feels the earthly pleasure and suffering. Mohantya karma produces delusion. This karma does not let the soul know the right path and if the right path is somehow known it does not let the soul leave the path. Āyu determines the span of life. The rise of āyu karma is life and its fall is death. The embodiment of the bodiless is the working of nāma karma. The gotra karma determines the status of the family in which one is born and the antarāya karma hinders the enjoyment of the desired things. Of the eight jñānāvaraṇa, darśanāvaraṇa, mohantya and antarāya are called ghātiyā (destructive) karmas because they destroy the knowledge,
vision, energy and pleasure of the soul. Among all these karmas mohaniya karma is regarded as the leader because it produces the defects of attachment, repulsion and delusion etc. The jīva gets good or bad fruits because of its karma and as such the Jain philosophy does not admit God either as the giver of fruits or as the creator of the universe.

Every object has many dharmas, and these dharmas reside in the dharma (doer of dharma). Dravya (substance) is another name for the dharma. Sat is the form of dravya. Guṇas and paryāyas always exist in it. Utpāda (birth) kshaya (decay) and dhruvya (eternity) are found in dravya. If the power of utpāda in the dravya generates paryāya (modes or states) in the first moment, its power of kshaya destroys the paryāya in the next moment. So dravya is wonderful with its utpāda, kshaya and dhruvya traditions. The Jain philosophers call the material karma as guṇa and the changing karma as paryāya. Guṇa is unchangeable and the paryāya is changeable.

Dravya is originally divided into two categories— as tikāya and anastikāya. The dravyas that cover space are called astikāya. Kāladravya is anastikāya. Astikāya is of two categories, namely, jīva and ajīva. Jīva is another name for the soul. It is of two kinds viz. worldly jīva and emancipated jīva. The worldly jīva is of two kinds, namely trasa and sthāvara. The jīvas having two or more senses are called trasa and the jīvas having one sense are called sthāvara. Pudgala, dharma, adharma and ākāśa are the four categories of jīva-astikāya. That which is the helper of the movement of jīva and pudgala is called dharma. Adharma is the helper of the rest. Ākāśa give the living place to all. It is the cause of changes in things.

Jñāna, darśana and cetanā (consciousness) are essential to jīva. Consciousness is all the time present. Cons-
ciousness has two states—internal and external. This jiva is the doer, enjoyer and master. It is responsible for its rise and fall. Its bondage and emancipation are due to its karmas. The Jain philosophy admits the free existence of every jiva.

Pudgala is a technical term. Etymologically it means being perfect or united, being bound, melting and being separated. That which is united and separated is pudgala. Rūpa (colour), rasa (taste), gandha (smell) and sparśa (touch) are the characteristics of pudgala. Both matter and energy are included in pudgala. The indivisible particle of pudgala is known as āṇu (atom). The union of two or more atoms causes sanghāta (friction). The bodies of living beings and other inanimate objects are made by this friction. According to the Jain philosophy udyota (moonlight), tāpa (heat), ātapa (sunlight), tamas (darkness), bandhā (union), bheda (division or separation), sūkshmā (fineness), sthūlāta (grossness), samsthāna (shape), śabda (sound) and chāyā (image) are but the modifications of pudgala.

Every object has anantadharma. The kevala (enlightened one) perceives the anantadharma through his prescience. But a lay man can look at a thing only from one viewpoint at a time. So he can know only one karma of the thing. This partial knowledge of things is known as naya in the Jain philosophy. The judgement based on this partial knowledge is also naya. Our knowledge of a thing cannot be true from all points of view. The truth of the thing depends on the viewpoint from which we look at the thing. The differences among us lie in the fact that we forget the theory of nayavāda and think our selves to be true.

According to the theory of Syādvāda, the word ‘syād’ is indirectly linked up with every sentence. The word ‘syād’ means ‘in a certain sense’. It has been used to indicate manifoldness because the exposition of manifoldness is
not possible without this word. So, according to the theory of manifoldness, everything is in a certain way existent (syāt sat) and in a certain sense non-existent (syāt asat). The speakers refer to the dharmas of the things having many dharmas from their own different view-points. The hearers understand the meanings of the speakers with the help of the theory and Syādvāda.

Kundakunda has referred to Saptabhaṅginiyāya (the sevenfold pluralistic argument of the Jain dialectics) in order to understand the theory of Syādvāda. But this saptabhaṅginiyāya has also been spoken of in the āgama age, but the credit of establishing it in the sphere of philosophy goes to Sāmantabhadra.

References

3. It is prescribed in the *Vinaya* (se. e.g., Cullavagga vi. 1.4; vi. 9.1) that the monasteries should be open to the residence of all monks, present and future of the four corners (āgātānagata-catuddisa-rāhga); hence the monks of different sects resided in Aśokarāma.
4. Each sect had a *Vinaya* code of its own. It is enjoined in the *Vinaya* that for every *Uposatha* and *Pavāraṇa* ceremony, all attending monks must declare that they had not committed during the intervening period between two sittings any breach of the respective *Vinaya* rules. As the *Vinaya* rules differed among the sects, one sect would not regard the monk of another sect as pure. It was for this reason that *Uposatha* and *Pavāraṇa* ceremonies could not be held for a long time.
5. M.V. V. pp. 271 ff.
7. Beal. *Buddhist Record of the Western World* p. LVI.
9. Walters on Yuan Chwang II p. 89.
11. Raj. I. 136; 140-4; Kshemendra’s Samayamatra V. 61.
15. IHQ. XXII, pp. 81-91
17. The six Paramitas are—dana, itia, kshanti, virya, dhyana and prejna.
18. The stages of sanctification of the Hinayanas are Sotapatti, Sakadagami, Anagami and Arhatta, subdivided into magga and phala making in all eight. To these eight are added two more stages by the Mahayanas known as Abhisheka-bhumi and Sambuddhahood.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid. 4/1477.
22. Ibid. 4/1482-84.
    See the Jain sources of the History of Ancient India by Dr. Jyoti Prasad Jain, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1964, p. 102.
28. JBORS, XIII, p. 245.
30. Bhadrabahu(b) Sa Candraguptamunidrayugmadino’pyevam. Jainalilaksanasangraha 1, p. 6.
33. Visheshāṇāyakabhasyā—2550-52.
34. Dārāmuntra Gathā 11-2.
35. CHL. I, p. 147.
37. See Dhavala Tika Baggana Khaṭa Vol. 1-3, p. 381.
38. See Prākṛta Bhāṣā aur Sahitya ka Alocanātmaka Itihāsa.
   — Varanasi 1966, p. 211
39. See Jain Siddhānt—Bhāskar, Arraḥ, Vol.1, Kirān 4, pp.72-73
40. Prākṛta Bhāṣā aur Sahitya ka Alocanātmaka Itihāsa
   Varanasi, 1966, p. 221.
41. Saddāvijyārō hito bhāṣā sūtresā jau jīpe kahiyaṃ /
   so taha kaniyaṃ gāyam etṣaṃ yāṃ Bhaddavāhuṣa//
   — Bodhäuser (in Satprabhātrad-samgraha, M. J. G. No.
   17, Bombay) J. P. Jain, ‘Some more Aliases of Kundakunda’,
   J. A. XII, 2, pp. 19-23.
42. See Pravacanastrā, edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhyā, Bombay
43. Bhagavān Mahāvīra, Muni Kalyāṇavijaya pp. 212-220.
44. Jainaśīlālekhasamgraha, I Nos. 108 and 46
45. Tattvārthasūtra Kartāram grīhāpyechopalakṣhitāṁ vande
   gautendrasanjuṭām umāsvāmīṁ munīśvaraṃ /
   Colophon of a Ms.
46. Nyagrodhikāprasutena viharatā puravare kusumanāmī /
   Kaubhiṣhunjīṁ svatītiṇayena vātśisutenārthīṃ /
   Tattvārthabhāṣya, Intro. Verse 3.
47. Ratnakaraṇḍāśraṅgaścāra, M. C. Jain Series, Intro.
48. An Inscription of Sravaprabhālagolā runa
   prvam pāṭaliputra-madhyananagare bhṛtr mayā tādiśa paścan
   mālavasindhudhakka viṣhaye Kaṇḍipure viṣṇīśe' praptō han
   karahāṭakaṁ bahuḥbhaṭam vidyotkaṭam saṁśkaṭam vādārtha’
   vicarāmy aham narapate śārūlalavikṛḍitaṁ // Jainasīlālekha-
   samgraha 1, p. 102
CHAPTER XXV

Art and Architecture in c. 187 B.C.—320 A.D.

The Mauryan period was characterised by vigorous activities in the field of art and architecture under active and direct encouragement and initiative of the king. What has been labelled as ‘the court art’ dominates by far the examples of folk or country art. But with the end of the Mauryan rule we find in the following centuries little that could be ascribed to direct royal patronage or initiative. Examples that could be assigned to the Śuṅga period are mainly those of private or group efforts. There is little, to be found in Bihar which can be ascribed directly to any Śuṅga or Kāṇva king. But the lack of royal initiative was made up by luxurious growth of folk and community art represented by the beautiful terracottas and robust sculptures depicting popular gods or godlings and also religious and social life.

The Śuṅgas were Brāhmaṇas by caste and religion, but it is noteworthy that during their rule large Buddhist monuments were erected—the Bharhut and Sanchi and the Bodh-Gaya railings.

The Bodh-Gaya railings represent the best of the Śuṅga art and architecture in Bihar. These railings are of grey sandstone, and the inscriptions on the railings show that some of these were erected by Āryā Kuraṅgī, queen of Indrāgnimitra, and Nāgadevi, queen of Brahmamitra. Their exact identification is not possible, but the palaeography suggests that these must be dated not later than the 1st century B.C. On the railings many Jātaka scenes have been engraved and a comparison of these with the relief sculp-
tures of Bharhut and Sanchi would show that the Bodh-Gaya rails are later than Bharhut but earlier than Sanchi. There is no special architectural feature in the construction as the system is the same as in Bharhut and Sanchi rails. There are standing stone pillars, at regular intervals, two of which are joined by three parallel horizontal bars (ṣūcīs). On the horizontal bars, in the centre have been sculptured in relief full or half blossomed lotus—the symbol of purity and prosperity in Indian art traditions. Over the standing pillars was the coping stone (Uṣṇīṣha). On those or on the pillars are engraved the Jātaka scenes or scenes from common life. From the inscriptions we learn that Āryā Kuraṅga had also got constructed monasteries for the Buddhist monks and nuns. Fāh-sien had seen these. They probably today lie buried in the mounds near the Bodh-Gaya temple. Small scale excavations have recently proved the existence of the remains of monasteries here.

There is no doubt that these monumental railings surrounded the sacred temple. Cunningham had suggested that the present Bodh-Gaya temple was constructed in the Kushāṇa period. Near the Vajrāsana a coin of Huvishka was found. But this view of the present temple being of the Kushāṇa period cannot be accepted. If the temple existed in the present form in this period, Fāh-sien must have described it with its rectilinear towers, as Hsuan-Tsang has done. Moreover in that period the temple architecture with rectilinear towers had not yet evolved. On a terracotta plaque found at Kumhrar there is a picture of a temple. This was definitely a kind of memento carried by a pious Buddhist on a pilgrimage. According to Spooner this belongs to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. On this plaque we find a rectilinear temple with four-tiered towers. There are niches meant for images above the main cella, in front of which is an arched portico and in
the temple is seated Buddha. The temple and the three Bodhisattva images are surrounded by railings. Then there are high walls and large entrance-gate. But this temple was certainly not a replica of the Bodh-Gaya temple which has many architectural features not in common with the temple depicted on the plaque. According to Smith the temple represented the Telāḍhaka temple (modern Telārā village in Bihar subdivision) mentioned by Hsuan Tsang. But important differences here also can be noticed. Barua declared the plaque a forgery. While nothing definite can be said, if the plaque was genuine we have here a picture of a monument which cannot be identified at present. There is no doubt that during this period the temple at Bodh-Gaya was a simple Caitya-temple as depicted on Bharhut reliefs.

In Lauriya-Nandangarh, remains of huge brick stūpas have been partly excavated. They have been dated in the Śunga period. One of the baked-brick stūpa here has a base whose diameter is 107 feet. This shows the largeness of the structure. There are at least three terraces separated from one another by circumambulatory path, however, traces of steps leading to these have not been found. There is a beaten earth-terrace and the core of the stūpa is also of clay dump. The stūpa was more than 16 ft. high. Near it the remains of a larger stūpa have been excavated which is 27 feet above the present surface. Near the Aśokan stone pillars, slightly south of it is lying buried another ancient stūpa. Its excavation at the top down to 61 feet deep revealed human bones and a golden leaf with a female figure engraved on it. It was believed by Bloch that it represents the vedic smaśāna. However, the structure appears to be Mauryan. At Nandangarh a large mound 82 feet high from the surface covers a huge brick stūpa, or temple which belongs to the Gupta period probably.
Besides stupas, caityas, or cetiyas, with tree railing as the object were also prevalent in our period. On a mutilated pillar at Amaravati are carved Bahuputta and Cāpāla caityas of Vaiśāli. These were basically Vṛksha caityas. The Bahuputta cetiya depicts a tree within an oblong three-barred rail and the Cāpāla cetiya is represented by a scene of worship of the Buddha. In the recently discovered stela from Amaravati there is a representation of a Kūṭāgāraśālā in the Mahāvana in Vaiśāli. It is depicted as an independent walled structure built right on the ground and seems to have a vaulted roof crowned by three finials. It appears to be an oblong on plan with caitya-facade made possibly of matted bamboo strips. Then there are also Kūṭāgāras on high platforms supported by lofty wooden pillars or poles.

Remains of the Buddhist monasteries in the Śunāga and Kushāṇa periods have been found in the recent excavations at Kumhrar and Chirand in Bihar. Śunāga monasteries at Kumhrar show the beginnings of the evolution of brick-built monasteries, with rooms in line and a verandah in front. That these monastic establishments continued in the Kushāṇa period and were enlarged is proved both at Kumhrar and Chirand. At the latter place there are as many as five structural periods between 1st century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. In the Kushāṇa period the monastery at Kumhrar had rooms on three sides and a rectangular courtyard and in front verandahs. The rooms are generally small but one room at the corner at Kumhrar is 15' × 9.6'. Another monastery here is larger than the former. There are as many as 14 rooms in one side and in the front are four long halls separated by two small rooms. In front of these is a narrow open verandah, and there are steps at many points to reach the verandah from the ground. There are provisions for drainage, and the
drains are made of burnt bricks on edge and covered on the top with bricks. A drain 37 feet long and to 2 ft. deep has been traced. Another Śunga-period monastery at Kumhrar has one room as large as 36'6" × 6'6" and there is a verandah 42 feet long and about 6 feet wide. Another quadrilateral monastery was also built nearby. In the centre is a courtyard, there are three verandahs leading to rooms, eight of which have been traced. In one of the small room there is a covered drain running from north to south emptying the waste water in a pit. The drain was covered by wide bricks which could be removed when the drain needed to be cleansed.

Thus it is clear that during this period construction of Buddhist stūpas and monasteries in Bihar went on apace, and we have now as a result of recent excavations a fairly good idea of the evolution of the Buddhist stūpa and monastic architecture which developed in the Gupta period.

Best examples of the sculptures of the period are to be seen in the relief sculptures on the railings of the Bodh-Gaya temple. In this Buddhist monument the image of the Sun-god riding on one wheeled four-horsed chariot is an example of religious understanding and also of vigorous scene depicting cosmic movements. Behind the Sun-god is a wheel like thing and on each side of the god is a female figure with bows and arrows representing Ushā and Pratyushā dispelling evils of darkness. The artist has marvellously succeeded in expressing his ideas and emotions. The raised hoofs of the horses, the expression of restless energy, power and fastness are realistically brought out, and the prostrate wounded represent the victory of light over darkness, of good over evil. It is important to note that in this example of the Sun-image, the Sun-god is not in northern or udityadeśa. There is no avyānga, no high
laced boots up to the knees which are believed to have been borrowed from the Iranian Śaka examples in the north-west. This proves that besides the Iranian tradition of the Sun image, there was in India an earlier tradition, and iconography of the Sun-god. The four horses might represent the four yugas, and even in the Ṛgveda the Sun’s chariot has one wheel. It may be of some interest to note that a terracotta image of the Sun-god on a four-wheeled chariot has been found at Pāṭaliputra. The charioteer Aruṇa is heavily armoured, and the Sun-god is standing, his leg below the knee is hid in the chariot. This image may be taken to belong to the Śūṅga times. Among the Jātaka seems represented on the Bodh-Gaya railings Mension may be made of the purchase of Jetavana by Anātha-piṇḍaka. Here the scene is much more condensed than in the Bharhut, probably because the new people were much better acquainted with the Jātakas and even a brief version would make them understand the scene. Another significant thing to observe is that various Rāśis have been sculptured on the circular lotus medallions. Among these the Mesha, Mithuna, Karka, Dhanu, Makara, Tulā, Simha, Kanyā, Mīna and Vyūṣika may be identified. The trader with pot-belly reclining on a large pillow and holding a scale (tulā) clearly points to the Tulā Rāśi. A maiden with flower-garlands in her neck rightly stands for the Kanyā Rāśi. A loving couple beautifully represents the Mithuna Rāśi. Even lion and lioness in loving pose stand for the Mithuna Rāśi. Thus realistic and at the same time delicately sculptured scenes while representing the various Rāśis also powerfully depict the jest for life and social scene as well most artistically. The sculptured Śri Mā, and Gajalakshmi are good examples of the art of the period, showing the beauty and grace of the female form, its curves and sensuousness. This is best illustrated by the Śālibhanjikās, who were Yakshiṇīs and the scene represented
a kind of popular sports in the eastern region. In the depiction of Śalībhaṅjikā the artist has laid emphasis more on the female beauty and its attractions than on realistic anatomy. There is no attempt to show the broad hips and over-fleshy shoulders. The artist is really interested in bringing out the delicate aspects of the female form, in an idealised not realistic manner. The flow of delicate charm is uninterrupted throughout the body. In these sculptures we find fully expressed the natural beauty, delicacy and eroticism of the female body. The man-size sculpture of the Yakshiṅi on the Bodh-Gaya railing-post deserves attention. The Yaksha sitting near her right foot is helping her up and the Yakshiṅi holding the tree-branch is trying to climb up. The entire scene is natural, dynamic and dramatic, and is therefore impressive. On another railing-post is the figure of Brahmaśānti (Indra), folds of whose cloth, the knot, and ornaments all have been beautifully done. Then some of the sculptures show the pleasures of youthful life, of young men and women in love, and in depicting these the Bodh-Gaya artists were nearer real life and more alive to the natural desires of men and women than the artists of Bharhut. In Bharhut men and women even when shown together are kept separate, but in Bodh-Gaya they are found in loving embrace. The women figures and love-scenes of Bodh-Gaya are vibrating with sensuous feelings. The almost true to life portrayal of such scenes is a real merit of the artists of Magadha of the Śunga age. Even nature has been depicted as sharing in the pleasures of men and women; the lotus stalks, trees, creepers all have been so rhythmically delineated that nature appears to be enjoying life in a mysterious but impressive way. Such a sympathetic treatment of the world of nature in Indian art, especially in Bihar has not been met before. Of course, we do not find full sculptures in round which
were quite popular in the Mauryan period. Of course in the sculptured figures of Yaksha, Yakshiniś, of Indra and Brahmā, the artists appear to carve the figures such that they look almost in round from the front and the sides, but the back is flat. It appears that the artists were trying to find a compromise between the tradition of three dimension figures and the tradition of depicting scenes on cloth (Paṭṭacitra). The man-sized Patna Yakshas belong to the Sunga period though on account of some remains of the lustrous polish on them are sometimes dated in the Mauryan period. The head of one statue is missing. The figures have necklace of many strings and an armlet. The wrapper or chadar is stuck under the right armpit and is taken over the left shoulder hanging behind. The folds of the chadar are clearly visible. The legs are heavy and crude, and longer than necessary. There are inscriptions engraved on the back. In Jayaswal's opinion those images are pre-Mauryan in date, and R.D. Banerji* supported this view. But Chanda and Barnett on the basis of palaeography placed the sculptures in the 1st century A.D., and declared that these are not the portrait statues of the Magadhan kings but are of Yakshas. Ganguli has proved that these are Yaksha images. The heavy and robust bodies, and hard features betray the superhuman features of the Yakshas. From the artistic point of view these images are superior to Parkham and Pavaivya Yaksha images. In view of the fact that these figures are flat from back, though are round in front and from sides, certainly place them in line with Śālibhānīyikā and Yaksha figures of Bharhut, Sanchi and Bodh-Gaya.

In the same context one may refer to the famous Didarganj Yakshini figure found near Patna, and regarded as one of the prized possessions of the Patna Museum. 5½ ft. high this female figure slightly drooping forward with
whisk in one hand and having many ornaments and ornate head-dress is remarkable for its beauty and grace. The figure is almost in round except a slight flatness in the back. The body is well developed, face is roundish, and smile is on the lips. The veins of the stomach and the fleshy body are clearly impressive. Well-developed breasts, narrow waist and wide hips of the figure fit in with the idealised female-body form of ancient Indian art traditions. This is a treasure of Indian art as a whole. Natural charms of female body, the expression in the eyes, attractive personality and the healthy and sensuous body with womanly shyness are chief qualities of this sculpture. R. D. Bannerji considered this image to be the best product of the Mauryan period. The brilliant polish, characteristically Mauryan and almost carved in round puts it in line with the Aōkan sculptures. Some scholars because of it being taken as a figure of Yakṣīṇī and slight flatness on the back side take it to belong to the Śunga period.

There are very few examples of Kushāṇa art in Bihar. In Bodh-Gaya was found a Buddha’s image in red sandstone. It is dated in year 64, and is donated by Trikamal. There is controversy about the era in which the image is dated. According to Barua, the image is not later than 2nd or 3rd century A.D. on the basis of palaeography of the inscriptions. The Buddha is in Vajrāsana, and the body robust and crude. In the opinion of Ludwig Bacchofer for on artistic grounds the image cannot be later than 2nd century A. D., but Chanda and others take the date to be in the Gupta era, and place the image in 383 A. D. in the time of Chandra Gupta II. On a comparative study of the Bodhisattva images of the Kushāṇa period and the Bodh-Gaya image, it appears that the Gaya example artistically is later and more towards that refinement and spiritualisation which became the characteristic features of the Gupta
art. Recently the Patna Museum has acquired stone images of Kṛṣhṇa, Baladeva and Ekanamsi belonging to the Kushāṇa period. These have characteristic Kushāṇa form and head-dresses and have been well-chiselled.

Before we close the study of the art in this period, we must take notice of the pillar-capital with honey-suckle plant in relief found at Kumhrar. It is placed in the Śuṅga period, and shows clear evidence of foreign (Greek) influence which was assimilated into Indian tradition.

A large number of terracottas belonging to the Śuṅga-Kushāṇa period have been found at Kumhrar, Vaiśālī Chirand and Buxar. These shows great activity in this field. For detailed discussion the chapter on the terracottas may be looked into.

References

1. A Cunningham, Mahābodhi, p VII.
2. Beginnings of Buddhist Art, pp. 11-12.
3. JBORS II, pp. 375 ff.
5. H. Sarkar—Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India, pp. 5-10 and plates and drawings.
6. JBORS V, pp. 88 ff.
8. JDL. IV, p. 49 ff.
9. JBORS V, 53.
11. Eastern School of Indian Sculpture, p. 7.
CHAPTER XXVI

Archaeology in Bihar

(From Earliest times to c. 319 A. D.)

Elements of Indian archaeology are indeed great. It consists of stone weapons, implements, human and animal bones, remains of mud hovels and buildings of stone and brick; pottery primitive as well as the most developed, stone, brass, copper and iron pots, figurines and other objects of clay, sculptures, inscriptions, coins, jewels, ivory and wooden objects, objects of daily use and luxuries, seals and sealings, reliefs, games, musical instruments, dress and customs. But there is a big condition precedent to everything—provided they have escaped the chances of human and natural destruction and that they have been found, with particular reference to the stratification of a site. Archaeology is no longer interested in cabinets de curiosite.

The grand sweep of history, between the first appearance of man, to the time when written records appear, has been called 'pre-history' or the 'pre-historic period'. Its duration is very much longer than the historic period. In the early stages, stones along with branches of trees as handles, bones, ivory and horns of mammoths, and other mammalia were utilised.

Pre-History

The archaeological history of civilisation is divided into several ages. The first two as first defined by Lubbock, as early as 1863, are the Palaeolithic (Old Stone) and Neolithic (New Stone) ages. The third, is the age of metals; and from the first metal utilised by man, is known as the Chalcolithic. Some pre-historians introduce another age
called the *Aeneolithic*—the transition period between absolute stone age and absolute metal age. But in the areas like Madras, there was no copper age. Iron followed the stone. The Palaeolithic period, within the bounds of Pleistocene is the age of man as hunter and is commonly divided into lower (or early) or middle and upper (or late) old stone ages. All these however indicate stages of evolution, not necessarily synchronous in different regions of the world and what is more even in Asia, nay India. Lastly, it is necessary to remember that in areas like Chotanagpur in Bihar, the historical era in some region began at a much later date than in the other parts of India. Consequently it is not difficult to realise that, while Chotanagpur might have been in the stone age, great strides had been made in other areas in the north and south.

**Early Stone Age**

The first discovery of a Palaeolith in India, was made by R. Bruce Foote in 1863, at Pallavaram, in Chingleput district. This was followed by finds at other places in south India. Bihar then included in the 'Presidency of Bengal', also contributed its share towards the development of pre-historic studies in India. The earliest tools, so far known, used by man were 'Eoliths'. Though the dust of controversy has not yet settled over them, yet majority of the pre-historians now accept them as tools. No such implement has been found in Bihar. The first find of a 'Boucher or Coup depoing', associated with a spread of pebbles derived from the conglomerates of the Jharia coal fields, was made near the village of Kunkune, 11 miles s. w. of Govindpur (in the district of Dhanbad), on the Grand Trunk Road, by V. Ball in 1865 and another in 1867. The material was green quartzite. Ball also examined at different places in the Jharia coalfields various
heaps and pebbles derived from the conglomerates which are so characteristic of the Lower Damodar series of rocks. He noticed another axe of micaceous quartzite, found in the Bokaro coalfield in the Hazaribagh district and well formed quartzite axe in the Raniganj coalfield, in the district of Burdwan on the laterite strewn surface. The fourth was found near the village of Gopinathpur, 11 miles s.s.w. of Beharinath Hill in the District of Bankura. In 1868, Captain Beeching found some stone implements at Chaibasa but according to some scholars they were not Palaeoliths but Microliths. The same remarks hold good about those found by Ball in 1870 in Singhbhum district.

In the first quarter of the 20th century the tradition of Beeching, Ball, Oldham was continued. P. Mitra found one alleged palaeolith at Ghatstila, in 1921, along with a neolith and rock carvings doubtfully ascribed to the neolithic age. T. W. Hughes also reported the find of some stone implements in a jungle in the neighbourhood of the Kajrina in the coalfield. The late M. Ghosh, carried out some trial explorations near Chakradharpur such as at Patka, Chelabera and Bangla Tar, etc. His finds without adequate descriptions of the objects were ascribed to Chellean, Aurignacian Magdalenian, etc., in his Annual Report of the Patna Museum, 1920-21, Appendix c, pp. 12 ff. Palaeolithic tools such as hand-axes, cleavers, scrapers, points etc. have been reported from Bhimbandh area in the district of Monghyr, and from the Jethian Valley in the Nawada district, and also from a number of places in the Santhal Paraganas and Chotanagpur.

Mesolithic Age (Late Stone Age)

“Mesolith” is the term applied to all the industries used by hunters between Upper Palaeolithic (late stone age) and the Neolithic age, their dates varying in different
regions. Two classes of industries, the Microliths and Proto-
neoliths, are generally ascribed to this age. Microliths
are found over a wide area in India, extending from
Peshawar in Pakistan to Tinnevelly district in South
India, and from Karachi to Saraikala in Bihar, in the east.*
According to Gordon, the majority of microlithic sites in Bihar
are associated with the copper belt which starts near Chakra-
dharpur and runs through Kharsawan, Saraikala and in
Dhalbhum up to Rakha mines and Ghatila on the Suvar-
narekha river.

In Bihar, microliths were first found by Captain
Beeching, though for a long time they have been considered
as belonging to the lower palaeolithic period. He was
followed by W.H.P. Driver who found similar objects in
Ranchi, described by J. Wood Mason. Next came M.
Guosh, whose collections are now kept in the Patna
Museum. He was followed by G. S. Roy with his finds
at Bongara in Manbhum. The site is about 3 miles east
of Nimdih Railway Station on the Eastern Railway. It is
locally known as Bongara, Matlagara etc. The artefacts
collected by him including cores, were all surface finds.
Cores are the pieces from which flakes had been removed.
The materials, according to Roy, is a flint of glassy variety.
They consisted of blades, tools, lunates, etc.* Bhurkuli hill,
3 miles to the north of Saraikala, in the district of Singh-
bhum, is another site. One neolith and few microliths and
cores were found here. Microliths were also found in the
village of Sarjamahatu, 26 miles west, northwest of
Chaihasa, where rock carvings, to be discussed later, were
also found. D. Sen and Uma Chaturvedi also found
microliths in the neighbourhood of the neolithic celt
factory described elsewhere. They are "apparently
derived from a lower zone underlying the celts. There is
another surface site about 2 miles south east of the celt
factory along the Sanjai valley, where on the dissected slope of Chakradharpur peneplain microliths are found. The artefacts consisted of blades, cores, scrapers and arrowheads. The by-products include cores and flakes etc.

With the dawn of independence archaeological activities stepped up and soon Universities began to take prominent part in the sacred task of discovering the country's part. Tools of Early, Middle and Late Stone Ages (the various divisions of the Palaeolithic Age) have been recently found in course of excavations and explorations in Bihar. At Blimband situated at a distance of about 12 miles to the south-west of Kharagpur Haveli, District Monghyr, Acheulian oval hand-axes with cleavers and scrapers were collected by the Patna University team. Near Jamalpur 50 miles to the north of Blimband, in the same district, Chopper, scraper and levallois flake tools of the same age were also picked up. In the Santhal Pargana at Khutia (7 miles south of Deoghar), another Patna University team found scrapers and near Deoghar at Karnakalajore 9 Acheulian handatis and one Double pointed hand-axes together with two scrapers. Kurumgarh in the Chainpur police-station in the Ranchi district yielded as many as 9 handaxes and one scraper. From Rajadera in the same district were collected chopper, hand-axes. All the materials are of quartzite, but the core scraper is of flint. 6 miles to the south of the Rajadera in Nawagaon were found two hand-axes. Excavations by the state Directorate of Archaeology at Lota Pahar in Singhbhum district yielded a large number of Early stone and Middle stone Age tools. Middle Stone Age tools such as points, scrapers, leaf-shaped blades have been discovered from Ghoralas, Gholajuri, Dumar, Dubarkund in the Santhal Parganas. A borer was also found in Dubarkund. It is interesting to note that two scrapers of flint were picked up
at Chindipur, about three kilometres south of the Antichak stupa, in Cologong police station in the Bhagalpur district. A large number of Late Stone Age tools or microliths also have been found at a number of places in Bihar, such as Lagwa, Buddhudihi, Kalhua, Gholjuri, Duber Kund, Ambarpur, Kachua, Chowdhidihi, Amabad, Kurmahat, Indpahari, Dumar, Madhuban, Dhatala, Kankarshola, Chorkadih, Surajbera, Dhubtand, Kurkutia, Kahnakejor, Ghoralsa and in the Dumka, Bansloi, Sakhogara, Gurma near Valles (all in the Shanthal Pargana). From near Baunsi in the Bhagalpur district microliths such as points, blades and cores were discovered; a large number of microliths of various types was picked from near Bhimband. The Patna University team found a large bunch of microlith like blades, knife-edged blade, tiny blades, scrapers, cores was discovered in the course of a rapid exploration survey at Nainsukhkothi, 2.5 km. north east of Antichak stupa near Colgong, Bhagalpur. 1.5 km. south east, from the Stupa, at Mallakpur, were found a number of microliths. At Lallapur, 1.5 km. to the northeast side of Antichak stupa were found as many as 8 points, and 12 blades made of semi-precious stone. Microliths in stratified layers with black and red ware pottery in the pre-NBP stratas have been found at Chirand (Saran district) and at Sonepur (Gaya district) in the course of excavations by the state Directorate of Archaeology. Thus it is clear that the stone ages were prevalent in almost whole of Bihar—North and South, not only in plateau region but in the river valley in Bihar plains.

Neolithic Age

The dawn of the new stone age was due to various reasons. The fundamental changes so far noticed were the appearance of the present surface of earth; the evolution of modern races of men and their cultures based upon a
well developed technique of production. We may add to it, the accumulation of glacial drifts, erosion of valleys, the rising of sea coasts, formation of alluvial or peaty deposits, the variation of solar heat, 10 precession of equinoxes and better living and working conditions enabling humanity to evolve a primitive society and better amenities of life. 11

The most characteristic feature of the neolithic industries was the polish found on the tools and weapons. In Bihar as elsewhere, neolithic men not only continued chipping and flaking; but grounded and polished their industries too. Neolithic man was responsible for introduction of agriculture and domestication of animals. Due to paucity of evidence it is impossible to draw a coherent and at the same time accurate picture of neolithic life in India. It is a complicated mosaic, majority of whose pieces are missing.

The principal achievement of the neolithic people was the commencement of communal life in villages. Man was no longer a wanderer on the face of the earth, residing in natural caves and rock shelters. He had learnt to build insignificant things like 'lean tos'. Hunting was still an important trait of his culture, buff barley, wheat and rice were being cultivated and cows, buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs and dogs had been domesticated. All these hold good about the whole world. The transition from hunting to nomadic and then settled life occurred possibly at different times in various parts of the world. 13

Early researches on neolithic age in Bihar were by random collections. In 1875, shouldered celts from Dhalbhum were noticed by V. Ball. 14 The same scholar also published two neolithic implements found in Pārasanāth hill region in the Hazaribagh district. 15 In 1889, a neolithic celt was found in Jashpur, then in Chotanagpur
division. A year earlier W.H.P. Driver had discovered a large assortment of mesolithic and neolithic tools and weapons somewhere in Ranchi, and were described by J. Wood Mason; and incorporated by J. Coggin Brown in his Catalogue. The dawn of the 20th century did not improve matters. Rev. P. C. Bodding, a Norwegian missionary, who resided in the Santhal Parganas for 30 years, acted as an amateur archaeologist. The result of his work, a collection of about 300 artefacts, is now in the Ethnological Museum of the University of Oslo. This is the richest collection of neolithic industries from North East India that has gone to European museums and remains to be studied. Unfortunately, however, he never recorded the findspots of his object. Two neoliths were discovered at Jamalpur, in Monghyr district, while excavating a tank. The material is fine grained schistose-phyllite. Five neoliths, one of which is in all probability an arrow head, were recovered from the bed of the Saraswati river in Rajgir by M. K. Bagchi and presented to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. One of these was a shouldered cel. Dr. P. Mitra in 1921 led a party of investigators to Ghatsila and found a neolith there.

It is evident that the workers of the 19th and early 20th centuries undoubtedly brought to light a lot of material, but, they did not pay any attention to the background, to the context yielded by the spade. The great names of European scholarship overwhelmed them so much, that they merely classified the industries on the basis of their shape, forms and functions but failed to touch on their chronology, and the light they throw on social and cultural evolution.

A casual survey of the findspots of palaeolithic and neolithic industries establish certain facts. First, is that primitive man in old and sometimes in new stone ages
preferred to live on the banks of river terraces, which solved his water problem, while he gathered fruits or hunted animals or birds. He also lived in caves and rock shelters, provided there was adequate water supply, from neighbouring rivers or springs, e. g. Tarachandi, near Sasaram, in Shahabad district, or the great cave in Jethian hills or the Sappasondikapabbhara at Rajgir or the caves in the hills near Rishikund in Monghyr district.

Of the sites discovered, some deserve special mention. One of these is that portion of Singhbhum district known as the valley of Sanjai and its tributary streams “from a point about 2 miles west of Lot Pahar Station of the old Bengal Nagpur Railway (the present South-Eastern Railway), north-eastward to Sini, a distance of about 30 miles as the crow flies.” Here hand axes, celts, cherts, and flakes along with scrapers, borers and knives have been found. Burins were also met with. Sometimes the place of cherts are taken by agate and chalcedony, available locally. From the large number of ‘cast offs’ the place like another site to be subsequently described, seems to have been a workshop. The head of a wild horse very much allied to the modern horse was also found. About the date no definite opinion can be given. Many of them, particularly the scrapers look suspiciously paleolithic. The implements are both chipped and polished. But these two qualities are met with in all neolithic industries of Bihar.

Late S. C. Roy made a large collection consisting of hand axes, celts, chisels, bar-celto, hatchetes and grinders. Many of these were found in the so-called ‘Asura’ sites in which, stone, copper and iron tools and weapons are also met with and unless spade has established their sequence it would be hazardous to depend upon conclusions which are extremely subjective. Ramgarh, in Dhalhum, supplied to E.A. Murray polished
chisels or celts along with chert flakes and cores and also iron slags. D. Sen, was fortunate enough to find a neolithic celt factory in the Sanjai valley, at a site near Bardai bridge, on the Chakradharpur-Chaibasa Road in the district of Singhbum. Seven varieties of celts with their subdivisions, representing probably five intermediate stages, illustrating the technique evolved by the neolithic men of Singhbum in fashioning their artefacts were collected. The methods were chipping, flaking, grinding, and polishing. Grinding, however, is more or less restricted to the cutting edges. Many of the specimens were partially chipped and partially polished. In some examples polishing by grinding is found in the greater portion of the body of the tools. They also furnished many examples of how the polish had been imposed on a grounded surface. The materials were epidorits, quartzites and basalt. The other sites are Bongara-Bhagat in Manbhum, which yielded celts, shouldered celts, ringstone, a stone dabber and a rectangular trough. A prehistoric site called Haribera in Singhbum was inspected by R.C. Kar in 1950. It is situated on the bank of the river Karkhail, locally known as Marangadai. The implements are found amongst the pebbles on the boulder strewn banks of the river. The only neoliths so far found in any regular excavations in Bihar were from Sonepur in Gaya District but in the Mauryan level. However, excavations at Chirand have brought to light for the first time, a neolithic cultural horizon in Bihar. Characterised by absence of any trace of metal and associated with post-firing ochre-painted red ware, grey ware, plain red ware and neolithic celts (none of them is shouldered). Bone tools are in great abundance. Needles, awls, arrowheads, crow-bars, bone axes, pendants are found in good number. People lived in reed huts plastered with mud. Burnt doubt show reed impressions. They grew rice, wheat, barley, lentils, peas etc. They cooked the
food in community kitchen with a series of ovens. They also hunted animals like deer, birds and fish were also hunted. They domesticated animals like cattle, sheep, goats and also knew rhinoceros. Stone bead-making was highly developed. Beads of agate, jasper, chalcedony are abundant. Carnelian is not found. Mecroliths are found in good number. The neolithic cultural period must have been long considering the depth of the neolithic stratas.³

This neolithic period was superseded by black-and-red ware people who lived in the chalcolithic age. V. D. Krishnaswami correctly stated that in the present state of our knowledge, the neolithic culture of India may be divided in four regional groups:—(A) Central and Western India, (B) Penninsular India, (C) Eastern India—Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa complex, and (D) Kashmir. We are concerned here with the eastern region and of that too only Bihar. It is clear that the evidence of lithic tools found under well observed conditions such as those of Anderson and Sen in the Valley of Sanjai near Chakradharpur, Roy in Manbhum and Sinha in South Manbhum possibly indicate that since mesolithic times there was a 'chalcolithic facies' in the neolithic culture of India. To repeat, Asura sites in the Ranchi district containing megalithic burials also show the chalcolithic facies. A few blades found by Sen and Ray at Chakradharpur and Manbhum respectively along with ribbon flake blades of the Harappan type and earlier hunting type, according to Krishnaswamy possibly indicates some indefinable link with the copper age culture of Central and Western India. He also poses the question, whether the Tripuri industry at Jabalpur, found by Moreshwar Dikshit is or is not to be regarded as a missing link with the copper age culture of Central and Western India and Bihar? The most favourite tool in the uplands of Bihar was the scoured butt-axe, bifacially
ground and with ovoid or lenticular transverse section. Others were wedge shaped axe, chisel, shouldered celt, barchisel similar to the Malayan type, perforated stones and hammerstones. The next phase was distinguished by faceted square cut tools. That this age was followed by the copper is more than proved by the continuity of certain types of tools.

The shouldered celt or adze is met with in Eastern India only, though Rivett Carnac seems to have discovered one example in Central India, while one each has been found near the mouth of the Godāvarī and northern Mysore. The type seems to have survived in the Iron age of the south since Hutton found one of that metal in Mysore.

Megalithic Monuments

Fergusson was of opinion in respect of dolmens that "They do not exist in the valley of the Ganges or any of its tributaries." More than 80 years ago Valentine Ball the father of pre-historic studies in Eastern India protested against it. Unfortunately megalithic culture in Bihar is a virgin field, on which little work has been done. The term 'megalith' was originally used to denote a fairly easily definable class of monuments, in western and northern Europe, consisting of huge undressed stones and designated in Celtic language as dolmens, chromlechs, etc. Literally it is derived from Greek Megathos (magnitude or great) and lithai (stone). In actual practice, however, as pointed out by Gordon Childe, the term 'megalith' is applied only to monuments, the use of which is known only imperfectly or not at all, and which we hypothetically assume was used for ritualistic or religious ends. That is, they were sepulchral, commemorative or memorial.

In other words, megalithic tombs and related monuments are constructed of large blocks of stones or slabs,
either in their natural form or roughly quarried or trimmed as in Bihar. The general belief that, they are more abundant in South India is partially correct. The misapprehension arose due to lack of systematic researches and investigations. The implied potential of remains of this nature should not be treated light heartedly, because, in the first place megalithism is still a living practice in Bihar, amongst Larka Kolis, Hos, Oraons, Mundas and Bhuyias. In the second place, they bear affinities with megaliths in other parts of the world, like the Caucasus, Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to evaluate the real significance of the apparent inter-relationships. But the fascinating problem requires to be tackled. The greatest need, however, is to record their provenance with accurate descriptions, as is being done in the peninsular India.

The Hos inhabit the area generally called Kolhan, the tract which the E.I. Company annexed from Arjuna, the unfortunate last Raja of Porahat. As early as 1872, V. Ball had pointed out that there are few parts of Kolhan(in Singhbhum) in which a view of modern or ancient megalithics cannot be obtained. Shapes were natural and not deliberate. Modern menhirs can be seen at the village of Pokharia, a few miles south of Chaibasa and in a plain few miles south-west of Pokharia. Sometimes, the menhirs are found in 'alignments'. Ball also referred to carved megaliths in Hazaribagh district but forgot to mention their locations. At Akra-Kudr and Badabil, in the former Saraikela State, now included in Singhbhum, Dr. P. Mitra found dolmens and menhirs. E. T. Dalton drew our attention to some dolmens at Borkela, 8 miles south of Chaibasa placed on ashes in clay urns. He also found such monuments in the villages Sargam Hato, Sarandagarh and Rongso all in Singhbhum.
In the latter village, a clan ossuary is indicated but requires closer scrutiny.76

The Munda burial ground at Ghokhatu (Lat. 23°10' north 85°56' east), situated between Bundu and Buranda has dolmens. Two periods of burials were noticed by Dalton in the sasan (cemetery) at Bundu.76 The road from Bundu, after crossing the river Kanchi, reaches some old Saivite stone temples. A Kol burial ground, close to the village of Darubaru, quarter mile east of these fanes, betray free use of disjecta from these shrines. Family grouping of ashes in urns were reported Menirs with stone cists in front or ghost seats have been noticed in the Sonapet valley, the source of Son river, in the Ranchi district. The cemeteries are here called Hargaris. Megaliths are found also in the village of Regadih in old Kharsawan State, now a part of Singhbhum. T.F. Peppe, informed Col Dalton, that megaliths are also to be met with in the parganas Japla, Belaunja and Siri-Kutumba in Palamau district, wilder parts of Gaya district and about Sherghati. At Bajpur few miles north of Nugri in Lohardaga pillars with amalaka motif on top has been used as megalithic monuments. The Hargaris or Harsaris are found in the parganas of Silli, Barunda, Rahe, Bundu and Tamar in Ranchi district, on the western bank of the Suvarnarekha, and parganas of Jhalda, Beguakodar, Bhaghmundi and Petkom in Manbhumi; that is the eastern bank.76

The so-called Asura sites, to which, our attention was first drawn by S.C. Roy, are megalithic urn burials of dolmen type. These are extensive areas, called locally tanns or sasanas, while the stones are called sasana-diris. Actually they are family ossuaries. Under huge stone slabs are found large earthen jars (ghadás), with a bowl shaped lid as cover, sealed with clay. The so-called Asuras seemed to have buried all the bones instead of fractional burials
resorted to by the Mundas. Notwithstanding their prehistoric facies, objects of later date, such as bronze articles, found in them suggests the utilisation of the ossuaries till very late in Iron age. It is also possible, since, clearance were not many in these tracts, the original stone age sites might have been re-utilised in later ages. In any case some of these graves should be examined thoroughly to determine their correct age. According to Ruben, the Asura and megalithic cultures of the Mundas have western origin which reached India, through Palestine and Persia in the early Iron age. Reaching northern India, one branch moved southwards and other eastwards reaching as far as Chota Nagpur. According to Jon Haimendorf these prove an ancient contact between the Austro-Asiatic populations of the North and the South Indian dolmen builders. Both these theories should be treated with extreme caution since intensive explorations can only establish facts. J.D. Beglar reported the existence of alleged stone circles near the foot of the Pretsila hill, at Gaya, traditionally ascribed to the Kols.

**Rock Carvings**

Rock carvings in Bihar are known. The practice continued fairly late in historical times and was adopted by the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains. The rock carvings at Kawa Dol, Sultanganj, etc., prove the hypothesis. While excavating the western channel for the Sarajamhatu Medium Irrigation scheme some rock carvings were discovered, in the neighbourhood of the village Dhobadihar, 24 miles from Chaibasa. Microliths were also collected from the spot. The carvings are probably late. The rock carvings at Maubhandar, in Singhbhum, in the neighbourhood of Ghatsila are of minor importance. According to folk tradition, the five figures incised represent the five Pândava brothers, who are supposed to
have spent their scheduled life here for a year. But the
dating is subjective and the so-called affinities with the
rock carvings of Australia as noticed by Matthews is
immaterial.

PROTO HISTORIC PERIOD

Chalcolithic Age

The evidences of a true Chalcolithic age in Bihar now
may be considered. As early as 1859, ancient copper
mining was reported in Singhbhum. In 1871, the find
of five copper axes on the top of a hillock at Pachamba
(Giridih), in Hazaribagh, was reported. A copper celt
from Palamau was described in 1912 by J. Coggin Brown
and then another found in the village of Saguna, P. S.
Patan in the same district. In the same year a hoard of
21 axes were found in the village of Bartola, P. S. Bassia,
in the district of Ranchi. Only two of which were sent
to Coggin Brown for examination. In the following year
Rev. A. Campbell brought to our notice 27 copper axe-
heads found in the Manbhum district. The area in which
they were found is the region between the Barakar river and
the range of hills running almost due east from Parasnath
to Pokharia in the Dhanbad district. A very large assort-
ment of implements were traced by S. C. Roy from the so-
called Asura sites in the Ranchi district. One was from
a villager of Dargama and another from that of Bichua.
The village of Hami in the Palamau district supplied six
axe-heads and 17 bar-celts. The bar-celts had affinities with
Gungeria specimens as pointed out by Coggin Brown.
One shouldered copper axe was noticed by Shri G. N.
Mukherjee found in the village of Kaushya in Monghyr
district. Baragunda in the Hazaribagh district supplied
one flint celt to Bruce Foote which now remains in the
Madras Museum.
These stray finds in Bihar and hoards of copper implements found in the Upper Ganges Valley and the Doab are even now unresolved problems, since it has not been possible to establish the identity of the people or the race who were responsible for their manufacture. Professors Stuart Piggott and R. Heine Gelder have undoubtedly thrown great deal of sidelights on them, but, at the same time made them an international controversy by citing parallels from Hissar and Anau in Iran; and Caucasus in South Russia whose magnificent burials R. Roztozzeff described half a century ago." Fresh copper implements have been noticed by B. B Lal from Kandi, Bitthur and Bisauni, to be found in the Allahabad Museum and Bharat Kala Bhawan; and Hardi, Dheka, Sarthauni, Sheorajpur, Indilapur, Majhadpur and Deoti in U.P. and Dumaria and Palahara in Orissa."

The type of weapons are flat celts, shouldered celts, bar-celts, rings harpoons, antennae swords and anthropomorphical figures. Some of these types have been found in Bihar. There is another type, double axe, which also has been found in Bihar. Thus, the variety of tools, weapons and vessels at the disposal of the Chalcolithic man was immensely greater and more varied than was the case with his stone age predecessors. It is the material expression of enrichment of life, development of human skill, economic and intellectual progress. 'Celt' is a term which implies an axe-head but it is sometimes extended to Adzes, chisels and other related forms. It was mounted on a wooden staff or shaft called 'butt'. Axe head and adze, as we have already seen, were in use throughout the neolithic period in Bihar; and the copper celts of Bihar, resemble to a greater degree their stone age prototypes, suggesting survival of types. The simplest form of celt is known as 'flat celt', which is practically flat on both the surfaces and the sides
are always very nearly but very seldom parallel. In some of the Egyptian examples, according to some, it is found splayed out, possibly due to hammering to sharpen the edges. Its diffusion is indeed wide. It has been met with in pre-dynastic Egypt, Pre-dituvian Susa, Elam, Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Crete, Cyprus, the Glycades, Greece, E. Russia, Hungary, Italy, Sardinia, Spain and even Iceland. Parenthetically, it might be added that in some of these countries, the material was bronze. The Asian and African specimens are of copper.

The bar-celt in reality is a chisel or a gouge and followed closely the evolution of celts. The principal difference lie in the narrowness of the blade and elongation of the handle. In fact, flat chisels are bar-celts. Gouges being just a chisel with a hollow edge. It closely resembles a square shouldered celt in outline, though the whole tool is slenderer and the blade expands markedly. In some of the Indian examples the length goes upto 2′. Lal has very correctly pointed out that 'most of these features also characterize the stone celts from hilly tracts of South Bihar, West Bengal and North Orissa. There are therefore, good reasons to believe that the copper bar-celts developed from their prototype in stone in course of time, when metal began to replace stone.' Stuart Pigott's Harappa origin theory is too far-fetched, in the present state of our knowledge.

The shouldered celts have wide diffusion in eastern India; having been met within Eastern U.P., Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. It is, however, too premature to infer whether it was developed from the shouldered adze or celts of S.E. Asia. It is also possible that as in Egyptian specimens it developed out of splayed out edge, due to hammering. The next most important type is the Double-axe. The earliest known examples were found in Crete whose people preferred an axe with two blades in the same plane with
the shaft hole midway between the two. Childe felt that in Crete it was derived from Mosopotamia, because, it was a cult symbol with the Minoans; and was in use throughout the Aegean world. Isolated bronze examples have been found in South Russia, Hungary, Sardinia. Lal somehow seems to have missed their occurrence in Bihar though they have been found in Chotanagpur.

Recently archaeological excavations and explorations in ancient Bihar have thrown very interesting light on the proto-historic period. The excavations at Sonepur near Bela in Gaya district revealed the existence of a black-and-red ware chalcolithic culture. In period IA, coarse black-and-red ware with copper wire, bone, and stone arrow heads were found. Among the pottery types basin, vases with narrow necks and flayed rims; some handmade shallow dishes may also be noted. A lipped vessel was also found. This is a chalcolithic culture with some evidence of copper and bone tools, and use of microliths. The period represented by the IA should be dated c. 1000 B.C. This was followed by IB in which the black-and-red ware of finer fabric appears, besides black ware. We get some carinated dishes. Some black-ware sherds had white painting in strokes. Fine red ware is another associated ware, on some of which there are paintings in form of dots in cream colour. A microlith was also found. Lipped bowl in black-and-red ware were found. Copper wire, and bone pins and arrowheads were also found. Some charred rice was discovered. The carbon 14 dating for the period is 2510−105(2583−110). So this phase may have flourished in cir. 800−600 B.C. Then comes the next period, Sonepur B, in which black ware of finer quality continues. But we get N.B.P. in golden, pink and silvery colours, besides black of course. Some red ware have painting in cream colour. For the first time were found iron nails, coarse copper objects like
rings and antimony rods. Terracottas similar to those found in Bulandibagh (Patna) were an added attraction. The period may be placed for 700-200 B.C. A crystal female figure found in NBP strata is an exquisite piece.

It is interesting to note that at Chirand, in the Saran district on the bank of the Ganga, a few miles from Sonepur, the chalcolithic culture sequences met at Sonepur were confirmed. Here the period II A (Period I is Neolithic) corresponding to period IB at Sonpur, revealed a fully developed black-and-red chalcolithic culture. Fine red ware is also associated. Spouted vessels in red ware were met with. Among the pottery types mention may be made of, dishes, bowl, and dish-on-stand. Some of these have white paintings in strokes, as the inside of a black-and-red ware dish. These resemble very much the white paintings on black-and-red ware in Ahar and Gilund in Rajasthan. Fabric is also similar. They are there dated in early 2nd millennium B.C. However, according to the latest C 14 dating for the chalcolithic culture in Chirand it is to be dated in 16th century B.C. No iron is associated with the period II A. Copper microliths and terracotta beads are found. Bone points in a large number were found. This period was followed by period II B, which is a continuation of the period II A, but here iron for the first time appears. Dish-on-stand in red ware is found with cream-painted dots. A dish-on-stand in black-and-red ware is a rare find. Carbon 14 dating for II B is $2640 \pm 95 (1713 \pm 100)$.

Then near Antichak the site of ancient Vikramaśilā University, explorations in Oriup village brought to light in black-and-red ware one half charred spouted dish with white paintings. Very near the same region a large number of microliths were found. A miniature female terracotta figure of the mother goddess was found here in chalcolithic context.
What is important to note is that now archaeology has revealed the existence of a culture represented by black-and-red ware, microlith, copper, dish-on-stand, white painted black-and-red ware—a fully developed chalcolithic complex in both North and South Bihar.

The next ceramic culture, in Bihar of the proto-historic period is the painted grey ware, consisting of bowls and dishes of fine grained grey fabric, painted over in black pigment, with designs consisting of simple bands, groups of verticals, obliques, criss-cross lines, sigmas, svastikās, chain of short spirals, rows of dots and dishes, concentric circles, semi-circles etc. B. B. Lal was of opinion that the painted grey ware was found at Hastinapur in level datable to c. 1100. Painted grey ware sherds of inferior qualities were found in Vaisālī and Buxar excavations. But in chronological context they cannot be placed as early as 1000 B.C.

HISTORIC PERIOD

It is not possible to state definitely when the historical age dawns in India. It has been argued that the invasion of Alexander in 327-325 B. C. is an important landmark in the history of India. But this has no relevancy as far as eastern India in general and Bihar in particular is concerned. This survey commences with the second half of the first millinium B. C. when the Iron age was already well-established.

This period is marked by the occurrence of a characteristic pottery and called ‘N.B.P.’ or Northern Black Polished pottery.

It has been met with from Taxila in the north to Amaravati in the south, from Nasik in the west to Bengal in the east. In Bihar almost every site yields N.B.P. Some of them are Sikligarh, in Purnea district,
Indpe in Monghyr district, Champanganar in Bhagalpur district, Maner in Patna district. Further east it has been found at Tamluk (ancient Tamralipti) in Midnapur district of West Bengal and at Gaur, the ancient metropolis of Bengal. Over a grey and sometimes buff of reddish body the lustrous colour of its surface varies from jet black to metallic steel blue, shades of orange, gold, silver, etc. tints. The evidence available till 1916 was summarised by K. Deva. It has been found also at Kumhrar, Buxar, Sonepur, Cirand, and Vaisali.

At Taxila it was found at a considerable lower level than the two hoards of punch-marked coins. Its use goes back to fifth century B.C., if not earlier. The theory that this pottery originated in the Gaṅgā basin appears to be correct. It was undoubtedly contemporaneous with the rise of the Magadhan Imperialism. Whenever it has been found outside Uttarāpatha, Madhyadeśa and Prācyadeśa, it has been met with in undoubted Mauryan levels and it is possible to agree with Y. D. Sharma that its diffusion was due to Mauryan conquests. But his theory that "Removed from its manufacturing centre, it was precious and evidently in short supply", as broken pots in distant areas have been repaired, is not borne out by the finds made at Kumhrar where two sherds rivetted with copper wire were found. And also repaired sherds had been found at Rupar and Bairat.

It is therefore now proper to discuss archaeological excavations and explorations which throw light on the historical period beginning from c. 600 B.C.

GORATHAGIRI

Gorathagiri is a city mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Hāthigumpha Inscription of Khāravela. Jackson on the basis of two inscriptions found on Lomaśa Ṛshi cave
and a boulder had identified it with Barabar hills enclosure. But the ruins occupy an area of two square miles between Nagarjuni hills and Ramganga hill. The site was previously visited by Francis Buchanan, J.D.M. Beglar, Cunningham, K.P. Sen, Sinha and Principal V.H. Jackson. It was the latter who brought to our notice the existence of cyclopean walls, with square bastions like those of Banganga defences described by him wrongly as paths and square posts. Parallel to the western branch of the Phalgu river the foundations of a wall from Nagarjuni hill to Murli hill (sic Udaigiri) are met with. It is in the Barabar-Nagarjuni hills that Mauryan rock-cut caves were excavated.

**RAJGIR**

Rajgir (sic Rājagṛha) is one of the immemorial cities of eastern India, known by several other names, it was intimately associated with Gautama Buddha. In the dawn of history we find it as the capital of Magadha. Mahā-Kassapa convened here the First Council of Buddhist elders. It was the native place of Muni Suvrata, the 20th Jain Ārthakāraka and also associated with Mahāvīra the last pontiff. It contains the temple of Māni Nāga a snake divinity mentioned in the Mahābhārata; caves, inscriptions of shell characters inscribed on rocks with marks made by heavily laden cart wheels on stone, stūpas and the cyclopean fortress walls. Unfortunately, however, Rajgir has not been systematically excavated.

The earlier work generally consisted of clearance of the hypothetical identifications of its various features with those found in the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. The date of the so-called cyclopean walls is a moot point. D. H. Gordon has expressed doubts whether the date of these walls can ever be settled. But there are portions of defences which pass over valleys between the hills as is
the case with the portion between the Handia hill and the hill next to it. The examination of the foundations are likely to yield good results.

A recent scraping has supplied an occupational sequence, which has yet to be confirmed by large scale vertical digging. The lowest occupational level has yielded dull red sherds superimposed by a clear deposit of NBP ware assigned to c. 500-200 B.C. The next two periods in which NBP was absent was ascribed to 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D. The lower levels supplied evidence of unknown post-cremation burial with NBP ware. Literary traditions and evidence of the Chinese pilgrims suggest exposure of the dead. Excavations carried out recently have exposed the place of the jivakārām which was donated by physician Jivaka to the Buddha. Excavations of the Stone fortification walls of new Rājagṛha near the Inspection Bungalow, revealed that the stones were laid on well-beaten mud foundations and nothing precious to NBP culture was found.

**VAIŚĀLI**

Vaiśāli, the capital of the Licchavis, is now represented by agricultural lands and mounds of the villages of Basarh in the Hajipur sub-division of the Vaiśāli district. According to early Buddhist traditions it was a populous city in the time of the Buddha, and was surrounded by three concentric walls. Two seasons work; first by Dr. T. Bloch in 1903-04 and the second by Dr. Spooner in 1913-14, have revealed stratas of fragmentary series of structures. Though they failed to reach earlier levels of occupation, they have furnished data concerning the social, religious, economic and political organisations of the region in the Gupta age. There are clay pieces stamped with seals and sealings. A subsequent excavation by K. Deva and V. K. Mishra exposed NBP strata with remains of a road.
In the year 1958, the K. P. J. Institute found painted grey ware in the foundation trenches of the ramparts of Vaisali. But a very important discovery was of an originally mud stūpa which has been identified as the stūpa erected by the Licchavis over the relics of the Buddha. The excavation yielded the remains of a stūpa which have been renovated four times. According to the excavator the earliest stūpa and the first enlargement c. 250 B.C. were associated with NBP (c. 500 to 200 B.C.). The second enlargement was insignificant, the third was a more ambitious affair. The fourth enlargement of 2nd century A.D. consisted of buttressing a disintegrating structure. There was a relic casket in the centre of the original stūpa. The excavations also exposed a series of barracks guarding the Abhishekapushkarinī and also yielded a large number of terracottas, beads, seals and coins going down to the 3rd century A.D.

**LAURIYA**

Lauriya and Nandangarh are two separate villages in the district of Champaran in North Bihar. Besides an inscribed pillar of Aśoka, with a foliated capital surmounted by a couchant lion, there are 15 stupas of three rows each (each row about 2,000' in length). The first is located near the pillar and runs east to west; while the other two are parallel to each other and run at right angles to the first line, that is north to south.

The site was explored and partially excavated by Cunningham and his officers: H.B.W. Garrick and A.C.L. Carlyle. From 1904 to 1907, the late Dr. Theodore Bloch, of the Archaeological Survey of India, excavated two stūpas in each of the last two rows. One of the stūpas excavated by Bloch yielded cremated bones with charcoal and another yielded a gold leaf stamped with the figure of
a nude female, similar to that found at Piprawa in Basti district of U.P. Bloch labelled them as vedic *tumulis*. He took the nude female figure as that of Earth goddess (*Prithvi*).

Re-examination of the mounds in 1935-36 established that most of them were 'burial memorials' with brick basement 'being faced with a brick lining in a double tier' and that they were not earthen barrows. The yellow earth above these was not ordinary clay but sun-dried bricks, the *degraisant* being husks and straw mixed up with clay. It is quite possible that they were Buddhist stūpas of the post-Mauryan period.

**NANDANGARH**

The village of Nandangarh is situated at a distance of about a mile to the west of the Aśokan pillar at Lauriya. It possibly represents a fortified habitation site, in the eastern corner of which there was high mound about 80' in height. Excavations carried out here from 1935 to 1939 revealed a terraced stūpa with polygonal ground plan, each quadrant having as many as 14 re-entrunts and 13 outer angles. While the first and second terrace followed the polygonal plan, the other terraces were circular. A later ambitious restoration hid the upper four walls and provided new circular walls. But the basement and first terrace remained unattended.

The core of the stūpa showed that objectively the first stūpa could not be beyond c. 1st century B.C. This was stūpa about 12' in height and was polygonal on plan. Over this somewhere by early 4th century A.D. was the remnants of a brick altar.

**KUMHRAR AND PATNA SITES**

Pāṭaliputra, the successor, of Rājagṛha, as the capital of the Magadhan empire was said to have been 22½ miles in area defended by a wooden rampart with 570 towers.
According to Megasthenes it was surrounded on all sides by a broad and deep ditch 600' broad and 45' in depth. The wooden pallisade had loop-holes for shooting arrows. The ruins of the city have been located in the lowland with high sub-soil water table in the southern outskirts of modern Patna. In the 19th century many sites were located by amateur enthusiasts. Some of them are Gandhi Tank south of Chowk, Maharajkhand, Tulaimandi, Kumhrar, and Bulandibagh. The cores of the Choti Pahari, Bari Pahari and Bhiknapahari are probably Mauryan.

In 1912-15, 1926-27 and 1931-55 Kumhrar was excavated. The excavations at first led to the discovery at Kumhrar of a Mauryan hall while subsequent excavations proved that this hall did not extend further west and the wooden platform did not extend further east. Altogether sites of eighty pillars were located. No administrative buildings were found.

There was no alluvial deposit below the hall as surmised by Spooner. There was no evidence of pillars having sunk. The Mauryan hall was destroyed in the Śunga period. A number of Buddhist monastic buildings were also excavated including one Monastery-cum-Sanatorium. The tentative chronology of the site is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Date</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>300 B.C.—150 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>c. 150 B.C.—100 A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>c. 100 A.D.—300 A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>c. 300 A.D.—450 A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>c. 450 A.D.—600 A.D.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>17th century A.D.</td>
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</tbody>
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There are other stray sites in addition to those already mentioned in a preceding para, such as Machhuatoli, Ramna, etc., which have yielded punch-marked coins. But the finds of these coins by themselves are not sufficient
evidence that the place in which they were found is Mauryan. All that can be said about them is that they belong to the centuries before the birth of Christ. Murtazi-
ganj, is a locality in ward no. 22 of Patna Municipal Corporation within the jurisdiction of Khajekala Police Station. It is located at a distance of 1½ miles south-west of Gulzarbagh railway station, 21 stone discs possibly of the Mauryan period were exhumed here."

EPIGRAPHY

An inscription means a piece of writing, a record on any kind of material on which the text has been inscribed. In Bihar, such records were inscribed on stone, rocks, hill, pillars, columns, arches, beams, metal plates, ivory, images and clay (sun-dried or burnt). For various reasons therefore epigraphy enjoys an unique importance as a source of our national history. Bihar has inherited a rich legacy of epigraphs. The subject has advantages as well as disadvantages. The advantages are that they throw a flood of light on the political, economic, social, religious and official organisations and institutions, etc., life in ancient Bihar in all its aspects, which are not available from any other source. The information supplied by the inscriptions are comparatively reliable than others. The only pre-requisite is to determine whether they are forged or not or even later copies like the Nalanda and Gaya plates of Samudragupta. The disadvantages lie in the fact that the authors never realised that their productions would serve the purpose they are serving now, with the result that the information contained in these are very meagre, insufficient and inadequate.

The extreme value of epigraphs of all classes can best be appreciated by the fact that V.A. Smith wrote his Early History of India, the first scientific history of ancient India, depending mainly on inscriptions. When the book under-
went several editions in 1908, 1914 and 1924, on each occasion the text had to be revised, due to fresh discoveries or re-
searches of late R. D. Banerji, D. R. Bhandarkar and K. P. Jayaswal, and Dr. A. S. Altekar. Before them the trail had
been blazed by G. Buhler, E. Senart, Bhagwanlal Indraji, Franz Kielhorn, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar etc. They were
followed by E. Hultzsch, H. Krishna Sastri, Hirananda Sastri, R. D. Banerji, K. P. Jayaswal, V. S. Sukthankar, N. P.
Chakravarti and V. V. Mirashi, etc.

One of the unsolved problems of Bihar epigraphy and the palaeography, is the fragmentary stone inscription
from Makhshudpur Estate. This piece of stone measures 14\"x12\"x 1\½\". Both the sides of the record are inscribed.
The material is "Bengal genesis" of the Archaen system. It
was brought to Dr A. Banarji—Sastri, by Mr. Mehra, than
Manager of the Makhshudpur Estate, in the Gaya District;
and was reported to have been found in the jungles of
Rajauli. The script in all probability was derived from
Aramaic; since the writing seems to run from right to left,
but, it has not been deciphered. The Rajauli area as
explored by the present writer contains many caves,
megaliths, etc.\textsuperscript{18}

The earliest known records belonging to the dawn
of the historical age are few, inscribed on sculptures
(Yaksha statue of Patna), and ascribed to the pre-Mauryan
period by Jayaswal and Banerji.\textsuperscript{19} Their announcement
created a great stir in the scholastic world of early 20th
century. It was criticised. Only Dr. L. D. Barnett, R. C.
Majumdar and R. Chanda\textsuperscript{20} supported the stand. To
this period also belongs the seals found by Cunningham at
Patna. Buhler thought that they belonged to the period
when Brähmi was written \textit{Boustreohan}.\textsuperscript{21} Actually, however,
as pointed out by R. D. Banerji, they are seals and not
sealings (which are impressions of seals like those found at
Nālandā).
The next epoch opens with the advent of the Mauryas, particularly, Emperor Aśoka (c. 273-232 B.C.). One of his minor Rock Edicts has been found in a rock shelter near Sasaram.

The Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been found both in the north and south India. Amongst these, those found at Rupnath, Sasaram, Bairat (in Jaipur) Maski (in Raichur) contain a single edict and their meaning is identical. The Maski and Datia versions mention Aśoka by name. Chronologically these minor rock edicts are considered the earlier issues of the emperor. None of them, however, contains any information as to when they were issued; but there are evidences, both internal and external, from which we can come to a broad conclusion as to the approximate time of their issue. Another explanation offered by D.R. Bhandarkar, is that the minor rock edicts were got inscribed at places which were on the eastern and western frontiers of the Āṭavi country, mentioned in his R.E. XIII."

Aśoka was also responsible for issuing a characteristic series of edicts inscribed on pillars. Three copies have been found at Lauriya-Araraj (Radhia), Lauriya-Vandangarh (Mathia) and Rampurva. According to V.A. Smith, these were erected along the royal road from the northern bank of the Ganga opposite Pāṭaliputra to Nepal. The six pillar edicts were issued in the 26th regnal year of the emperor. The inscriptions outside the three caves at Barabar are belong to the Mauryan period. The inscribed stone with the legend ‘Mokhalinām’ found at Gorathagiri may be placed on paleolithic grounds in the Mauryan period.

The ex-voto records on the Bodh-Gaya railing along with the Nāgārjuni Hill Cave inscription of Daśaratha, happen to belong to the next period as proved more than
half a century ago by late Dr. Th Bloch. In not less than fifteen occasions we meet with the following inscriptions in Prakrit "Āyaye Kurumgīve dānam" (the Gift of Āryā Kurāngi). From inscription No. 10 of Cunningham, now in the Indian Museum, we learn that she was the wife of (Rāja) Indrāgnimitra. Bloch thought that he was the king of the same name found on some coins. To this period also belongs the sealing No. 800 found at Vaiśāli, whose vowel a belongs to first century B.C. as pointed out by R. D. Banerji.

By Kushāna records, the epigraphs belonging to the periods of Kaṇishka, Huśishka, Kaṇishka II, Vaśishka and Vaśuveda are meant. The earliest of these is the very defaced and fragmentary inscription on the diamond throne at Bodh-Gaya. To this period also is attributed the Bodh-Gaya plaque found by D.B. Spooner at Kumhrar in 1914. Whether the temple depicted there is that of Bodh-Gaya or not is immaterial here. But the inscription which occurs above, that is within the railing in Kharoshthi characters is intriguing to a degree. It reads Ko thumase *samghada sa* sa kiti (The work of Samghadasa, the Kaṭhuma). As pointed out by Sten Konow, the Kathumas were a northern people who used Kharoshthi script. Next comes Rajgir (Maniya Math) inscription on the images of Maṇi Nāga and Svastiṅa Nāga and Bhagini Sumagadhā, in red sand-stone, on the pedestal and on the back slab, now in the National Museum, New Delhi. To this age may also be tentatively assigned the five brick inscriptions found at Gopolpur, in Saran district, containing Buddhist sutras. The last but not the least comes Hasanpur Stone Vessel inscription of Viśakha-mitra dated in 108th year of the Śaka era (186 A.D.). It is engraved on the 'Brim (?)' of a stone vessel in the possession of one Mohan Lal Singh of the village Hasanpur, P.O. Koilavan, district Patna.
Excavations carried out since the middle of the last century have yielded images and fragments of images of mottled red sandstone of Karri produced by the sculptors of Mathura and imported into various parts of Bihar and U.P. In Bihar, most extensive public works seem to have been carried out in the 1st century of the Christian Era. When J D M Beglar was engaged at Bodh-Gaya in excavation and conservation of the great temple, during the years 1880-92, he found several red sandstone images. Beglar died in the saddle. After his death the objects were purchased by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Amongst these was a red sandstone image of Bodhisattva found at Bodh Gaya. On an elaborately carved pedestal at Gaya the inscription states that it was set up in the year 64 of Mahārāja Trikamala. It is now in the Indian Museum. Since it was found, the epigraph has peeled off. The result is Cunningham’s plate is our only source of study. The era used is a moot point. Palaeographically the record is analogous with the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta and cannot be ascribed to 2nd century A.D.

Numerous seals have been found in Vaiśālī including that of famous Prabhudanl, the Śaka Mahādevi which one is to be dated in 3rd century A.D.

References

1. "Eolith means an instrument not chipped into any intentional form, but only natural forms utilized at once." Nature, 31st August, 1905. They were discovered by De Snoyers in 1867.

2. PASB, 1865, p. 128; ibid 1867, p. 143. Fresh finds have been made by K. P. J. Institute, 1959-60.

3. Though these places are now outside the geographical limits of Bihar, since they belong to the Permian age and hence lower Damodar series of Gondwana system, the appreciation of its extent is imperative to possess a proper perspective.
7. PASB, 1868, p. 177.
10. Many scholars feel that solar heat was constant. But this is not the case.
15. Ibid no. 30.
18. Ancient India, No. 9.
20. Merely possible cases are being mentioned as illustrations. It has not been proved that any of these were utilised in pre-historic times.
26. V. D. Krishnaswamy, The Neolithic Pattern of India, 46th
Indian Science Congress, 1939, 1-59.
27. Ibid, p. 19.
28. A perforated stone was found at the Mopai coal mines in
Sapura hills, PASB, 1874, pp. 96-97. Also PASB, 1875,
p. 103.
29. V. D Krishnaswamy, Progress in Pre-History, Ancient
India p. 78.
30. V. Ball-Stone, Monuments in the district of Singhbhum IA,
31. Ancient India, No. 4, pp. 1 ff.
33. P. Mitra, Pre-Historic India, p. 308, p. LIII, figs. A & B.
35. Ibid, p. 115.
37. W. Ruben Eisenschmiede und Damanen in Indian Internationale Archiv fur. Ethnographic Bank XXXVII (Supple-
ment) Leiden 1939, pp. 154-165, JASB (letters).
38. ASR, Vol.
40. P. Mitra, Pre-Historic India, p. 20ff.
41. PASB, 1864, p. 170.
42. Op. cit., 1871, p. 231, AR., ASI., 1913-14, p. 246,
44. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 239 and 242, pl. III.
47. The Foote Collections of Indian Pre-historic and Protohistoric
Antiquities. Notes on their ages and distributions (1916),
p. 164.
48. Pre-Historic Copper Hoards in Ganges basin, Antiquities
No. 72, R. Heine Geldern, Archaeological Traces of Vedic
Aryans, JISOA., Vol. IV.
49. Further Copper Hoards from Gangetic Basin, Ancient India
No. 7, p. 20ff.
50. The most authoritative references are: Sir Flinders Petrie, Tools and Weapons; 1917, V.G. Childe, Bronze Age.
51. Ancient India, No. 7, p. 32.
52. Ancient India, No. 9, p. 117.
54. Ibid, No. 5, p. 119.
56. Indian Archaeology for 1953-54, p. 10.
60. Ancient India, No. 7, pp. 66ff.
64. ASIRA., 1904-05, pp. 38 ff; 1906-7, pp. 119 ff.
65. JRAS, 1898, pp. 573 ff.
67. Details would be available in the Report of Kumahrar Excavations, 1951-55, published by the KPJRI.
68. JBR, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 3-4, pp. mff.
71. JRAS, 1920, pp. 155-56.
72. ASR, Vol. XV, pl. III.
74. V. A. Smith, Asoka, p. 120.
76. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, pp. 80, 84.
77. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14, p. 111, footnote 1
78. Cunningham, Mahabodhi, p. 58, R D. Banerji noted in 1906 that it was becoming blurred. Now it has disappeared.
79. PASB, 1896, p. 101, No. 5. I am doubtful about the age of the characters.
80. G. D. College Bulletin Series No. 4, pp. 1, 2.
81. ASIAR, EC., 1912-13, p. 60.
82. Mahabodhi, pp. 21, 37, 53 and 54, pl. xxv.
APPENDIX I

The Journey of Rāma in Bihar

The Bālakāṇḍa of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa records the journey of Rāma in the region of Bihar mentioning his halting places with clear topography in most of the cases. The hero along with his younger brother, Lakṣmaṇa, in the company of Viśvāmitra, sets out from his native place Ayodhyā with a view to protecting Viśvāmitra’s hermitages from the Rākṣhasas like Tādakā, Suvāhu etc. at the time of performing holy rites. During the time of the Rāmāyaṇa the southern boundary of Kośala, the capital of which was Ayodhyā, was marked by the Syandikā river between the Gomati and the Gaṅgā. Syandikā has been identified with the river Sai seven miles to the south of Jaunpur and twenty-five miles to the north of Vārāṇasi.

After crossing a distance of half a yojana along the southern bank of river Sarayū, Rāma was asked by the Rish to touch the Sarayū’s water which would make the sage’s celestial mighty spells prevail more on the princes. The princes were taught the spells and passed their night on the bank of the river referred to.

The party, whose next halt was at Anānga Āśrama near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Sarayū possibly had followed the south-eastern direction along with the Sarayū river. The hermitage, referred to, has been identified with the Kāma Āśrama (Kāma is a synonym of Anānga), at Kāron, eight miles to the north of Korantaḍi in the district of Ballia of Uttar Pradesh. But the Sarayū river has, now, changed its bed and receded far to the east of this place and meets the Gaṅgā near Singhi, about eight miles to the east of Chapra in the district of Saran in Bihar.
Next morning, having crossed the river Gaṅgā by boat and reaching its southern bank, they started their journey further and came across a dense forest.** Here was the hermitage of Rṣhi Viśvāmitra where Rāma is said to have done away with the Tāḍakā Rākshasi. The forest, referred to, was on the site of ancient Malada and Kārusha. The Caritravāna at Buxar in the district of Shahabad has been identified with the site in question, and this seems to be a feasible identification, though the hermitage of Viśvāmitra has also been pointed out at Devakunḍa, 25 miles north-west of Gayā. Malada has been mentioned also among the eastern countries conquered by Bhīma.

The next night-halt of the party after the holy rites of the Rṣhi were performed and the Rākshasas slain was at Siddhāśrama of Vishṇu in the same locality. A mound on the western bank of a small stream, called Thorā, near its junction with the holy Gaṅgā, on the western side of Buxar, has been identified with the ancient site of this perfect hermitage. This is the place where Lord Vishṇu, it is said, assumed the form of Vāmana Deva. A site at Patwa, near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Punpun, in the district of Patna, has also been associated with this legend, but the identification does not befit the topography referred to, in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The morning following, the Rṣhi with the princes, on being invited by king Janaka to see the Dhanusha Yajña, started for Mithilā towards the Gaṅgā in the north. By the evening of the same day the party arrived at the land of Girivraja on the bank of the Son river and halted there for the night. Girivraja has been identified with the present Rajgir, 62 miles from Patna and 16 miles south of Bihar-sharif. As the city, in question, was founded by king Vasu, it was called Vasumatī also, this Girivraja has also been mentioned as the capital of ancient Magadha in the days of
The river Son, at the time of Rāma, flowed by the eastern side of the city in question, down the bed of the Punpun river, meeting the holy Gangā near Fatwa in the district of Patna.

The night passed and the journey was continued in accordance with the direction of the Rṣhi. The party, having crossed the Son and journeyed a long distance, saw, by the mid-day, the hermit-haunted river Gangā. After the due oblations were paid to the God, the travellers made their halt on the bank of the holy river. This place might have been somewhere near Fatwa. The site, near the confluence of the Gangā and the Punpun, where a fair is held on the occasion of Vāruṇi festival in the month of Caitra, owing to its association (already discussed above) with Lord Vāmanadeva (Vishṇu), may be identified with the place of Rāma’s halt referred to above.

Viśvāmitra, having complied with the request of Rāma, passed the night in recounting the birth stories of Gangā. The morning following, the party moved on the sandy beach with a view to reaching the river’s shore. The boat, waited for them, was boarded in and it took them to the northern bank of the river. The city of Viśāla was then seen. When Sumati, the then ruling king of Vaishālī, heard the arrival of the Rṣhi and his party, he hurried to meet them and brought the party to his palace. The princes were introduced to the king of Vaishālī and all became the royal guests for the night.

As, according to the Rāmāyana, Vaishālī was on the northern bank of the Gangā, it may be inferred that during those days, the Gaṇḍaka might be flowing farther east from its present bed and the kingdom in question possibly, was extended up to present Hajipur. the northern limit of the river Gangā during the period under review. Basādha with
its neighbouring, situated 22 miles to the north-west of Hajipur in the district of Muzaffarpur, has been identified with the ancient site of Vaisālt and the present temple of Śrī Rāmacandra at Hajipur has been associated with the stay of the hero, believed to be on the site where Rāma halted on the way to Mithilā.48

After the day advanced on expiry of the previous night, the party marched forward towards its destination. As the kingdom of Janaka was approached, Rāma saw the Gautama Āśrama in holy woods within the boundary of the Videha's rule. Ahalyāsthāna in the village of Ahiārī, in Pargana Jarail, twentyfour miles to the south-west of Janakpur, in the district of Darbhanga, has been identified with the ancient site of the Gautama Āśrama. Godana (Godānā) near Revelganj, six miles west of Chapra on the bank of Sarayū, also claims to be the ancient site of the Āśrama, in question, as the Gaṅgā was, once, flowing through this locality. But it has got association, to some extent, with Gautama the Buddha and Gautama the Ṛṣi. Ahiroli near Buxar and Trambaka near the source of the river Godāvari, have also been said to be the sites of the Āśrama of the holy sage. The first identification is preferable as the Rāmāyaṇa places the hermitage within the boundary of Mithilā.

Naturally up to Ahiārī the travellers might have followed the north-eastern direction from Vaisālt. Now they proceeded towards Mithilā taking again the north-eastern direction. Finally the party reached the sacrificial ground of Rājā Janaka.49

Mithilā, the kingdom of Rājā Janaka, was the name of both Videha and its capital. The capital has been identified with Janakpur, now in Nepal.50
The princes were married after the great bow of Śiva was broken by Rāma. The hero with the royal party returned back to Ayodhya. The journey, however, took three days. The way which they followed in the return journey is not mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, and hence it cannot be established.

The hero again left Ayodhya and journeyed throughout west-southern India down to Lāṅkā (Ceylon) during the period of his exile but in that course he does not seem to have touched the region of Bihār in any way, although the tradition associates the sites of Stākunḍa and Kasṭhaharani-ghāṭa in Monghyr in the district of Monghyr, with the stay and bath respectively of Stā and Rāma, on their way back from Lāṅkā to Ayodhya.

References

1. Rāmāyaṇa, Balakanda, ch. XXII.
2. The site of the present Ayodhya on the bank of Sarayu in the district of Fyzabad of Uttar Pradesh, the nomenclature of which still bears testimony to the fact, may well be identified with that of the Rāmāyaṇa.
3. Rāmāyaṇa, Balakanda, chs. 49, 50.
5. (i) Sihaqun devam iva 'cintam kumarav iva pavaki // adhyārdhayojanaṁ gatvā sarayvā daksinē taśe //

   Rāmāyaṇa, Balakanda, ch. XXII.

(ii) A Yojana is a measure of distance, sometimes, regarded as equal to 4 or 5 English miles, but more correctly equal to 4 Krosas or about 9 miles; according to other calculations a Yojana is equal to 2½ miles and in accordance with some it is equal to 8 Krosas.

   M. Monier Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary (1931), p. 858
6. Oshus tam rajanīṁ tatra sarayvāṁ sasukham trayaḥ

   Ibid Balakanda, ch. XXII.
7. tan prayāṇau mahāvyīram divyāṁ tripathagam na dūtināṁ //

dadṛśati tatas tatra sarayvāḥ samgame śubhe //
kasya 'yam āśramaḥ puṣyaḥ
anoṣāga iti vikhyātaḥ tadā prabhṛti

tasya 'yam āśramaḥ puṣyaḥ
abhirgacchāmahe sarve sūcayaḥ puṣyaṃ āśramam
iha vāsah paraḥ 'smākam suṣhām vatsyāmahe niṣām

8. N. L. Dey, op. cit. p. 86.
9. tataḥ prabhāte...
tiraṃ dakaḥnām asādya jagmati laghuvikramau
Sa vanam ghorasaṃkāsaṃ dṛśtvā naravarātmajāh
papraccha

10. Ibid., ch. XXIV.
12. Ibid.,
13. Mahābhārata, Sabhā, ch. XXIX.
14. adya gacchāmahe rāma siddhāsramam anuttamam
   tad āśramapadam tata tāvat 'pyetad yathā mama
   ity uktvā paramapṛto grihya rāmam salakhaṃ
   praviśann āśramapadam vyacocata mahāmunīḥ
   x x x
   atha tām rajaniṁ tatra kṛtarthau rāmalakhaṃ
   viśvāmitram x x x abhisjanuḥ

15. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 185.
16. svasti vo 'stu gamiḥyāmi siddhaḥ siddhāsramad aham
   uttare jahnavāttre himavantam śilocayam
   ity uktvā muniśārdulah kauśikāh sa tapodhanaḥ
   uttaraṃ dīśam uddisya prasthātum upacakraṁ

17. vasaḥ cakrur munigaṇah loṇakule samāhitah
   te 'stam gate dinakare snātva hutaḥutsaṇaḥ
   nisheduḥ x x x

19. cakre puravaram rājā vasur nāmagirivrajam
eṣaḥ vasumattā nāma vasos tasya mahātmanaḥ

21. ayam sônaḥ subhajato 'gadhaḥ pulinamaṇḍitaḥ
   × × ×
te gatvā duram advaṇam gate 'rdhadivase tada
jñānavim saritam śreṣṭhām dadṛṣṣur muniscvitam
Ibid, Bala, ch. XXXV.

22. uttaram tiram ṣadhya sampūjya'rśhigaṇam tataḥ
   gaṅgākule nivishṭas te viśālam dadṛṣṣh puritam
Ibid, Bala, ch. XLV.

23. tataḥ paramasatkāram sumateḥ prāpya rāghavau
   ushya tatra nisāṁ ekāṁ jagmatur mithilām tataḥ
Ibid, Bala, ch. XLVIII.

25. Ibid.
26. mithilopavane tatra aśramaṁ dṛṣya rāghavau
   puraṇam nirjanaṁ ramyaṁ papraccha muni puṅgavam
   × × ×
gautamasya naraśreṣṭha pārvam āśeṣ mahātmanah
   aśramo divyasamkṣaṁ surair api supujitah
Ibid, Bala, ch. XLVIII.

27. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIX (1900), pp. 77-78.
28. Bhāṭat Naradīya Purāṇaḥ, ch. IX.
29. Śīva Purāṇa, Bk. I, ch. 54.
30. tataḥ prāg-uttaram gatvā rāmaḥ saumitriṇa saha
   viśvāmitram puraskṛtya yajñavātām upāgamat
   rāmas tu munisārdhulam uvāca sahalakṣmaṇah
   sādhvī yajñasaṁrddhir hi janakasya mahātmanah
Ibid, Bala, ch. L.

31. N. L. Dey, op. cit. p. 35.
APPENDIX II

The Itinerary of the Buddha in Bihar

The itinerary of Siddhārtha or Gautama, the Buddha, on the land of Bihar concerns the whole life of the Great Teacher; from the time of his mahābhinīshkritaṃya till his mahāparinirvāṇa the Tathāgata sojourned in this region for most part of his life. All the Buddhist sources are almost of the same opinion so far as His itinerary in Bihar is concerned.

According to one legend, Siddhārtha being frustrated as a result of his experience of the helplessness and impermanence of life after coming across a helpless old man, a sick person, a dead body and a religious mendicant in course of his four drives to the garden outside the town, left home (Kapilavastu) at the age of twenty-nine. Kapilavastu has been identified by Carleyle with Bhulia situated in between the Gangā and the Gandāka rivers, in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh, about twenty miles north-east of Fyzabad. Cunningham identified it with Nagarkhas on the eastern bank of the Chando Tal near a large stream named Kohna, a tributary of the Rāpti in the northern division of Oudh. Fuhrer, on the suggestion of Waddel, concluded that Kapilavastu lay in the immediate neighbourhood of the Nepalese village called Nigliva, north of Gorakhpur, thirty-eight miles north-west of the Uska Railway Station of the N.E. Railway. P. C. Mukherjee has identified it with Tilaura, two miles north of Tauliva, the head-quarters of the Nepalese Tarai, and three and half miles to the south-west of Nigliva. Actually the town of Kapilvastu included the present villages of Chitradei Ramghat, Sandwa and Tilaura, of which the last mentioned place contained the fort and the palace within it. It is situated on the eastern
bank of Banganga which has been identified with the Bhāgirathī, on the bank of which, according to some authority, Kapilavastu was situated. The inscription, found on the pillar of Aśoka at Rumi-miṇḍeśa, confirms the above identification.

Siddhārtha is said to have then crossed the Aciravati and thence he came to the āśrama of Āraṇḍa Kālāma via Kośala Pradeśa. From the āśrama of Āraṇḍa Kālāma, Gautama went to the āśrama of Uddaka Rāmaputra. It is said that before coming to Rājagṛha, Gautam had first gone to these heretics where he was not satisfied with their philosophical approach. These two āśramas of Āraṇḍa Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputra were certainly in Bihar. According to the Lalitavistara, the āśramas of Āraṇḍa Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputra were somewhere near Vaiśālī. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana has pointed out these places to have been in between Bodha Gaya and Rājgrī. But Dharmāṇand Kosambi locates these places somewhere in Kośala Pradeśa. The Aṅguttara Nīkāya mentions Kesaputta Nigama as the name of the city of the Kālāma Kshatriyas. H. Tripathi rightly concludes that Kesaputta, with which the āśrama of Āraṇḍa Kālāma has been identified by Dharmāṇand Kosambi was in the district of Shahabad in Bihar and not in Kośala Pradeśa. The present village of Kesatha is ancient Kesaputta of Buddhist India. Tripathi argues that the important branches of the Kālāma Kshatriyas are still the inhabitants of Kesatha and an ancient temple of the village reflects the reminiscence of the past and hence these characteristics testify to the ancient character of the Kesatha village. It seems that Kesaputta may have been within the boundary of the then Kingdom of Kāśi and later on it was annexed by the King of Kośala. Hoey has also located the āśrama of Āraṇḍa Kālāma in the district of Shahabad, and has put forward arguments in
favour of Ārāda to be Arrah's name.² Arrah was anciently called Ārāma; this is also supported by some other sources.³ It may be argued in favour of above identification that Siddhārtha would have come from Kapilavastu to Vaiśālī via Champaran had the aśrama, in question, been situated near Vaiśālī, for, he would not have missed to see Vaiśālī in course of his journey from the aśramas of Ārāda Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputra to Rājakrāha.⁴

Siddhārtha left the aśramas of Ārāda Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputra and proceeded to Rājakrāha, because these teachers could not satisfy the would be Buddha. Even at Rājakrāha Siddhārtha remained unsatisfied and at last left this place for Uruvilva. The neighbourhood of Uruvilva was very much liked by Siddhārtha. He selected Senāṅgrāma for his penance. He practised penance on a nearby mountain called Mundeśvarī parvata for many years and yet he could not attain enlightenment. Naturally he desisted from practising severe penance. Meanwhile he, after accepting Sujāta's pāyase and Śrotviya'shey sat under the Bodhi tree (Pipal-tree) and did not move an inch till he did not attain enlightenment.⁵ Rājakrāha⁶ has been identified with present Rajgir and Uruvilva with Bodh Gaya.⁷

After Gautama became the Buddha (enlightened), he, in connection with the spread of his faith, travelled and sojourned mostly within the boundary of Bihar.⁸ We know from the Buddhist documents that the Tathāgata passed his forty-six years of teacher's career at different places, mostly in Bihar and very few outside of it.⁹ During these forty-six years the Great Teacher stayed for a period of four months during the rainy season of every year at certain fixed places and for the remaining eight months of the year he devoted in preaching His faith by journeying from place to place. The following were the places of his sojourn during rains in chronological order.¹⁰
First rainy season at Rshipattana (Sārnāth)
Second to Fourth  "  " Rājagrha
Fifth  "  " Vaiśālī
Sixth  "  " Māṅkula parvata
Seventh  "  " Trayāstrmiṣa
Eighth  "  " Sumumāragiri (Bharga)
Ninth  "  " Kauśāmbī
Tenth  "  " Pārileyaka
Eleventh  "  " Nāḷāgrāma (Magadha)
Twelfth  "  " Varianjā
Thirteenth  "  " Cāḷiya parvata
Fourteenth  "  " Śrāvasti
Fifteenth  "  " Kapilavastu
Sixteenth  "  " Āvī
Seventeenth  "  " Rājagrha
Eighteenth to Nineteenth  "  " Cāḷiya parvata
Twenty  "  " Rājagrha
Twenty-first to forty-fifth  "  " Śrāvasti
Last or forty-sixth  "  " Vaiśālī"

It is very difficult to narrate in a chronological order the activities of the Buddha and his tour in connection with the spread of his faith on the land of Bihar. However, efforts have been made in describing the incidents taken place in course of the itinerary of the Mahāśrāmanā.

After the attainment of enlightenment, he went directly to Rshipattana whence after Dharmacakrapravartana he came to the city of Rājagrha. The Great Teacher was welcomed like anything in this city of Bihar. Two hundred and fifty disciples of Sanjaya went along with Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana to him and embraced his faith. Nevertheless, a hostile public opinion was sought to be created by the Brāhmaṇas against the Buddha in the beginning, though it
lasted for a week only. People began to speak here and there that Gautama had come there to make people sonless, women widows and bring ultimate destruction to a family. He faced this situation boldly and asked his followers to do the same and told them that unfavourable public opinion would not last for more than a week, and it actually happened so.

While the Buddha was sojourning at Rājagṛha, Caṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti sent his priest, Mahākātyāyana, to request the Tathāgata to grace the kingdom of Avanti with His footprints, but the priest himself embraced the faith of the Buddha and was admitted to his Saṅgha. Here (at Rājagṛha) all the messengers of Śuddhodana, his father, who were sent to persuade him to return home, were themselves converted into Buddhist mendicants. At the Veṇuvana Kalandakanivāpa of this city the Buddha had taught seven years old Rāhula how to purify all the three deeds, viz., bodily, verbal and mental ones. Nearby Rājagṛha was Āmralaḍikā, the very place where Rāhula was trained under the guidance of Śāriputra. Āmralaḍikā has been identified with present Silao to the north of Rajgir. The great Teacher is said to have advised Śāriputra to admit Rādha, a Brāhmaṇa of Rājagṛha, to the Saṅgha. When the Buddha was staying at the Śitavana of this great city, Anāthapiṇḍaka of Śrāvasti, whose wife was the daughter of a Śresṭhī of Rājagṛha, came to his father-in-law's place and was very much impressed by the personality of the Mahāśramaṇa in whose honour a great feast was being arranged in the house of his brother-in-law. Further, Anāthapiṇḍaka was satisfied with his initiation into the Buddhist Saṅgha. It was at Rājagṛha that the Buddha had forbade his disciples (Bhikshus) to exhibit any ṛddhi-prātiḥkaraṇa (supernatural miracle acquired by dint of jñauṣṭika practice). The Tathāgata took this step as a result of Pindola Bhāradvāja's action in this regard.
In the third year of his ascetic career the Buddha, while sojournning at Rājagṛha, went to Kapilavastu and initiated Rāhula. From Kapilavastu came to Vaiśālī and stayed there at the Kūṭāgāraśālā. At that very time a weaver was unsuccessfully engaged in constructing a house with a view to donating it to the Buddhist Sāṃgha. Since nobody helped him by any way in his work, his failure in the task, due to his being ignorant of the plan and method of constructing a house, continued. The Buddha knew it and asked the Bhikshus to help the weaver in the construction of the house. The Bhikshus obeyed the great Teacher and the house of the weaver, after completion, was donated to the Buddha. In this very house the Mahāśramaṇa had initiated her aunt Mahāprajāpati Gautamī along with other five hundred women to the Sāṃgha.

It was at Rājagṛha during his fourth rainy season that the Buddha commanded the Bhikshus neither to sing nor to hear any song. Besides, in this very city the Bhikshus were forbidden to rub their bodies while taking bath, to have long hair and comb it, to put on any thread either around the neck or around the waist and to besmear oil etc.

Once the Buddha along with five hundred disciples came to Nālandā and stayed at the Āmravana of a Śreshṭhi called Prāvārīka at a time when Magadha was confronting a great famine. The village headman, named Asikabandhaṅkapattra, being instigated by Niggantānāthaputta (Mahāvīra), came to the Buddha to ask why He, with such a large party of five hundred Bhikshus, had come to the famine-stricken area where people were themselves starving, and would be perished if they extended their helping hands to these extra people. The great Teacher calmly answered that destruction of a family was done only by the king, the thief, the fire, the flood, the concealment of wealth,
bad cultivation and a bad son. Hearing this a village head man became the follower of the Mahāśra-
maṇa. It was at Nālandā, when the Buddha was sojourning at the above mentioned Āmravana, that a
Buddhist Upāsaka, named Kevatta, had requested the great Teacher to show his miraculous power to the public
in order to gain their favour though the former was answered in negative. However, the Upāsaka alone was
shown the miracles, viz., Ṛddhi-Prātiḥārya, Adeśānā-
Prātiḥārya, Anuṣāsanā-Prātiḥārya etc. Nālandā has been
identified with the village of Bargaon, seven miles to the
north west of Rajgir.

In the same year the Buddha went to Paṇcaśālā, a
Magadhan village of Brāhmaṇas, where he was not ent-
tained. Nobody cared to see the Tathāgata; He returned
from the village with empty begging bowl. It is very
difficult to locate Paṇcaśālā; it seems that it was probably
somewhere near Nālandā.

In his eleventh rainy season the Buddha sojourned
at a Magadhan village, called Ekanālā, of Dakshiṇagiri. Ekanālā has not yet been identified for want of other
details. The Buddha is said to have converted an orthodox
rich Brāhmaṇa named Krṣhi-Bharadvāja into a Buddhist.
In course of time the latter attained even Arhatship. It
was the devotion of Krṣhi-Bharadvāja that compelled
the Great Teacher to stay at Ekanālā for the four months
of the eleventh rainy season.

When the Buddha came from Vārāṇasī and graced
Vaiśālī for the second time, Sudinna, a young bachelor of
the neighbouring village of Kalandaka, who was fortunate-
tly at Vaiśālī and who requested the preaching Buddha
to get himself initiated into Buddhism, was asked by the
Great Teacher first to get permission from his parents for
the purpose. After a great persuasion the fellow got per-
mission and was consequently initiated into the Saṅgha. Later on, after ups and downs in his ascetic career, Sudinna, along with his wife, attained Arhatship.\textsuperscript{31}

The Buddha came to Vaiśālī next time and converted Śīṁha Śenāpti who was a follower of Jainaism. Inspite of being forbidden by Mahāvīra to meet the Buddha, Śīṁha Śenāpati came to the Great Teacher and was impressed by Him. The result was the initiation of that Vaiśālian. Śīṁha Śenāpati was satisfied after the Tathāgata along with his disciples graced the house of the former in a feast, specially arranged for them. In this feast the Buddha and other Bhikshus were entertained with the meat of animals which was criticised by the Jains. It was at this very time at Vaiśālī that the Tathāgata had advised Śīṁha Śenāpati not to discontinue donations to the Niggaṇṭhas (Jains)\textsuperscript{32}.

The Great Teacher, while sojourning at the Kūṭāgāraśālā of Vaiśālī, won over another important Vaiśālian named Mahālī, a great follower of Pūraṇā-Kāśyapa.\textsuperscript{33} The Tathāgata is said to have gone to see a mendicant named Puṇḍarīka who lived somewhere in the neighbours of Vaiśālī. Puṇḍarīka was opposed to the faith of the Ājīvikas, but he was impressed by the Buddha. In the very Kūṭāgāraśālā Sunakshatra, a Licchāvi youngman, was initiated, and he lived with the Buddha as his personal servant (upasthāpaka) for sometime, though later on was turned out of the Saṅgha on account of his misconduct.\textsuperscript{34} The Tathāgata, during his stay at the Kūṭāgāraśālā, being irritated by the misbehaviour of Sunakshatra, cursed a famous mendicant named Koramattaka. At that very time the Buddha, when Pathikaputra Acāilaṅka did not turn up for intellectual duel with him, preached the crowd and spread such a light, as rising to a height of seven palm-trees and emitting smoke disappeared in the sky above the Kūṭāgāraśālā.
While staying at the Āśvapura forest-region of Vaiśālī, the Great Teacher, being displeased with the misconduct of outcaste Sunakshatra, had delivered such a sermon to Śrīputra as made the hairs of Nāgasamāla stood on ends. It was at the Kūṭāgaśālā that the Buddha, before a great crowd of Vaiśālians, defeated Saccaka, a great scholar of Jainism and the dharmaguru of the Licchavis, in an intellectual fight, as a result of which the latter embraced the faith of the Tathāgata.

The Buddha came from Vaiśālī to Bhaddiyā; twelve hundred and fifty Bhikshus accompanied the Great Teacher to that place. The party of Bhikshus was entertained by a local Sresṭhi, named Menaṭaka, alone. Bhaddiyā has been identified with the village of Bhadariya near Bhagalpur in the district of Bhagalpur. In course of time the whole family of Menaṭaka became the follower of the Buddha, while the latter sojourned at Jātivana of the locality.

The great Teacher, along with his one thousand two hundred and fifty disciples, left Jātivana for Āpaṇa. While the Tathāgata was in the way Menaṭaka, along with one thousand two hundred and fifty milch cows and other eatables loaded in carts, met Him amidst a forest and entertained the whole party. At that very place the Buddha prescribed puṇca-gorasa (viz., milk, coagulated or sour milk, butter, and the liquid and solid excreta) and the collection of other provisions for journey for the Bhikshus.

The Tathāgata reached the guild or corporation of Āpaṇa and sojourned there for sometime. Āpaṇa was a guild in Aṅguttārāpa, which has been identified with the district of Saharsa including the northern part of the district of Bhagalpur. Āpaṇa may be located within the boundary of the villages of Bangaon and Mahisi.
It was at Āpana that Pottaliya, a Vānaprastha, was not pleased on his being addressed a householder by the Buddha. No doubt, later on he was impressed by the Great Teacher and took refuge in his Saṅgha.

While sojournning at this corporation the Buddha and his disciples took the juice of different fruits and leaves offered by a local rich donor named Keṇiya. The latter again entertained the Bhikshus with a feast at his residence. It was here that Sela, a learned Brāhmaṇa of the locality, along with his three hundred pupils, was converted into Buddhist. He attained Arhatship within a period of seven days, and later on, forming a separate Buddhist assembly, began to sojourn within the limits of Anguttarāpa. In a forest region of Āpana, Udāyī had related to the Buddha how the former, due to hunger, went to a neighbouring village, how he was mistaken for a pīśāca by a woman, how he was rebuked and lastly how he took to his heels by saving his life. From Āpana the Buddha went to Kuśinārā.

The Great Teacher passed his thirteenth rainy season on the Gāliya mountain, which is said to have been situated somewhere in Anga, i.e., in the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr.

According to the Dīgha Nikāya the Buddha is said to have sojourned at the village of Khāṇumata of Magadha; but it does not mention whence the Great Teacher came to Khāṇumata. The Buddha-caryā records that the Tathāgata came here from Śrāvasti. It is very difficult to locate Khāṇumata in the region of Magadha.

Here the Great Teacher had taught Kūṭadanta, a Brāhmaṇa, learned in the Vedas, how to perform the yajña having sixteen parishkaras (ritualistic equipments) but violence. The latter entertained the Tathāgata along with other Bhikshus with a feast at his residence.
The Dīgha Nikāya records that the Buddha, while sojourning in the country of Aṅga, had been to Gargarā pushkariṇī of Campā, but according to the Buddha-caryā the Great Teacher left Aṅga and came to Champā where He stayed on the bank of the Gargarā pushkariṇī (lotus tank). Champā has been identified with Champanagar, situated at a distance of four miles to the west of Bhagalpur. At the Gargarā pushkariṇī the Buddha had impressed Sōnadaṇḍa, the Brāhmaṇa lord of Champā, in an intellectual discussion, as a result of which the latter became the follower of the former. The Buddha, while sojourning on the bank of Gargarā pushkariṇī, had asked the Bhikshus to pacify the Taṅthikas just as Mahīt, a householder of Vajji, who was also staying there with the Great Teacher, had done. Further, it was at the Gargarā pushkariṇī that the Tathāgata had praised the knowledge of Pessa, the son of an elephant-tamer. At this very place the Buddha, after hearing the complaint of Kāśyapagotra, declared him innocent of any fault and scolded such Bhikshus as became burdens upon the hosts.

The Cullavagga mentions that the Great Teacher from Śrāvasti came to Kīṭāgiri, situated in the Kingdom of Kāśi, and thereafter He came to Ālavi where He passed the sixteenth rainy season. Rāhula Sāṃkṣṭya-yāna has identified Ālavi with Arval falling by the side of a road between Kanpur and Kannauj. According to H. Tripathi the above identification is not convincing. He identifies present town of Arrah with ancient Ālavi. In favour of his identification he argues that the Great Teacher, while proceeding towards Kāśi and Rājagṛha, came to Ālavi; hence Arval of Kannauj cannot be Ālavi of the Buddha. It is said that at Ālavi the Buddha, after showing down the vanity of a Yaksha named Ālavaka, compelled him to become His follower.
The Great Teacher left Álavi for Rājagṛha where. He reached in unfavourable circumstances and stayed at the Kalandakanivāpa of Venuvana. The Tathāgata passed there his seventeenth rainy season. At that time Rājagṛha was famine-stricken; naturally the local householders were unable to invite the Buddha and the Bhikshus of His Sarīgha to a feast. So the Tathāgata, taking the circumstances into consideration, ordained some regulations, viz., uddeśa-bhoja, sayanāsanaprajñāpaka etc. for the Bhikshus.

While sojourning at the Kalandakanivāpa, the Great Teacher tried to win over Sukuladāyi, a learned ascetic of Moranivāpa of the neighbouring region. The Buddha had to go there for the purpose in question, but returned without success. In his next trip to Rājagṛha the Buddha again made an effort to win over Sukuladāyi, but this time also the Great Teacher could not succeed.

The Dīgha Nikāya mentions that it was at Rājagṛha that the Buddha, once in the way from Kalandakanivāpa to Rājagṛha, explained the meaning of the 'prayer to six directions, to Sigāla, the son of a local householder.'

At the Kalandakanivāpa itself the Mahāśramaṇa, while answering the questions of a few Śākya people who had come there, declared that Maitrāyaṇiputra was the best of all the Śramaṇas. At this very place the Buddha had spoken very highly of the knowledge of Dharmadinnā, a Bhikshuni, when the latter answered clearly all the questions of an upāsaka named Viṣākha, who, when both were householders, was her own husband. Puṇḍarīka of Vaiśālī met the Buddha at the very Kalandakanivāpa for the third time and became a Bhikshu. During the period of the Buddha’s stay at the Kalandakanivāpa, Śāriputra, with a view to instructing Gulissani, a Bhikshu of vacillating mind, delivered his sermons to other Bhikshus. It was at Kalandakanivāpa that the Buddha had given
explanatory answers to the questions of Jayasena, when the former's disciples, Acirāvata and Bhūmija, failed to do so. It is said that at the Kalandakanivāpa itself the Tathāgata had explained to Śāriputra the importance of the abandonment of sense-objects etc. The Buddha passed his eighteenth and nineteenth rainy seasons on the Cāliya mountain in Aṅga. During this period of two years the Mahāśramaṇa made his tour to the different parts of eastern Bihar and had religious discourses with many householders and Brāhmaṇas. In the village of Aṅga pradeśa the Buddha explained to the Bhikshus the importance of śīvara, śayanāsana etc. and other Buddhist disciplines.

The Buddha left Aśvapura for Kanjangala and having reached there He sojourned in its Veṇuvana. Kanjangala has been identified with present Santhal Parganas. While sojourning in this region the Tathāgata had praised the knowledge and wisdom of a local Bhikshuṇī called Kanjangalā, when the Bhikshus reported to the Great Teacher that she explained anything of their concern in such a manner as was not done even by Him. The Buddha, while touring to the different parts of Kanjangala, had chanced to criticise the views of Pārāsīviya, a great Brāhmaṇa preacher, before one of his disciples, named Māṇavaka.

The Buddha went from Kanjangala to Suhma and thence to the region of Setakaṇṇika. Sumha was somewhere between Vāṅga and Kalinga, and Setakaṇṇika was none but the region of Hazaribagh, where mica is found in abundance, for 'Setakaṇṇika' means the region of mica. According to the Samyutta Nikāya, Udāyī, having acquired the adequate knowledge of dharma, met the Tathāgata in the region of Setakaṇṇika and the Great Teacher also certified that the former had learnt all he had nothing to learn further.
The Buddha again returned to the Chāliya mountain in order to pass His nineteenth rainy season. During this period when Meghiya, His personal attendant (upasthāpaka), was to go astray, the Great Teacher taught him how to win over jealousy, bad reasoning, passion and pride.

The Buddha proceeded from the Čāliya mountain to Śrāvastī but came to Rājagrha to pass His twentieth rainy season. This time the Tathāgata was suffering from dysentery which was cured by Jivaka, the great physician of Rājagrha of that time. During this trip to Rājagrha, the Great Teacher went to Dakshiṇagiri; in the way He, having seen the fields in regular rows, advised Ānanda to make elavaras in regular rows and within limits. The Tathāgata again returned to Rājagrha and stayed on the Grīdhraṅkāṭa mountain. During this period the Buddha ousted Dhaniya, a Bhikshu, from the Saṅgha on account of his speaking a lie to the King and ordained a regulation accordingly that a Bhikshu who took anything worth at least five māṣas without the owner’s permission, would be ousted from the Saṅgha. It was in this period that the Buddha had ousted Sudinna for his fault of sexual intercourse with his wife; the Great Teacher then ordained a regulation that such Bhikshus, as would unite themselves with their wives, would be ousted from the Saṅgha.

While sojourning in the Indraśāla cave of the Vedikā mountain of Rājagrha, the Buddha heard the playing on of the lute (vina) from a Gandharva’s son having five tops (Śikhā). In this very cave Śakra himself had met the Great Teacher. It was at Rājagrha that the Buddha had changed Hārīti from malevolent to benevolent. In the Udumbarikā āśrama of Rājagrha, the Great Teacher had defeated its owner, named Nyagrodha, in an intellectual duel. On the Grīdhraṅkāṭa mountain itself the Ātānātiya, which contains such speeches of the Buddha as in due
course gave birth to Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna, was repeated by the Tathāgata. In the Sūkarakhāta vihāra of Grdhraṅkūta the Buddha had impressed Dirghanakha with his own ideas in such a nice manner that the latter took refuge in the former.

While the Buddha was sojourning on the Grdhraṅkūta mountain, King Bimbisāra had invited all the heads of the villages of his Kingdom, numbering about eighty thousand, to come to Rajagrha with a view to having discussion in connection with the administrative matters. All these village-heads, being advised by the King, came to the Great Teacher to hear His sermons. The Tathāgata instead of delivering sermons asked His personal attendant, Svāgata, to show miracles by flying in the sky. The latter obeyed the Mahāśramaṇa and showed the expectors such miracles as impressed them to become the Buddha’s followers. One of them, called Soṇakoṭivimśa, became even a Bhikshu and began to live at an āśrama in Sītavana. In course of time he, by following even the middle path of the Buddhist discipline on the advice of the Great Teacher, attained Arhatship. Due to this very Soṇakoṭivimśa, the Buddha had prescribed shoes for Bhikshus.

On the very Grdhraṅkūta mountain the Buddha had explained the importance of donation to a young Brahmaṇa doner named Māgha. While sojourning at the Tapodārāma vihāra, the Tathāgata had told Samiddhi the Bhaddekaratta’s vibhaṅga and uddeśya in a sūtra form which, later on, was explained by Mahākātyāyana. The Tapodārāma vihāra was nearby the hot springs at the foot of Vaibhāragiri. It was at Rajagrha that the Buddha had answered the Pottaliputra’s questions which Samiddhi could not do clearly.

After staying for a considerable period at Rajagrha, the Great Teacher proceeded again towards Vaiśāli. In
the way He saw the Bhikshus carrying the bundles of ētvaras. On reaching Vaiśāli the Tathāgata, having considered the degree of cold, prescribed only three garments (ētvaras) for Bhikshus. This time also the Buddha stayed at Kūṭāgāraśāla of Mahāvāna. Now the Great Teacher was of fifty-five years of age. He, having spoken ill of the inauspicious ideas and deeds coming out of the human bodies, wanted to reside for fifteen days in a solitary place where none but Ānanda, who would take food to Him, would be allowed. While the Buddha was in the observance of his vow, many Bhikshus, considering their lives useless, lost them at their own, accord at the hands of Migalāṇḍika Śramaṇakuttaka, a cruel and greedy man living nearby the Saṅgha. The Great Teacher, after fifteen days, came to know the fact and forbade the Bhikshus to commit suicide and declared hereafter that committing suicide was a sin. It was here that the Buddha had ousted those Bhikshus, who during famine engaged themselves in works at the houses of householders and added flesh on their bodies, from the Saṅgha. He, further, prevented Bhikshus from doing such works in future. Afterwards the Great Teacher journeyed towards Vārāṇāsi.

According to the Aṅguttara Nikāya the Buddha is said to have passed his succeeding twenty-five rainy reasons (from the twenty-first to the forty-fifth) at Śrāvasti alone. But the Great Teacher, during these twenty five years, continued His tour to different places including those of Bihar.

Once the Buddha came to the region of Mithilā and stayed in a mango-grove named Makhādevāmravana. The Great Teacher related not only the stories of Makhādeva, his son Nimi, and his grandson Kālāra Janaka, but succeeded in converting an old Brāhmaṇa named Brahmāyū.
The Great Teacher, while touring in the region of Kosala, reached the guild of Kesaputta. Kesaputta has been rightly identified with the village of Kesath, about five miles to the south-east of Dumraon, in the district of Shahabad. Here the Buddha delivered some of His sermons to the local Kalama Kshatriyas.

Once upon a time the Tathagata, after sojourning at Kausambi, came to Rajagrha and stayed at Kalandakanivapa of Venuvana. During this trip to Rajagrha the Buddha had to face many troubles created by Devadatta, but the latter was everywhere shown down and at last due to frustration he lost his life by vomiting blood.

In the Kalandakanivapa the Buddha had impressed an ascetic, named Sabhiya, who was not satisfied with the teachings of many great teachers of other faith. Consequently Sabhiya embraced the faith of the Tathagata, and in due course was able to attain Arhatship.

Once the Buddha had gone out of Rajagrha. While returning it was evening. The Great Teacher approached a nearby house which belonged to a potter named Bhargava. There He stayed for the night. During this stay the Tathagata met Pushkarasati, the then Brähmana ruler of Taxila who had come in search of the Great Teacher for the purpose of being initiated into His faith.

It was at Kalandakanivapa of Venuvana that Abhaya, one of the ministers of Bimbisara, had come to ask the Buddha a few questions taught by Nigantasathanathaputta. But the former, instead of asking questions invited the Tathagata to a dinner in his house, where in course of talks the Great Teacher was asked the above questions. The Buddha answered them in such an impressive way as compelled Abhaya to be converted into a Buddhist.
The Buddha, while touring, went to Nālandā and stayed at his old Prāvārika mango-grove. It was at this time that Upāli a famous householder of Nālandā, who was a great follower of Ngressorāṭhāputta, being advised by his teacher, had come to the Great Teacher for discussion. The result was the conversion of the former into the faith of the latter.\[100]\n
The Buddha again returned to Rājagṛha and stayed in the mango-grove of Jīvaka. During this sojourn, the Great Teacher saved Cullapanthaka, a disappointed Bhikshu, from renouncing the monkhood.\[101]\n
When the Buddha came to Rājagṛha next time, he was with one thousand two hundred and fifty Bhikshus. This time also the stay of the Great Teacher was at the mango-grove of Jīvaka. During this trip the Tathāgata had a chance to deliver his sermon to Ajātaśatru, the then King of Magadha, who, one night, had come to Him with his retinue to hear the Great Teacher, but it is said that the King was not much impressed.\[102]\n
The Buddha then went to Śrāvastī and again came to Magadha after the nirvāṇa of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Having erected a chaitya upon the corporeal relics of Śāriputra at Śrāvastī, the Tathāgata had proceeded to Rājagṛha, but when He was in the way at Ukkācela in Vajji the death of Maudgalyāyana was communicated to Him. The Great Teacher, very much shocked at heart, came to Rājagṛha and erected a caitya on the corporeal relics of Maudgalyāyana.

At that very time King Ajātaśatru, wishing to attack the Vajjis—not an easy task to undertake, wanted to seek opinion from the Buddha about it by sending his minister, Vassakāra. The Tathāgata was sojournning on the Grḍhhrakūṭa mountain. Vassakāra went to Him and conveyed to Him the messages of the Magadhan King. It was this
time that the Buddha had prophesied the integrity of the Vajjians and had said that so long as the Vajjians would stick to their seven indispensable duties, no power could win over them. At that very time the Great Teacher had called all the Bhikshus and preached the importance of those seven indispensable duties.

According to the Cakravarti Simhanadassutta, the Buddha is seen sojourning in a Magadhan village, named Mātulā, after the nirvāṇa of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. It was here that the Mahāsāramaṇa had asked the Bhikshus to be self-dependent as far as practicable. Besides, He told them the importance of duties leading to both ups and downs of spiritual achievement.

The Buddha left Gṛdhraṅkūṭa and proceeded towards Nālandā. He stopped in the way near Ambalaṭṭhikā where he stayed at Rājagāraka for the night. Ambalaṭṭhikā has been identified with present Silao lying between Rāja-grha and Nālandā. It was here that the Buddha had preached the Brahmajālasutta to the Bhikshus when the latter reported to the former the discussion between Supriya and his disciple about the faith of the Great Teacher.

The Buddha came from Nālandā to Pāṭaliputra when Vassakāra and Sunitha, two ministers of Ajātaśatru, were engaged in fortifying the city of Pāṭaliputra on the pattern of Vaiśālī. The Tathāgata with His party stayed at the royal guest-house of the city. It was here that the Buddha had prophesied the prosperity of Pāṭaliputra and had foretold that its destruction would be only by fire, water and internal incongruity.

The Great Teacher then crossed the Ganges and reached Ukkācela. The gate of the city from which the Buddha passed and the ghāṭa whence He crossed the river were called after His name Gautama. The Gautama gate
may be identified with the spot near Gurudvārā (birthplace of Guru Govind Singh) in Patna City and the Gautama ghāṭa may have been the present Gāyaghāṭa. Ukkācela has been identified by Rahula Sankrityayana with the present Hajipur. It was at Ukkācela that the Buddha had related the story of two milkmen, one fool and other wise, to the Bhikshus and asked them to act like a wise milkman in winning over Mára.

The Great Teacher left Ukkācela for Koṭigrāma and proceeded thence to Nadikā. He sojourned there at Ginjakāvasathā where He had already sojourned in the past. Koṭigrāma may have been near Hajipur and Nadikāgrāma may be identified with the present Lalganj both lying between Hajipur and Vaiśālī in the district of Muzaffarpur. At Nadikā the Buddha had met His Three disciples, viz., Aniruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila, in Gosinga Sālavana and told them the importance of sojourning. This meeting of the Buddha with these three Bhikshus was praised by a Yaksha named Dirghaparajana who said that it was due to the good luck of the region of Vajji that the Buddha and His disciples graced that land.

The Buddha then went to Vaiśālī, but this time He did not go to Kūṭāgāraśāla of the place. He stayed at the mango-grove of Āmrpaḷi, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī. Not only this, the Tathāgata, along with the party of Bhikshus, accepted Āmrpaḷi’s invitation to a feast. The following day after the feast was over, the Buddha initiated Āmrpaḷi into His faith; the famous courtesan became a Bhikshupī.

It is said that the Buddha had passed his last rainy season at Veluvagrāma of Vaiśālī. We have discussed in the beginning that the Tathāgata could not see the last or the forty-sixth rainy season, because He died before the commencement of the rainy season. This was the last visit
of Tathāgata to the region of Vaiśāli. At Veluva, the stomach trouble of the Buddha relapsed and it continued till His death. At this time the Great Teacher told Ānanda that He was of eighty years of age, and so his body, like an old cart, was moving with great difficulty. He then went to Capāla caitya where He named His favourite places of sojourn.

When the Tathāgata was a bit better in health, He moved to Kūṭāgāraśālā of Mahāvana. It was here that Buddha had foretold that after three months He would attain mahāparinirvāṇa.

The Great Teacher left Vaiśāli for Kuśinagara. The Buddha went from Vaiśāli to Bhoganagara via Bhāṇḍagrāma, Āmrāgrāma and Jambūgrāma. The last sojourn of the Mahāśramaṇa in the land of Bihar was at Bhoganagara which was, according to Rahula Sankrityayana, somewhere in the district of Saran or in the western most limit of the district of Muzaffarpur. Bhaṇḍagrāma, Āmrāgrāma and Jambuagrama are difficult to be identified, as there are no associated antiquities or traditions to identify any spot or spots with these places. The Buddha then left the region of Bihar and proceeded towards Kuśinagara, the modern Kasia, 37 miles east of Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh, where He attained mahāparinirvāṇa.

References

1. H. Oldenberg, Buddha, 1882, p. 103.
2. ASR., Vol. XII, p. 108.
4. Majjhima Nikāya, 2, 4, 5; Narendra Deva, Baudhā-dharmadārāṇa, p. 4.
5. Rahul Sankrityayana, Buddha-carya, 1988 V. S.
Appendix II

11. Ibid., pp. 43-53; Suttanipāta, 27; H. Oldenberg, op. cit., pp. 105-112.
12. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 165.
13. Ibid., p. 212.
14. The boundary of Bihar means the present limits of the State of Bihar.
15. Aṅguttara Nikāya, 2. 4. 5; Rahul Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 75.
16. Ibid.
17. H. Tripathi opines that the Buddha, after enlightenment, passed only forty-five rainy seasons, for, he left home at the age of twenty-nine, attained enlightenment at the age of thirty-five and died at the age of eighty on the full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha, certainly before the commencement of the rainy season. H. Tripathi op. cit., p. 77, foot-note 1.
18. Mahāvagga, i, 4. 2. 15.
19. Aṅguttara Nikāya (Āṭṭhakathā), i, 1, 10.
20. Majjhima Nikāya, ii, 2, 1.
22. Aṅguttara Nikāya, i, 2, 1, 7.
23. Samyutta Nikāya (Āṭṭhakathā), X, 8
24. Aṅguttara Nikāya, XVIII, 2, 1-3; the identification of Vaiśali may be seen in the itinerary of Chinese pilgrims.
27. Buddhacaryā, p. 10.
30. Samyutta Nikāya, iv, 2, 8.
31. Aṅguttara Nikāya, iv, 2, 8.
32. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 51.
33. Sutta Nipāta, (Sutta, 4).
34. Buddhacaryā, p. 145; Cullavaggo, XI, 1, 2; Vinaya Piṭaka, 1.
35. Buddhacaryā, p. 141.
36. Dīgha Nikāya (Mahāsīla) 1, 6.
37. Majjhima Nikāya, iii, 1, 5.
38. Ibid., iii, 1, 5.
40. H. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 89.
41. Mahāvaggo, vi, 5, 1, 1.
42. Ibid., vi, 5, 1, 21.
44. Majjhima Nikāya, ii, 1, 4.
45. Mahāvaggo, VI, 5, 2, 15; Suttanipāta (Selasutta), 33.
46. Majjhima Nikāya.
47. Mahāvaggo, vi, 5, 3, 1.
50. Dīgha Nikāya, i, 5.
51. Ibid., i, 4.
53. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 44.
54. Dīgha Nikāya (Sañcadañjasutta), i, 4.
55. Āṅguttara Nikāya, X, 2, 5, 4.
56. Majjhima Nikāya (Kandaraka suttanta), ii, 1, 1.
57. Mahāvaggo (Bombay University, 1952), Vol. II, p. 193
58. Chullavagga. vi, 5, 2.
59. Majjhima Nikāya, iii, 2, 10.
60. Cullavagga, vi, 5, 4.
61. Rahul Sankrityayana, Vinayapīṭaka, p. 472.
62. H. Tripathi, op. cit; p. 97.
63. Suttanipāta, Ālavakasutta.
64. Cullavagga, vi, 5, 4.
65. Rahul Sankrityayana, Vinayapīṭaka, pp. 475-76.
67. Dīgha Nikāya (Sīgālovādasutta), iii, 8.
68. Majjhima Nikāya, i, 3, 4.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., ii, 3, 3.
71. Ibid., iii, 3, 5-6.
72. Ibid., iii, 3, 9.
73. Ibid., i, 4, 10.
74. Āṅguttara Nikāya, i, 1, 3, 8.
75. Rahul Sankrityayana, Buddha-caryā, p. 289.
76. Āṅguttara Nikāya, IV, 3, 1.
77. Samyutta Nikāya, XIV, 3, 10.
78. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 195.
Appendix II

80. Uttam Bhikshu, Udāna (Meghiya Vagga), iv, 1; Aṅguttara Nikāya i, 4, 1.
81. Mahāvaggo, viii, 1., 6, 1.
82. Dīgha Nikāya, ii, 6-8.
83. Ibid., iii, 2.
84. Ibid., iii, 9.
85. Majjhima Nikāya ii, 3, 4.
86. Mahāvaggo, v. (Cammakkhandhaka); Ibid., v, 1, 1-4.
88. Majjhima Nikāya, iii, 4, 3.
89. Āṭṭhakathā.
90. Majjhima Nikāya, iii, 4, 6.
92. Majjhima Nikāya, ii, 4, 3.
93. Ibid., ii, 5, 1.
94. H. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 120.
95. Cullavagga, VII, 1, 3.
96. Ibid., VII, 2, 8.
97. Suttanipāta, 32.
98. Majjhima Nikāya, iii, 4, 10.
99. Ibid., ii, 1, 8.
100. Ibid, ii, 1, b.
102. Dīgha Nikāya, i, 2.
103. Dīgha Nikāya (Mahāparinibbānasutta), ii, 3.
104. Ibid, iii, 3.
105. H. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 129.
106. Dīgha Nikāya (beginning)
107. Ibid., ii, 3.
108. H. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 130.
110. Majjhima Nikāya, i, 4, 4.
111. Dīgha Nikāya, ii, 3, 2.
112. Majjhima Nikāya, v, 4, 1.
113. Homage to Vaiśālī, pp. 149-50.
114. Ibid.
APPENDIX III

Itinerary of Chinese Pilgrims in Bihar

Since the historical beginning of Buddhism in China in A. D. 67, many Chinese pilgrims made pilgrimage to the holy land of India, although the records of only three, viz., Fa-hsien, Hsuan Tsang and I-ting, are available at hand for the subject, under review. I-ting informs us (at about A. D. 670) that 500 years before his pilgrimage to the Mahābodhi tree in India through Szchuen and a Mahārāja, named Śrīgupta, built a temple for them. The ruins of the establishment, which was called the “Tehina Temple”, were seen by the Chinese pilgrim (I-ting\(^2\)) Chu Si-hing visited Khotan in A. D. 290 and shortly afterwards Fa-ling, another Chinese pilgrim, came to north India.\(^3\) The stone tablets\(^4\) with Chinese inscriptions from Bodh-Gaya, which mention the names of the pilgrims Chi-I and Ho-yun, suggests that the sacred Buddhist spots in India were visited by Chinese travellers from time to time.

Fa-hsien

Fa-hsien, whose surname was Kung was the first pilgrim on the land of Bihar whose writings and records are available. He, along with a group of four companions, (Hwuy-King, Tao-ching, Hwuy-ying and Hwuy-wei\(^5\)), started from Ch’ang-gan (still a principal district in Se-gan, Shense in China\(^6\)) and reached the holy land of India through north-western passes and returned via south-eastern sea route.

From Kuśinagara, the pilgrim proceeded towards Bihar and walking a distance\(^7\) of twelve yojanas\(^8\) to the south-east, reached the kingdom of Vaiśālī\(^9\). Kuśanagara\(^10\)
or Kuśinagara, which was previously Kuśavati, has been identified by Prof. Wilson with modern Kasia, 37 miles to the east of Gorakhpur and to the north-west of Bettiah in Uttar Pradesh. This is the place where the Buddha attained mahāparinirvāna (died). Vaiśālī has been identified by General Cunningham with Basāḍha in the district of Muzaffarpur, eighteen miles to the north of Hajipur. Actually ancient Vaiśālī comprised of the modern villages of Basāḍha, Baniā, Lalpurā, Upharaul, Chakrāmdās, Bakhrā and Kolhuā, being about twenty-two miles to the north-west of Hajipur. Hoey had said in favour of Chirandā, seven miles to the west of Chapra in the district of Saran. This identification has not been accepted by scholars and archaeologists and it, really, deserves refutation as its location does not agree with the topography mentioned in the Buddhist literature. The recent archaeological excavations support the case of Basāḍha and its adjacents.

As the pilgrim does not mention anything about Rāmpurvā, Lauriyā Nandangarh, Lauriyā Arerāj, Kesariyā etc it may be inferred that Fa-hsien and his companions might have followed some other route. The pilgrim mentions that he saw a stone pillar with inscription erected by the Licchavis in memory of the Buddha. In the north of the city of Vaiśālī, Fa-hsien saw the double-galleried vihāra where the Buddha had dwelt and the stūpa (tope) over half the body of Ānanda and inside the town was found an intact vihāra, which was built by Ambapālī for the Tathāgata. Three li (about half a mile) to the south of the city was a garden which was presented to the Mahāśramaṇa by the same courtesan. On the west gate of the city, from where the Buddha had cast his last glance over Vaiśālī, the pilgrim saw one stūpa. Three li to the north-west of the city a stūpa, called "Bows and weapons laid down" was
seen. At this last mentioned place, the thousand sons, who were abandoned by their real parents, had come to attack them from the side of their foster-father and after recognizing their mother by receiving the thousand jets of milk from her breasts, had laid down their bows and weapons. The tope (stūpa) was built with a view to commemorating this event. The Buddha, who was one of the thousand sons in his previous birth had narrated this event. The traveller then mentions that three or four li to the east of the city there were two stūpas (topes) commemorating respectively the site of the Buddha's foretelling about his parinirvāṇa and that of the second Buddhist Council which was convened after two hundred years of the death of the Tathāgata.

Among all the above-mentioned monuments, the stone pillar is still existing in the village of Kolhuā which may be associated with the event in question. The ruins of a brick stūpa by the northern side of the pillar, over which there is a life-size statue of the Buddha belonging to the Pāla period, may be identified with the ancient site of double-galleried Vihārā of the Buddha. The traveller might have taken the two mounds just a furlong to the west of the pillar, which have been recently excavated and proved to be pre-Christian relic stūpas, as the topes (stūpas) where the bows and weapons were laid down. Other sites, mentioned by the pilgrim, are not traceable.

The traveller proceeded towards the east and after walking a distance of four Yojanas from the site of the second Buddhist Council at Vaiśāli, reached the confluence of five rivers. The exact location of the confluence in question cannot be traced out. The pilgrims might have followed the road via modern Lālganj and Ghaṭāro and reached somewhere near Hajipur. The confluence, referred
to, was possibly, of the Gaṅgā, Gaṇḍaka, Son, Punpun and one more (not traceable now).

The traveller, having crossed the river, walked towards the south for a yojana and reached the town of Pāṭaliputra. The river, referred to, must have been the river Gaṅgā which was flowing farther north than its present bed. The south-eastern portion of new Patna may be identified with a part of ancient Pāṭaliputra. The pilgrim mentions that the royal palace of Aśoka was in the midst of the city. Unless extensive excavations are carried out, the site of the palace is very difficult to be traced out. Fa-hsien further sees an artificial hill (which was made by spirits for a younger brother of Aśoka), two monasteries (one belonging to the Hīnayāna and the other to the Mahāyāna) by the side of the tope of Aśoka, foot-print of the Buddha in a Vihāra near the Aśokan stūpa and an inscribed lion capitalised stone pillar to the south of the Vihāra. Three or four hundred paces to the north of the Aśokan stūpa there was a city of Nele where was also an inscribed lion headed stone pillar. More than three li to the south of the city the pilgrim saw a stūpa which was built over the corporeal relics of the Buddha.

Waddel identifies the old palace of Nanda, Chandragupta and Aśoka at Nili with Kumbrar, Sandalpur and Dargāh of Shāh Arzani, the eastern border of the palace was in a line running from the western border of the Sevai Lake through Dhanuki on the eastern margin of Kumrahār to Mahārāj-Khaṇḍa (Emperor’s moat) at Tulsimandi which means the market place of the king. The brick mound to the east of the lake Gun-sar or Gaṅgā Sāgara, having a temple of Śiva on its top, has been identified with the first and the greatest of the 84000 stūpas built by Aśoka to enshrine the relics of the Buddha and P. C. Mukherji has identified Baḍā Pahāri with the great
stūpa of Aśoka, Chhoṭāpahārī with the stūpas of four past Buddhhas and Kumhrār with Nili. At the present stage of our knowledge nothing can be said definitely.

The pilgrims proceeded to the south-east and crossing a distance of nine yojanas reached a solitary rocky hill, the head or end of which had a stone apartment where the Buddha sat when Indra (Śakra) had brought the deva-musician to please Him (Tathāgata). This hill has been identified with a pahārti near Giryek, on the bank of the Panchane river, about 36 miles from Gaya.²⁸

Fa-hsien with his companions, now, walking about a yojana to the north-west of this place, reached the village of Nala, the birth and Nirvāṇa place of Śāriputra, and there they saw a tope (stūpa) which was supposed to have been built on the spot where Śāriputra’s body was buried. This Nala is Nālandā which has been identified with the village of Bargāon seven miles the north-west of Rajgir.²⁸

The travellers, then, moved towards the west and reached New Rājagṛha after a yojana’s walk. The pilgrim saw two monasteries inside the city and the Buddha-stūpa three hundred paces outside its western gate. But, at present, there is no trace of any of these monuments. New Rājagṛha was built by Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru²⁸ about a mile to the north of old Rājagṛha or Girivrajapura of the Rāmāyana.²⁸ The ruins on the southern limit of Rajgir can well be identified with the ancient site of New Rājagṛha.

The party of the pilgrims, walking a distance of four li, entered the valley of old Rājagṛha and ascended the Gṛidhakūṭa hill, remained there for the night and again returned towards the new city. The pilgrims saw the Karanda Bamboo garden with a vihāra at a distance of 300 paces from the old city and the Śmaśānam (funeral place) two or three li to the north of the Karanda vihāra.
The Pippala cave, where Buddha used to have regular meditation after his midday meal was seen by the pilgrims who further saw the southern mountain at a distance of 300 paces to the west of the Karanda Bamboo garden. Five or six li to the west of the Pippala cave they found the Śrataparṇa cave, which was made by Ajātaśatru for the first Buddhist Council just after the death of the Buddha. The boundary of modern Rajgir includes the ancient sites of both the old and new Rājaghras of the time of the Buddha. Gṛidhrakūṭa (Pali Gijjhakūṭa) is a part of Varāha or Giri-vrajagiri. The Sonabhanḍāra cave on the southern fringe of the Vaibhāra hill, has been correctly identified by Mr. Beglar with the stone cavern of Fa-hsien. The pippala cave is at a short distance from the Jain temple on the top of the Vaibhāra hill, down a narrow ledge on the west. Beglar correctly identifies a group of caves situated on the southern side of the Vaibhāra hill at a distance of about a mile to west of the Pippala cave, with the Śrataparṇa or Saptaparṇa or Sattapanṇa or Saptapāṇi caves. The Vasu Rājā Ka Gaḍha has been identified with the Śmaśānam or cemetery of Fa-hsien.

The travellers travelled to the west for four Yojanas and reached the city of Gaya, which was then desolated. From here the pilgrims started towards the south and walking for twenty li arrived at the place where Bodhisattva practised penance for six years. Three li to the west from this the pilgrims saw the place where the Buddha was saved by a Deva from being drowned in a pool. Two li to the north of this was the place where the Buddha was offered rice-gruel made with milk by the Grāmika girls and two li to the north of this was the place where the Buddha had eaten that rice-gruel. Half a yojana to the northwest of this place was a cavern in the rocks, where the Buddha was foretold by the Devas that it was not the right
place for attaining the perfect wisdom (Buddhahood). Fa-hsien had seen topes at all these described places. Less than a Yojana to the south-west of the last mentioned place, where the Buddha had attained perfect wisdom they saw three monasteries with benevolent monks.  

The ancient site of Gaya, an old Magadhan city, was to the north-west of its modern site. Bodh-Gaya has been identified with the place where Bodhisattva attained Buddhahood and other places, referred to, must have been in the vicinity between Gaya and Bodh-Gaya along with their neighbourings, the exact location of which may be traced after through archaeological explorations.

The travellers moved for three li towards the south and found a mountain called the Gurupāda, the residence of Mahākāśyapa. This mountain has been identified with the Sobhnath hill about four miles to the south-west of Wazirganj.

Now Fa-hsien and his companions returned towards Pāṭaliputra taking the path along the Gaṅgā and moving towards the west. The pilgrims reached Pāṭaliputra via Vārāṇasi. Fa-hsien was in search of the copies of the Vinaya. Here he got a copy of it containing the Mahāsaṃghika rules and a transcript of six or seven thousand Gāthās of Sarvāstivāda-rules and many other sūtras.

From Pāṭaliputra the pilgrims followed the path along the Gaṅgā towards the east and after crossing a distance of eighteen yojanas reached the kingdom of Campā on the southern bank of the Gaṅgā. There they saw topes (stūpas) and a vihāra with monks built in memory of Buddha’s meditation and they were associated with him and three other Buddhas. This Campā has been identified with modern Campā or Campānagara, situated at a distance of about four miles to the west of Bhagalpur.
From Campā the Chinese travellers headed by Fa-hsien continued their journey towards the east for fifty yojanas and reached Tamralipti (Tamluk in the district of Midnapur in West Bengal) whence they returned to China (Nan King) by ship after two years via Singhala (Ceylon) and Java.

Sung-Yun and Hwei Sang

In A. D. 517-18, the Empress Dowager (Tai-Hau) of the Wei dynasty sent Sung-yun or Sung-Yunse with Vikshu Hweisang on an embassy to the western countries to collect Buddhist books. They obtained 170 volumes of standard works belonging to the Htayana school.

But these travellers came only up to Peshawar and Nagarhāra and returned to China.

Hsuan-Tsang

The next Chinese pilgrim to the land of Bihar was Hsuan-Tsang whose common name was Chin-shi. At the age of twenty six (in A. D. 629) he started from his homeland for the land of the Buddha by the north-western route like Fa-hsien.

The pilgrim, crossing a distance of about 100 li to the south of Aviddhakarna Saṃghārāma (Earl pierced-monastery) near Ballia and reaching the southern bank of the Gaṅgā, touched the region of Bihar in the town of Mo-ho-sa-lo (Mahāsara). M. V. de st. Martin has identified Mahāsara with Masar, a village six miles to the west of Arrah in the district of Shahabad. N. L. Dey also agrees with Martin. As the pilgrim mentions the temple of Nārāyaṇa deva (Vishnū) on the northern side of the Gaṅgā, Cunningham opines that the former must have crossed the river (Gaṅgā) near Revelganj, 16 miles north of Masār, where the Gaṅgā and the Ghāghrā (Sarayū) meet and the spot is considered to be a holy one.
A distance of about 30 li to the east of the Nārāyaṇa temple brings the traveller to a stūpa, built by king Aśoka, in front of which there was an inscribed stone pillar with a lion capital. The inscription mentioned the respect to the defeat of the evil spirits by the Tathāgata. Not far from the stūpa there were Sanghārāmas of the Mahāyāna school. The site is difficult to be located as there are no traces of any relics in the locality indicated.

After journeying about 100 li to the south east the pilgrim arrives at the Drona stūpa. In accordance with Turnour, the Drona stūpa (called Kumbham stūpa) was built by Ajātaśatru. The site may be located near Dighwarā in the district of Saran.

Travelling about 140 or 150 li to the north-east and after crossing the Gaṅgā the traveller with his party reached the country of Fei-she-li (Vaiśāli). The pilgrim described the kingdom of Vaiśāli about 5000 li and the capital city about 60-70 li in circuit. The traveller came across the royal precincts (4 or 5 li round), a Sanghārāma of the Sammatiya school, the stūpa where the Buddha delivered the Vimalakīrtti sūtra and the son of a householder, Ratnākara, and others presented precious parasols to the Buddha, the stūpa where Śāriputra and others obtained Arhatship, the stūpa which was built over the corporeal relics of the Buddha Himself, the Aśoka stūpa with a lion-capitalled stone pillar by the side and Markatāhrada (a tank dug by monkeys for the Buddha) to the south of the pillar, the honey stūpa (where the monkeys climbed up a tree and collected honey for the Buddha), the stūpa where the Buddha was offered honey by the monkeys, the site of the house of Vimalakīrtti, a spirit-dwelling (chapel) where Vimalakīrtti preached the law, the site of the house of Ratnākara with a stūpa, a stūpa on the site of the house of Amrapāli where Gautami and other Bhikṣuṇīs obtained nirvāṇa, the stūpa
where the Buddha stopped in course of his journey to Kuśinagara, the stūpa whence the Buddha cast his last glance over Vaiśāli, the Vihāra with a stūpa in front on the site of the garden of Āmrapāli which was given to the Buddha in charity by the courtesan, the stūpa where the Buddha announced his mahāparinirvāṇa, the stūpa where the thousand sons recognised their parents, the stūpa where the Buddha took exercise, the stūpa built over the relics of Ānanda and the ruins of many vihāras and stūpas. Among all these above-mentioned monuments very few are, at present, existing at the site. The royal precincts of the pilgrim is the Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh. The pilgrim's measurement tallies with the present measurement of the mound. The stūpa, discovered by Altekar in 1958, is supposed to be that one which was built over the relics of the Buddha Himself. The lion-capitalled pillar close to the northern side of an ancient small tank and to the south of a ruined stūpa is standing in the present village of Kolhuā within the ancient boundary of Vaiśāli. The ancient small tank might be the Markaṭahrada of the Buddha. Two high mounds, to the west of the pillar, locally known as Bhitmasena kā Pallā, may be taken as the site where parents were recognised by their thousand sons. The excavations of these two mounds revealed that they were relic-stūpas, built of mud sometime before the Christian era. It may be inferred that they might have been built later in commemoration of those parents. The remaining sites are not traceable at present.

To fifty or sixty li to the north-west of the main city of Vaiśāli the traveller saw a great stūpa commemorating the site where the Licchavis took leave of the Buddha and returned with his begging bowl which they got as a token of remembrance. Kesariyā, in the district of Champaran, has been identified with the site in question.
A distance of fourteen or fifteen li to the south-east of the city of Vaisali brought the pilgrim to a site where the second Buddhist Council was held. The pilgrim saw there a great stūpa. At present there is no trace of that stūpa, but people associate a place, near about two and a half miles to the south-east of Basāṭh, with the old site of the second Buddhist Council.

The travellers now proceeded towards south, and after crossing a distance of eighty or ninety li they reached a monastery, called Śvetapura Saṃgharāma, which was by the side of a stūpa built by king Aśoka. As the distance and direction suggest, the present town of Lalganj in the district of Muzaffarpur may be identified with the ancient site of Śvetapura monastery.

A distance of thirty li to the south of Śvetapura monastery brought the pilgrim to the bank of the river Ganga where he saw on either side (north and south) of the river a stūpa. Each stūpa shared equally the corporeal relics of Ānanda. There are no traces of these stūpas but the present town of Hajipur in the district of Muzaffarpur suits the distance, direction and situation described by Hsuan Tsang and hence may be identified with the ancient place in question.

The party of pilgrims then proceeded towards north-east and after crossing a distance of five hundred li or so reached the country of Fo-li-shi (Vrijji). The confederation of eight tribes of the people including the Licchavis was called the Vrijjis or Vajjis. The tribes of the district of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran and a part of Saran, seem to have constituted this confederacy. The name of the capital of Vrijjis, mentioned by the pilgrim, was Chen-shu-na. Julian read it as Chansuna. V. de St. Martin associated it with Janakapura, the capital of Mithilā.
The pilgrim saw in the country of Vrijji ten Saṅghārāmas and several ten of Deva temples. He mentions a Saṅghārāma to the north-east of a great river and a 30’ high stūpa to its west along the river. But there are no traces of these monuments in the locality concerned.

A distance⁴⁴ of about one hundred li to the north-west brought the pilgrim to an old city where the Buddha preached the law for six months and converted Devas. Hsuan-Tsang saw there a 100’ high stūpa. He came across two more stūpas, one where the Buddha established some rules of discipline for the bhikshus and the other on His hair and nail relics. The description fits with the site of Nandangār in the district of Champaran. The ruins of the (stūpa) of Nandangār, the biggest old monument, must have been seen by this Chinese pilgrim, because there is no other monument about 100’ high in that locality. But unfortunately the direction from the last said place does not agree in case of Nandangār. However, it may be inferred that the pilgrim instead of writing north-west wrote north-east. The succeeding description⁴⁵ when the pilgrim proceeded from the site of the big stūpa towards north-west for going to Nepal, supports our inference. Had the direction, in question, been north-east, the party of the pilgrims would have proceeded towards the north for going to Nepal via Jayanagar.

The pilgrim returned from Nepal to the country of Magadha via Vaiśālī and after crossing the Gaṅgā.⁴⁶

The traveller mentioned that the country of Magadha was about five hundred li in circuit. The walled cities were thinly populated. The pilgrim saw some fifty monasteries (Saṅghārāmas), mostly belonging to Mahāyāna Buddhism and ten Deva temples belonging to different sects. Hsuan-Tsang saw the foundation walls of the old
city of Paśaliputra, situated to the south of the Gaṅgā, being 70 li in circuit. A stone pillar, to the north of the old palace of the king (this is the place where Aśoka made the hell) and the ruins of several Saṅghārāmas, Deva temples and stūpas were seen by the pilgrim. To the south of the hell there was an Aśoka stūpa (one of the 84000 stūpas) with a crowning balustraded copula of carved stone. By the side of the stūpa there was a vihāra in which was a great stone slab with the impression of the feet of the Buddha. Beside the stone there was a stūpa marking the place where the part four Buddhas walked and sat down. Near the vihāra there was an inscribed stone pillar of 30' height. To the north of the old palace the pilgrim saw a stone house which was built by Aśoka for his brother (Mahendra) who was a recluse. The pilgrim, further, saw a stone with a hollow through it which was made by the genii for the use for food given by king Aśoka to the priests. To the south-west of the old palace the pilgrim saw a little mountain having stone dwellings made by Aśoka for Upagupta and other Arhatas. By the side of it there were an old tower and a pond. To the south-east of the mountain there were five stūpas which were built by Aśoka over the remaining corporeal relics of the Buddhas after erecting eighty-four thousand stūpas. To the south-east of the old city there was a vihāra (kukkutārāma Saṅghārāma) built by Aśoka to commemorate his first embracing Buddhism. By the site of the Kukkutārāma vihāra, there was a stūpa called Āmalaka stūpa built by Aśoka. To the north of the Āmalaka stūpa there was another stūpa in the centre of the old Saṅghārāma for establishing the sound of the ghanta (hell) where once the heretics defeated the Buddhist priests. To the north of the ghanta stūpa there was an old foundation of the house of a Brāhmaṇa that was inspired by demons."
At present there is no trace of any of these monuments. Only conjectural identification of a few of them are as follows:

The Pañchapañhari has been identified with the five relic stupas and Chotā pañhari with Upagupta's hermitage hill, the Bhikñapahārī mound with the Mahendra's hermitage hill, the mound to the east of Ranipur with the Āmalaka stūpa situated within the Kukkuṭārāma monastery, the Jaina temple at Kamalājī with the residence of the heretics, a spot about half a mile to the east of Kamalājī with that where the Buddha left his footprint on a stone. The mounds at Bahadurpur have also been identified with Upagupta's hermitage.

About two hundred li to the south-west of the city of Pāṭaliputra the pilgrim saw an old ruined Saṅghārāma with a miraculous stūpa by its side. The site is not traceable. It would be somewhere near Patna, as the French translation mentions the distance of 200 paces with which Beal has also agreed.

About one hundred li to the south-west of the old Saṅghārāma another monastery, named the Tilādhaka one was seen by the pilgrim. This has been identified with Tilara, a village on the bank of the Phalgu river, about thirty-three miles to the south of Patna.

The pilgrim then came to a blue-clouded mountain after crossing a distance of ninety li towards the south-west. On the eastern summit of the mountain Hsuan-Tsang saw a stūpa.

About thirty li to the north-west of the blue-clouded mountain there was a Saṅghārāma where Guṇamati Bodhisattva had defeated heretics.

Proceeding about twenty li to the south-west of the convent of Guṇamati the party of pilgrims came across the Saṅghārāma of Śilabhadra.
The party then proceeded towards south-west, and after going a distance of forty or fifty li and crossing the Nairañjanā river reached the town of Gaya. The Nairañjanā river is now called Phalgu.

Going about five or six li to the south-west of the Gaya town Hsuan-Tsang with his party came to Mount Gaya to the south-east of which was a stūpa where Kāśyapa was born. The party then reached the Prāgbodhi mountain to the east of the place of Gaya Kāśyapa. It is said that the Tathāgata had ascended this mountain when he was about to attain enlightenment.

Proceeding about fourteen or fifteen li to the south-west the Chinese pilgrim along with his party reached the Bodhi tree. This was the famous Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gaya under which Siddhārtha attained enlightenment. Hsuan-Tsang saw to the east of the Bodhi tree a vihāra about one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy feet high. He also saw a spot where the Tathāgata after obtaining enlightenment had walked up and down. To the south of the Bodhi tree the Chinese pilgrim saw a stūpa built by king Aśoka. He, further, saw another stupa to the north of the Aśokan one. Besides, the Chinese pilgrim came across two stūpas, one on each side, to the east of the Bodhi tree. Further, a vihāra with the image of Kāśyapa Bodhi to the north-west of the Bodhi tree, two brick chambers to its north-west, a stūpa called Yuh-kin-hiang (the saffron scent, Kumkuma) of about forty feet high and many other sites nearby concerning the life of the Buddha were seen by him.

It is difficult to settle the route, followed by the Chinese pilgrim from Patna to Gaya. Beal suggests that "going about 200 li" in respect of old ruined Saṃghārāma before the Tilāḍhaka monastery should be omitted, and the old Saṃghārāma should be considered as being perhaps ten li
Appendix III

beyond the south-east angle of the city of Patna. This 10 li together with the two distances of 100 li + 90 li to the "cloud-stone mountain" will thus make up 200 li (put down by mistake) and correspond with the 6 or 7 yojanas in Hwui-lih from Patna to the Ti lochi-kia convent. So the last place has been identified with the Barabar Hills, but the Tilāqhaka convent must be placed at Tilara. Hsuan-Tsang does not appear where actually did not pass through the spots mentioned between Patna and Gaya.

The party of pilgrims then crossed the Nairāṇjanā river and reached a stūpa in the middle of a wood. The pilgrim saw a pool to the north of the stūpa. This is the place where a perfume elephant (Gandhabhasti) waited on his mother. The ruins of this stūpa and the lower portion of the pillar, which was erected on the spot where the young elephant waited, still exist at Bakror, on the eastern bank of the Līlājan river, about one mile to the south-east of Bodh Gaya. The Līlājan river is the western branch of the river Phalgu which joins Mohanā, a few miles above Gaya.

Hsuan-Tsang saw a stūpa just by the side of the pool. In this stūpa Buddha Kāśyapa had sat in meditation and by its side the pilgrim noticed the traces where four past Buddhas had sat down and walked.

The party then proceeded towards east, and having crossed the Moho (Mahi) river reached a great forest where there was a stone pillar. This was a place where a heretic, called Udra Rāmaputra, entered a condition of ecstasy and made a wicked vow. The Mahi river is the present Mohanā river, a tributary of Phalgu in the district of Gaya. But it is not certain whether Udra-Rāmaputra is the same referred to in the Buddhist text, he may have been some other personality, because the personality, referred to, is
also said to have lived somewhere near Kesath in the district of Shahabad.

The pilgrim then proceeded towards the east of the Mahi river. He came across a forest and after crossing a distance of one hundred li reached the Kukkuṭapādagiri or Gurupādāhārī. Grierson and Cunningham have identified Kukkuṭapādagiri with the low Pathraura ridge about a mile north-east of the large village of Kurkihar which is about three miles to the north-east of the Wazirganj railway station and fifteen miles east of Gaya. Stein is of the opinion that Sobhnath Hill, about four miles to the south, south-west of Wazirganj, is the cock-mountain of the Buddhists whereas Gopal Bose has identified it with the Gurpa hill, about a mile to the south of the station of that name on the Grand Chord line of the Eastern Railway. The last identification has been supported by R. D. Banerji and Bloch while the second one by A. W. Keith and V. H. Jackson. The author, after careful examination of the pilgrim's description of the site, has come to the conclusion that Sobhnath hill is the real site of ancient Kukkuṭapādagiri and the Gurpa hill might have developed its association with Buddhism in later age.

The Kukkuṭapādagiri has been called the Kāśyapa-pāda-mountain, the name added as a token of respect to Kāśyapa. It appears that the mountain was called cock's foot because of its shape; the three peaks or spurs actually look like the foot of the cock. Fa-hsian places this mountain three li to the south of Gaya, probably a mistake for three yojanas to the east.

After going a distance of one hundred li to the north-east of the cock's foot mountain, the party of pilgrims reached the Buddhavana mountain and thence they started for Yashṭīvana (the forest of the staff) where they came
after going about thirty li to the east amongst wild valleys of the Buddhavana mountain. The pilgrims then came across a great mountain, about six or seven li to the south-east of Yastivana. After passing a distance of about sixty li eastward from the stone chamber, four or five li to the north-east of the great mountain, Hsuan-Tsang arrived at the city of Kusagrapura.

The distances between Bodh Gaya and Yastivana given by Hsuan-Tsang need modification in order to find out a correct site for Buddhavana mountain. Jackson observes that the study of the map shows "that Yastivana is only 30° north-east of Sobhnath and practically due north of Gurpa hill, while the corresponding distances in a beeline are about twelve and half and twenty five miles respectively. How then could the Yastivana (Jethian) be reached from the Kukkutapadagiri (Sobhnath or Gurpa) by going first of all about 20 miles to the north-east and then another six miles or so in an easterly direction? Such a course from either hill must lead a long way to the east of Jethian, and in fact to the south-east of the Banganga-Girirak ridge, the most easterly portion of the whole range; deductions from the distances mentioned such as one fourth required to compensate for the excess measurement on ordinary roads from village to village" would only make matters worse. As it is quite certain from the account given by Hsuan-Tsang that the Buddhavana mountain was somewhere in the Jethian-Rajgir-Girirak range, all that can be inferred is that a pilgrim following Hsuan-Tsang's directions from Sobhnath would not go so far astray as he would from Gurpa. So the Buddhavana mountain can be correctly identified, if a simple and not unnatural correction is done to the account of Hsuan-Tsang. The Chinese pilgrim writes "Going to the north-east of the Cock's Foot mountain about 100 li, we come to the mountain called
Buddhavana, with its peaks and cliffs lofty and precipitous. Among its steep mountain cliffs is a stone chamber where the Buddha once descending stayed; by its side is a large stone where Śakra, king of Devas, and Brahma-rājā pounded some ox-head sandal-wood, and anointed the Tathāgata with the same. The scent is still to be perceived on the stone. Here also five hundred Arhats secretly dwell in a spiritual manner, and here those who are influenced by religious desire to meet with them sometimes see them, on one occasion under the form of Samaneras just entering the village to beg food, at other times as withdrawing (to their cells), on some occasions manifesting traces of their spiritual power in ways difficult to describe in detail.

Going about 30 li to the east, amongst wild valleys of the Buddhavana mountain, we come to the wood called Yashțivana.....

"To the north-east of the solitary hill (of the Rshi Vyāsa) there is a small hill, also standing alone. In the side of this hill (has been excavated) a stone chamber. In length and breadth it is enough to seat 1,000 persons. In this place Tathāgata, when living in the world, repeated the law for three months. Above the stone chamber is a great and remarkable rock, on which Šakra, King of Devas, and Brahma-rājā pounded some ox-head sandal (wood) and with the dust sprinkled the body of Tathāgata. The surface of the stone still emits the scent of the perfume."

Stein has identified the above mentioned second stone chamber with the Rajpind cave, high up on the precipitous north face of the hill called Chandu in the Jethian valley, and rather less than two miles north-east of Jethian itself. The hill in question can scarcely be called "small" and "standing alone", in fact it is a high and almost level ridge, running for several miles and connecting a hill called Chatagiri which separates this valley from old Rājagṛha.
The existence of a road, about a mile long, strengthens the Stein's identification. Hsuan Tsang also saw this road and attributed it to king Bimbirsāra. Hence it may be concluded that the "stone chamber" in Buddhavana was also a cave similar to Rajpind.

Cunningham's identification of Buddhavana with Budhian* does not seem to be correct. He himself elsewhere says that Budhian is several miles east or north-east, i.e., on the wrong side of Jethian and this discrepancy is not explained there. Secondly the Budhian hill does not have any cavern, either natural or unnatural, which can be called a chamber. Beglar's identifications concerning the locality under review are erroneous and hence should not be taken into consideration. Grierson also does not seem to have criticized Cunningham's identification. Stein's accounts of the region seem to be authoritative and provide for some clues. He writes, "After a march of close on three hours I reached a rocky ridge which traverses the valley in the direction from north-east to south-west and culminates in the Handia hill, marked as a trigonometrical station (elevation 1,472 feet) on the Survey map. The pass by which I crossed this ridge near its northern end, where it joins the main northern range of the valley, was called Budhian by the Ahirs who accompanied me. This name may possibly apply also to the high rocky eminence of the main range, which rises to the north of the pass." But a glance at the map will show that its identification with Buddhavana of Hsuen Tsang is manifestly impossible. The pilgrim tells us that he reached Yashtivana by going to the east, whereas Jethian and the neighbouring Jeshtivana, which, as we shall see, corresponds undoubtedly to Yashtivana, lie to the south-west of Budhian. But this explorer does not give his conclusion against Cunningham's identification. Besides, Hsuan
Tsang writes just after his description of the neighbourhood of Jethian, "From this spot, proceeding eastward through the mountains about 60 li, we arrive at the city Kuṣāṇāgara-pura......High mountains surround it on each side, and form as it were its external walls. On the west it is approached through a narrow pass." Jackson identified this narrow pass with Budhian, and he argued that it could not be imagined that a traveller of Hsuan-Tsang's calibre would describe the same place twice over, first as the Buddhavana Mountain and last as the neighbourhood of a pass leading away from the locality. According to Jackson, Stein's description seems to be wrong simply at one place where he says that "this pass and the hill north of it are called Budhian", because the survey station mentioned Budhian to the south of the pass. Jackson, after thorough consideration of Stein's and Buchanan's descriptions by personally visiting the site, rightly concludes that Hanria Hill may be identified with Buddhavana. Hanria Hill fits accurately with Sobhnath Hill, the possible site of Kuṭamūḍāgiri. This hill has a stone chamber similar to its counterpart now known as the Rajpind cave which was described by Buchanan in place of the former. The Hanria Hill is important because of its fortifications on its top and the construction of a great road up to it. Moreover, the valley, underneath from Makariwan-Hanria-Sonagiri range on the south to the transverse Chandu Budhian Chattagiri ridge is even now densely forested and can easily be taken for Buddhavana. This valley terminates five or six miles west south-west of the foot of the ancient road, just opposite the ruined stūpa now known as Sahudrasthan and within two or three hundred yards of the site identified with Yashtivana. In order to identify Hanria Hill with Buddhavana we must assume that Hsuan-Tsang's description that Yashtivana was to the east of Buddhavana is wrong; the Chinese pilgrim wrote "east" instead of "west"
by mistake, because the Yashṭivana lies to the west of Hanria Hill.”

At Kuśāgrapura Hsuan-Tsang saw a stūpa outside the north gate of the palace city, where once the Tathāgata calmed the drunken elephant liberated by Ajātaśatru and Devadatta to kill Him. Then the pilgrim describes another stūpa where Śāriputra had heard Āśvajīta declaring the law by which the former reached the fruit (of an Arhat). To the north of this place, not far off, there was a very deep ditch, by the side of which the pilgrim saw a stūpa where Śrīgupta wished to destroy the Buddha. To the north-east of the ditch was another stūpa where Jivaka, the physician, had built a preaching hall for the Buddha. Hsuan-Tsang then describes that he went to the Grāhrakūṭa mountain, fourteen or fifteen li to the north-east of the palace city. In the vicinity of this mountain the pilgrim saw two small stūpas on either side of the road leading to the summit, a vihāra on the western end of the mountain, a long stone on which once the Tathāgata had trodden, a great stone where Devadatta had found a stone to strike the Buddha, a stūpa where the Tathāgata delivered the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka, a great stone where Buddha entered the Samādhi, an extraordinary stone where Ānanda was frightened by Māra, a stone house where Śāriputra and other Arhats entered Samādhi, a flat stone where the Tathāgata had dried his Kāshāya garment, the foot-traces of the Buddha on a rock and a stūpa on the top whence the Buddha had beheld the town of Magadha.”

Hsuan-Tsang describes that there was a mountain called Vipulagiri to the west of the north gate of the mountain city where warm springs and many stūpas and the remains of vihāras were seen. The pilgrim then saw to the west of the hot springs a Pippala (Pi-po-lo) stone house where once the Buddha had dwelt. On the top of
the Vipulagiri he came across a stūpa where the Tathāgata had repeated the law and the pilgrim saw naked heretics practising penance.

Hsuan-Tsang came to a great stone house, two or one li to the north-east of the northern gate of the city, where Devadatta formerly had entered samādhi. The pilgrim then came across a flat stone, spotted in blood colour, to the east of the stone house. It was here that a Bhikshu, practising Samādhi, obtained the fruit of holiness by wounding himself. To the east of the flat stone he saw a stūpa where a Bhikshu, while practising samādhi, had thrown himself down and obtained the fruit of Arhatship.

Proceeding about one li from the northern gate of the city, the pilgrim arrived at the Karandaveṇuvana. To the east of the Karandaveṇuvana the pilgrim saw the stūpa which was built by Ajātaśatru on the relics of the Buddha. By the side of the relic-stūpa the Chinese traveller saw another stūpa which was built on the half relic of Ānanda. By the side of the Ānanda-stūpa there was a place where the Buddha had walked up and down. The traveller then proceeded not very far and saw a stūpa where once Śāriputra and Mudgalaputra had dwelt during the rainy season.

Going about five or six li to the south-west of the Veṇuvana, the pilgrim came to a bamboo forest on the northern side of the southern mountain. In the middle of the bamboo forest he found a large stone house (Sattapani cave) where venerable Kāśyapa had convened the first convocation of 999 great Arhats after the mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha. North-west of the convocation hall the pilgrim saw a stūpa. This was the place where Ānanda attained the fruit of Arhatship.

Proceeding about twenty li or so to the west of the last-mentioned point Hsuan-Tsang saw an Aśokan stūpa
where the great assembly (Mahāsaṅgha) of the common Bhikshus formed their collection of books. About 200 paces to the north of the Veṇuvana vihāra the traveller came to the Karanda lake (Karandahrada) where the Tathāgata had often preached. The party of pilgrims proceeded to the north of the Karandahrada and at a distance of two or three li saw a 60' high stūpa (built by Aśoka) with a 50' high elephant-capitalled pillar beside. The party then proceeded to the north-east of the pillar and reached the town of Rājagrha. The pilgrim saw two Saṃghārāmas at the south-west angle of the royal precincts. Here the Buddha had delivered the law. He further saw a stūpa towards north-west. This was the place where Jyotishka, a householder, was born. Hsuan-Tsang saw a stūpa on the left of the road outside the south gate of the city. It was here that the Buddha had preached and converted Rāhula.103

Kuśāgrapura, same as Girivrajapura, has been identified with the present Rajgir. Many of the above mentioned sites are still traceable.104

Hsuan-Tsang with his companions then proceeded towards north and after crossing a distance of thirty li reached Nālandā Saṃghārāma.105 Nālandā has been identified with the village of Bargaon, lying about seven miles north of Rajgir.106 Hsuan Tsang has described the Nālandā Saṃghārāma complex in detail.

The pilgrim then proceeded towards the south-west and after going a distance of eight or nine li came across the village of Kulika. This is the place where the venerable Mudgalaputra was born.107 This village of Kulika (Kelika, according to the Bhadrakālī Avadāna, in R. Mitra’s Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal) has been identified with Jagdishpur mound, a little over one mile to the south-west of the ruins of Bargaon108. In Kulika Hsuan-Tsang saw an
Asokan stūpa, and by the side of the village he came across another stūpa, the site where Mudgalaputra reached complete nirvāṇa and the stūpa contained his corporeal relics.

Proceeding about three or four li to the east of the village of Mudgalaputra, the pilgrim with his co-travellers reached a stūpa, the site where king Bimbisāra went to have an interview with the Buddha. The pilgrim then proceeded towards south-east and after going a distance of about twenty li reached the village of Kalāpinaka where he saw a stūpa, built by king Asoka, by the side of which was another stūpa. The site of the first stūpa indicated the birth-place of Sāriputra and that of the second one indicated the spot of his nirvāṇa. The different works differ, a little, on the birth place of Sāriputra. Bigandet mentions that Nālandā itself was the birth-place of Sāriputra. According to the Bhadra-kalpa Avadāna it is at Nāradagrama near Rājagṛha. The Mahānastu-avadāna mentions that Sāriputra was born at Alanda, about four miles from Rājagṛha. Nāradagrama and Alanda seem to be variations of Nālandā.

The Chinese traveller came across a stūpa four or five li to the south-east of the town of Kālāpinaka. It is said that a disciple of Sāriputra got nirvāṇa at the site of the stūpa. The pilgrim then proceeded to the east of the last-mentioned stūpa and after crossing a distance of about thirty li came to the Indraśailaguhā mountain.

According to Laidlay the Giriyek hill, six miles from Rajgir, has been identified with Indraśailaguhā. This hill is a spur of the Vipula range. It was the eastern most range of Rajgir hills. The Panchane or Panchanan river flows by the side of the hill. The traveller saw on the top of the hill a Samghārāma (on the eastern peak) and a stūpa named Haṅsa. Beal suggests that the lower peak on the east,
which is crowned with a solid tower of brick-work, is known as Jarāsandha-kā-baitḥak or "Jarāsandha's throne". This tower, the ruins of which still exist, may be taken as a stūpa mentioned by Hsuan-Tsang.17

Hsuan-Tsang then started his journey towards the north-east of the Indraśailaguha mountain. He crossed a distance of one hundred and fifty or sixty li and arrived at the Kapotika (pigeon) convent.18 General Cunningham has identified the Kapotika convent with the village of Parvati, just ten miles to the north-east of Giriyeik.19 Hence Beal concludes that it requires us to correct the one hundred and fifty or sixty li into fifty or sixty.20

The pilgrim then journeyed towards the south and reached a solitary hill just after walking a distance of two or three li. There he saw on the hill many vihāras and shrines. In the middle of the vihāras a figure of Kwan-tsz-tsai Bodhisattva was present.21 The solitary hill, in question, has been identified with the hill of Bihar,22 and this hill is connected with the Shekhpura range.23

Hsuan-Tsang along with his companions proceeded towards the south-east and after walking a distance of forty li reached a convent where about fifty priests studied the teaching of the Little Vehicle (Hīnayāna). By the side of the Saṅghārāma was a stūpa where many miracles were displayed. Beside the stūpa were the traces where three past Buddhas had sat and walked.24 Cunningham has suggested four li in place of forty and has then identified the convent, in question, with the site of Aphsar.25

The Chinese traveller then proceeded towards the north-east and after crossing a distance of seventy li on the south side of the Gaṅgā river arrived at a thickly populated village.26 The distance and direction fit the location of the village of Shekhpura.27 In this village the pilgrim saw
many well-adorned Deva temples and a great stūpa where the Tathāgata preached the law for the night.

The pilgrim then proceeded to the east, and having gone about one hundred li, arrived at the convent of a village named Lo-in-ni-lo. In front of the convent the pilgrim saw an Aśokan stūpa where the Buddha preached for three months. Two or three li to the north of the stūpa there was a large lotus tank. Cunningham has identified the village, in question, with Rajjauna.

Hsuan-Tsang then journeyed to the east for a distance of two hundred li and reached the country of I-lan-na-po-fa-to (Hiranâyaparvata). The pilgrim saw ten Saṅghārāmas, mostly of Sammattiya school, and twelve Deva temples. Hsuan-Tsang came across two Saṅghārāmas, belonging to the Sarvāstivādin school, in the city; they were built by the king of the border country, who had deposed its own king. The Hiranāya mountain was just by the side of the capital and on the bank of the Gangā. Further, the pilgrim saw a stūpa to the south of the capital city. It was here that the Buddha had preached for three months. Beside the stūpa were the traces where the past three Buddhas had sat and walked. To the west of the last spot was another stūpa, the site where Śrutavimśatikoṭi was born. The pilgrim then came to a small solitary mountain to the south of the Gangā and on the western frontier of the country. It is said that the Buddha had rested on this place during the three months of rain and subdued the Yaksha Vakula. The pilgrim saw a great stone below a corner of the south-east side of the mountain. On this were the marks caused by the sitting of the Buddha. The traveller saw an impression on a stone lying to the south of the last mentioned object. It is said that the Buddha had once set down his water-vessel. Hsuan-Tsang then saw the foot-traces of Yaksha Vakula to the south-east of
the last spot behind which was a figure of the sitting Buddha of seven feet high. The pilgrim then moved to a little west and came across a place where the Buddha had walked for exercise. He describes the residence of the Yaksha on the top of the mountain. Just to the north was the foot-trace of the Buddha with a stūpa over it. Hsuan-Tsang then mentions six or seven hot springs.\(^{139}\)

Cunningham has identified the Hiranya mountain with the Monghyr hill. The kingdom was also named after it. He further remarked that the name "Hiranya Parvata" seemed to have derived from I-lan-na-po-fa-to.\(^{140}\) This hill was also called Mudgalagiri which seems to have originated from the story of Mudgalaputra and the householder, Śrutavimśatikoti. The solitary rock has been identified with the Mahādeva hill, to the east from the great irregular mass of the Monghyr hills.\(^{141}\) Beal opines that the pilgrim did not visit this spot, because the symbol used is 'chi', not 'hing'. Hence the translation might be "there is a small solitary hill" instead of "we came to a small solitary hill."\(^{142}\)

Hsuan-Tsang then left for Chen-po (Campā). He journeyed eastwards along the Gangā from the country of Hiranya Parvata and, after going a distance of about three hundred li, came to Campā, the capital of which was on the bank of the Gangā. He saw there several tens of Saṅghārāmas, majority of them in ruins, and some twenty Deva temples. The Chinese pilgrim describes that one hundred and forty or fifty li to the east there was a solitary detached rock surrounded by water on the south of the Gangā and on the top of which was a Deva temple.\(^{143}\)

The Purāṇas mention that Campā or Campāpurā was the name of the capital of Aṅga, i.e., the country about the district of Bhagalpur.\(^{144}\) The present sites of Campānagara and Karṇagarh are very close to Bhagalpur.\(^{145}\)
From the country of Campā the Chinese pilgrim proceeded towards Bengal (Punḍravardhana). He visited Kie-chu-koh-khi-lo (Kajughira or Kajighara) on the way and then after crossing the Gaṅgā reached Punḍravardhana.

Kajughira has been identified with Kajeri ninety-two miles to the east of Campā. Cunnigham has identified it with Kanjol, sixty-seven miles to the east of Campā. It has also been identified with Kajra, a railway station of the E. Railway in the district of Monghyr. There are Buddhist remains and hot springs about three miles to the south of the Kajra railway station. Cunningham's identification seems to be correct.

I-tsing

Unlike his two predecessors (Fa-hsien and Hsuan-Tsang) I-tsing came to India (in A.D. 673) via south-east Asia travelling through Yang-fu, Bhoga, Malaya (Śrī-bhoga), Kacha, Lo-jen kuo (the country of the naked people) etc., and returned also by the same route; the means of journey was mostly ship. The traveller started his journey in party, but all parted with him before he reached the Indian soil.

The pilgrim touched India at Tāmrālipīti, an ancient trading port in east India near the mouth of the Hoogly river, on the eighth day of the second month of the fourth year of the Hsien-heng period (A.D. 673) and stayed there in a monastery, called Varāha monastery. This place has been referred to more than sixty yojanas far from Mahābodhi and Nālandā. Tamluk, on the western bank of the Rūpanārayaṇa, which is the result of the united stream of the Silai (Śilāvati) and Dalkisor (Dvārikeśvari) in the district of Midnapur in Bengal, has been identified with Tāmrālipīti. This Tamluk was formerly on the mouth of the Gaṅgā. Here I-tsing met Ta-ch'-eng-teng (Mahāyā-
naprad1pa) and stayed with him for sometime and learnt Sanskrit and practised science of words (grammar or Śabda vidyā).

In the fifth month of the same year the traveller, finding a few companions, journeyed towards the west with a caravan. At a distance of ten days' journey from the Mahābodhi vihāra he passed a great mountain and bogs. The pass was dangerous and difficult to cross. The pilgrim was vexed by the mountain brigands like anything. The mountains of Chotanagpur and Ramgarh, the northern portion of the Rksha Parvata which was covering the area from the Bay of Bengal to the source of Narbadā and the Sona and Mahānadi, may be identified with the great mountain of the pilgrim.

After crossing the mountain, in question, where he was attacked by mountain brigands, the traveller reached a village. As the village was not named by the pilgrim, its location cannot be traced correctly. It might have been somewhere in the southern part of the district of Hazaribagh.

Now I-ising started his journey towards the northern direction and walking for a few days arrived first at Nālandā and worshipped the Root Temple (Mūlagandhakūṭī). Bargaon, seven, miles to the north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna, where are remains of the old university or monastic establishments, has been correctly identified with Nālandā.

Afterwards the pilgrim ascended the Gṛdhra-kūṭa Parvata at Rajagṛha where the Buddha had performed austerities for sometime and also delivered many sūtras. Gṛdhra-kūṭa, according to General Cunningham, has been identified with a part of the Śailagiri, the Vulture Peak of
Fa-hsien and Indraśilāguhā of Hsuan-Tsang. It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of new Rajgir.

The traveller, then, proceeded towards Mahābodhi vihāra near the Bodhi tree, and having reached there he offered worship to the image of the real face of the Buddha. The place, referred to, is the present Bodh-Gaya six miles to the south of Gaya town. This is the place where Gautama attained enlightenment.

The Chinese pilgrim visited all the holy places associated with the life of the Tathāgata, but we get the references only to Cock-mountain (Kukkuṭapādagiri), Vaiśālī, Kuśinagara and the Deer Park (Mṛga-dāva at Vārāṇaśī).

Kuśinagara, where the Buddha had his Mahāparinirvāṇa, has been identified by Wilson with the present village of Kasia, about thirty-seven miles to the east of Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh and to the north-west of the Bettiah.

The Deer Park or Mṛga-dāva has been identified with Sarnath, six miles from Vārāṇaśī in Uttar Pradesh. Here itself the Buddha had preached his first sermon.

The pilgrim stayed at the Nālandā vihāra for ten years (A. D. 675-85) and then parted with Wu-hing (in a place six yojanas east from Nālandā) in India. I-tsíng collected a large number of scriptures (50000000 ślokas) and returned to Tāmrālipti whence he set out for his homeland by the same route he came.
Appendix III

References

1. This is the date of the arrival of Kaśyapa Māraṅga and Bharana (or Dharmarākṣa) in China during the time of the Chinese Emperor Ming-ti (A. D. 58-75).
   Takakusu, I-ting (1896), p. XVII


3. Ibid.


5. J. Legge, A Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms by Fah-sien.


8. A Yojana is a measure of distance sometimes regarded as equal to 4 or 5 English miles, but more correctly equal to 4 Krośas or about 9 miles; according to other calculations a Yojana is equal to 2½ miles and in accordance with some it is equal to 8 Krośas.
   M. Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 858; Here it seems that Yojana was equal to about 8 miles.


10. N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India (1927), p. III.


13. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 228.

14. A mile is equal to 5 or 6 li.


17. Legge, op. cit., p. 75.


19. Ibid, pp. 79-80

20. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 152.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.


25. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 165; Ramāyana, Balakāṇḍa, ch. XXXII.


27. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 68.

29a. 'Three li' seems to be a mistake for three yojanas.
29b. See in detail in the route of Hsuan Tsang.
30. Legge, op. cit., p. 100.
31. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 44.
33. Nagarathra is identified with Nanghenhar or Nangnihar, four or five miles to the west of Jalalabad.
   N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 135.
34. Samuel Beal, op. cit., p. 7.
35. The spelling of the word Hiuen-Tsiang varies with the writers. Jubien's French version, Hiouen-Thsang; Mr. Mayers (Reader's Manual, p. 290) calls him Huan Chwan; Mr. Wylie, Yuen-Chwang; and name is also represented by H huen-Chwang.
38. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 119.
40. It is said that this stupa was built by a Brahmana named Drona who distributed the relics of the Buddha after His mahaparinirvāṇa among the eight claimants. The Brahmana erected the stupa over the remaining relics with the pitcher and the stupa was, later on, named after him.

   The stupa is also named "a golden pitcher stupa" by Ásvaghosha, Fosho, V. 2283 (compare Shence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 351). The Brahmana himself is sometimes called Drona, or Droha, or Dauna. Drona corresponds with the Chinese ping, a pitcher or vase. Julian, in a note seems to imply that Drona is simply a measure of capacity, and so he restores ping to Karka. But it also means a vessel or vase; probably in this case the Brahmana's pitcher. Compare Fosho, V. 1408; see also Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 442.

41. Áṣokāvadāna (translated by Burnouf), Introduction, p. 372.
43. Beal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 307; For identification see above in the discourse on Fa-hsien.
44. Ibid., pp. 308-13.
45. Indian Archaeology 1957-58—A Review, pp. 10-11;
46. Indian Archaeology 1959-60—A Review, p. 16.
48. N. L. Dey, op., cit., p. 79; ASR XVI, p. 16.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 449.
55. Ibid.
57. Beal, op. cit., pp. 320-34.
58. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 152.
60. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 204.
61. S. Beal, op. cit., p. 396.
62. Ibid.
64. Ibid, p. 343.
66. S. Beal, op. cit., p. 343.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid, p. 344.
69. Ibid, p. 360.
71. S. Beal, op. cit., p. 361.
73. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 114.
75. Ibid., p. 364.
76. Grierson's notes on the distance of Gaya.
77. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 460.
78. Stein, Indian Antiquary, 1901, p. 88.
79. An account of the Gurpa Hill by R. D. Banerji, JASB, Vol. II,
    New Series, 1906, pp. 77-83.
80. Keith, Notes on some Buddhist remains in Magadh, Bengal Past and Present, Vol. VI, July-September, 1910, pp. 59-68.
83. See Fa-hsien, Beal's ed., cap. XXXIII, n. 1.
84. S. Beal, op. cit., pp. 365-69.
88. Stein, op. cit., pp. 82-83.
89. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 461.
95. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
99. Ibid, pp. 373-76.
100. Ibid, pp. 376-77.
104. N. L. Dey, op. cit., pp. 62, III; see also in the route of Fa-hsien.
110. S. Beal, op. cit., p. 390.
111. Bigandet, Life of Gautama; Legge, Fa-hsien, p. 81.
114. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 136.
116. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 79.
117. S. Beal, op. cit., p. 393.
118. Ibid., p. 394.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid, p. 395.
125. ASR, Vol. XV, p. 10.
128. S. Beal, op. cit., p. 396.
129. Ibid.
131. ASR, Vol. XV, pp. 16-17.
133. S. Beal, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 400, foot note no. 11.
139. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 83.
140. Yang-fu or Yang-chou, which is Yangju of Marco Polo, in Kiang-su.
141. Takakusu, I-tsing, p. xxxi.
142. A yojana is a measure of distance, sometimes, regarded as equal to 4 or 5 English miles, but more correctly equal to 4 Krośas or about 9 miles; according to other calculations a yojana is equal to 2½ miles and in accordance with some it is equal to 8 Krośas. M. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary (1951), p. 858.
144. Takakusu, op. cit., p. xxxi.
145. Ibid.
146. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 169.
147. Takakusu, op. cit., p. xxxii.
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148. Ibid.
149. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 136.
150. Takakusu, op. cit., p. xxxii.
151. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 212.
152. Takakusu, op. cit., p. xxxii.
153. N. L. Dey, op. cit., p. 212.
155. The identification of Kukkuṭapādagiri has already been referred to above in the route of Hsuan-Tsang.
156. Identification of Vaiśālī : 
   See above in the route of Fa-hsien.
158. Ibid, p. 131.
159. Takakusu, op. cit., p. xxxiii ff.
APPENDIX IV

The Date of Mahāvira

The date of Mahāvira, like that of the Buddha, occupies a very important place in ancient Indian chronology; but it has not attracted as much attention of scholars as the date of the Buddha. Indeed, after Jarl Charpentier considered the problem in the Indian Antiquary of 1914 and the Cambridge History of India, Volume I, in 1922, H.C. Seth was the only scholar to take it up seriously in recent times and suggest a new date based on the Buddhist tradition. We intend to suggest here a new date for Mahāvira, but it is not completely new in the sense that it is based on the Buddhist tradition. We shall put this date to suitable tests with a view to examining its correctness. These tests will also, however, be based mainly on the Buddhist tradition itself which has rightly come to be regarded as very reliable for ancient Indian history.

Generally speaking, two dates of Mahāvira’s death hold the field. They are:—

(1) 527 B.C. (Hoernle, Guerinot), and
(2) 467 B.C. (Jacobi, Charpentier).

(A) The date 527 B.C. is based on the tradition recorded by Merutunga, a famous Jain author, who flourished in the fourteenth century. He gives as a basis for an adjustment between the Vīra and Vikrama eras the famous verses, first quoted by Buhler and after him discussed by Jacobi. The English translation of the verses which is taken from Buhler, is as follows:—

"Pālaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which Arhat and Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa. (1)."
"Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pūsamitta (Pushyamitra). (2).

"Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhovāhana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are (the years) of Śaka. (3)."

Thus there was a gap of $60 + 155 + 108 + 30 + 60 + 40 + 13 + 4 = 470$ years between the death of Mahāvīra and the end of Śaka rule (i.e., victory of Vikrama).

This date (or 528 B.C. according to those authorities who regard 58 B.C. as the starting point of the Vikrama era) is wholly rejected by Charpentier on the following grounds:

1. "The Jains themselves have preserved chronological records concerning Mahāvīra and the succeeding pontiffs of the Jain church, which may have been begun at a comparatively early date. But it seems quite clear that, at the time when these lists were put into their present form, the real date of Mahāvīra had already either been forgotten or was at least doubtful" (p. 155).

2. "The traditional date of Mahāvīra's death on which the Jains base their chronological calculations corresponds to the year 470 before the foundation of the Vikrama era in 58 B.C., i.e., 528 B.C. This reckoning is based mainly on a list of kings and dynasties, who are supposed to have reigned between 528 and 58 B.C.; but

(a) the list is absolutely valueless, as it confuses rulers of Ujjain, Magadha and other kingdoms; and

(b) some of these may perhaps have been contemporary, and not successive as they are represented (p. 153)."
3. "Moreover, if we adopt the year 528 B.C., it would exclude every possibility of Mahāvīra having preached his doctrine at the same time as the Buddha, as the Buddhist texts assert; for there is now a general agreement among scholars that the Buddha died within a few years of 480 B.C." (pp. 155-156).

4. "Finally, both Mahāvīra and the Buddha were contemporaries with a king of Magadha whom the Jains call Kūṇika, and the Buddhists Ajātaśatru; and he began his reign only eight years before the Buddha's death. Therefore, if Mahāvīra died in 528 B.C., he could not have lived in the reign of Kūṇika" (p. 156).

H. C. Raychaudhuri furnishes some additional arguments for rejecting this date:—

1. "In the first place, it is at variance with the testimony of Hemacandra, who places Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa only 155 years before Candragupta Maurya" (p. 85).

2. "Again, some Jain texts place the Nirvāṇa 470 years before the birth of Vikrama and not his accession, and as this event, according to the Jains, did not coincide with the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. attributed to Vikrama, the date 528 B.C. for Mahāvīra's death can hardly be accepted as representing a unanimous tradition" (p. 85).

If we study the details of the list of kings and dynasties provided by Merutunga, we find the following irregularities as well:—

1. The reign-periods of certain dynasties and kings are completely unacceptable, e.g., a total of 155 years has never been allowed to the Nandas by any tradition. With a view to defending the Jain tradition, it may be argued that possibly the list indicates the reign-periods of kings and dynasties who ruled over Ujjain and not Magadha. But even in that case, such a long period for the Nandas cannot be defended."
2. The Great Satrap Nahapāna, who is usually identified with Nabhovāhana of the tradition, flourished after Vikrama according to competent authorities. Inclusion of such a post-Vikrama figure in this Jain tradition renders it all the more valueless.

3. As is well-known, the story of Vikrama and the end of Śaka rule is of much later growth. Kielhorn long ago proved that the connection of the era commencing 57 B.C. with a king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, who perhaps never existed, was not established till a very late date, the first mention of ‘Vikrama Sāvat’ being made in an inscription at Dholpur of Śaṅvat 898 = A.D. 842. Hence any tradition which incorporates this story must be used with great caution.

(B) The second date of Mahāvīra’s death, i.e., 467 B.C., is based on a tradition recorded by the great Jain author Hemacandra (A.D. 1088-1172), who says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahāvīra, Candragupta became king (Śtāvarāvalīcarita, Parisishtaparvan, VIII. 339). As pointed out by Charpentier, who like Cunningham and Max Muller, believes that the Buddha’s nirvāṇa took place in 477 B.C. (and not in 487 B.C. as we believe), this date has some good points in its favour:

1. The Buddha (d. 477 B.C.) and Mahāvīra (d. 467 B.C.) become contemporaries.

2. Ajātaśatru becomes the contemporary of both the teachers.

3. This is in keeping with the Jain tradition of Hemacandra that there was a gap of 155 years between the death of Mahāvīra and the accession of Candragupta Maurya.

(But it noted that according to the Jain tradition, the accession of Candragupta Maurya took place in 312 B.C., a date not regarded as correct by scholars for the accession of Candragupta Maurya).
4. According to the Jain tradition, the Jain pontiff Sambhūtavijaya died exactly in the year after Candragupta's accession, or 156 after Vira, which may after all perhaps be the very same year as Hemacandra says that the one hundred and fifty-fifth year had passed (gata). Bhadrabāhu, the successor of Sambhūtavijaya, died fifteen years later. All Jain traditions from Hemacandra downwards gives 170 after Vira as the year of Bhadrabāhu's death. This would be 297 B.C. if the date 467 B.C. is accepted for Mahāvīra's death; and all Jain traditions also bring Bhadrabāhu into the closest connection with Candragupta in whose reign the date 297 B.C. falls.

5. The Kalpasūtra was finished 980 years after Mahāvīra, but in another recension the number is 993. The commentaries, all going back to the old cūrṇi, refer this date to four different events. One such event is the public recitation of the Kalpasūtra before king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura whose reign lasted from A.D. 526 to A.D. 540. Thus we find a most remarkable coincidence, for 993-467 = 526, or just the year of Dhruvasena's accession to the throne of Valabhi.

6. The Jain creed is called in Buddhist literature cāturpūma, 'consisting in four restrictions'. But Mahāvīra enforced five great vows upon his followers. From this Charpentier concludes that Mahāvīra did not finally fix his doctrine of the five vows before a somewhat later date, when the Buddha was already out of any connection with him.

7. Bimbisāra is the main ruler in the Buddhist canonical texts, and Ajātaśatru does not appear so very much there. In the Jain canon Kūñika plays a far more important role in the life of Mahāvīra. This may point to a later period of Ajātaśatru's reign.
Although the date 467 B. C. (suggested long ago by Jacobi and strongly supported by Charpentier) has good points in it, it presents two very serious difficulties—

1. First, this “date does not accord with the explicit statement in some of the earliest Buddhist texts that Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha” (H. C. Raychaudhuri). Charpentier also knows that this date is “contradicted by a passage in the Buddhist Dīgha-Nikāya” which tells us that Nigantha Nataputta—the name by which the Buddhists denote Mahāvīra—died before Buddha. This assertion is, however, in contradiction with other contemporaneous statements, and forms” for him “no real obstacle to the assumption of the date 468 B. C.” (CHI, I, p. 156). He adds that he considers “this evidence too strong to be thrown over on account of this passage in the Pāli canon” (IA, 1914, p. 177).

For several reasons it is very difficult to agree with Charpentier—

(a) The Jain tradition was collected and reduced to writing much later and hence it is not as reliable as the Buddhist tradition.

(b) Even the Jain tradition is not unanimous about the date of Mahāvīra’s death. There are several traditions about this, which rather shake our belief in them.

(c) The insertion of Vikrama and the Śakas in the Jain tradition strengthens our suspicion.

(d) The Buddhist tradition is more reliable as it was reduced to writing very early. Moreover, due to its comparatively more reliability, it has been used in the reconstruction of ancient Indian history. Hence, there should be no valid objection to its use in determining the date of Mahāvīra.

2. Secondly, Charpentier’s calculation is based on the assumption that the Buddha died in 477 B. C. This date
has since been discarded and the date of the Buddha's death has been fixed at 487 B.C. as this is the date arrived at on the basis of the Cantonese tradition, the Mahāvaṃśa and the inscriptions of Aśoka. In order to discredit the tradition of the Mahāvaṃśa that Aśoka was formally crowned 218 years after the death of the Buddha, Charpentier had to take recourse to an utterly untenable argument saying that "the 218 years did not refer originally to the abhisheka, but to the completion of the conquest of Kaliṅga or to the first conversion, or to both these events" (IA, 1914, p. 170).

There are some other theories as well about Mahāvīra's date which we may notice in passing:

(C) S. N. Pradhan holds the date 480 B.C. (= 325 + 155) or 477 B.C. (= 322 + 155) for the death of Mahāvīra, accepting Hemacandra who says that Candragupta became king 155 years after the death of Mahāvīra.

(D) "Certain Jain writers assume an interval of eighteen years between the birth of Vikrama and the foundation of the era attributed to him, and thereby seek to reconcile the Jain tradition about the date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa (58 + 18 + 470 = 546 B.C.) with the Ceylonese date of the Great Decease of the Buddha (544 B.C.). But the suggestion can hardly be said to rest on any reliable tradition. Merutuṅga places the death of the last Jina or Tirthaṅkara 470 years before the end of Saka rule and the victory and not birth of the traditional Vikrama" (H. C. Raychaudhuri, An Advanced History of India, p. 86).

(E) "Certain Jain Śūtras seem to suggest that Mahāvīra died about sixteen years after the accession of Ajātaśatru and the commencement of his wars with his hostile neighbours. This would place the Nirvāṇa of the Jain teacher eight years after the Buddha's death, as, according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, the Buddha died
eight years after the enthronement of Ajātaśatru. The Nirvāṇa of the Tirthaṅkara would, according to this view, fall in 478 B.C., if we accept the Cantonese reckoning (486 B.C.) as our basis, and in 536 B.C., if we prefer the Ceylonese epoch.

"The date 478 B.C. would almost coincide with that to which the testimony of Hemacandra leads us, and place the accession of Candragupta Maurya, in 323 B.C., which cannot be far from the truth. But the result in respect of Mahāvira himself is at variance with the clear evidence of the Buddhist canonical texts which make the Buddha survive his JñātriKA rival.

"The Jain statement that their Tirthaṅkara died some sixteen years after the accession of Kūnika (Ajātaśatru) can be reconciled with the Buddhist tradition about the death of the same teacher before the eighth year of Ajātaśatru if we assume that the Jains, who refer to Kūnika as ruler of Campā, begin their reckoning from the accession of that prince to the viceregal throne of Campā, while the Buddhists make the accession of Ajātaśatru to the royal throne of Rajagṛha the basis of their calculation" (H.C. Raychaudhuri, p. 86).

(F) In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1917, S. V. Venkateswara wrote an article entitled "The Date of Vardhamāna" (pages 122-130) in which he suggested, "the date 437 B.C. or 470 of the Ānanda Vikrama era" as the date of the nirvāṇa of Vardhamāna, "the founder of modern Jainism". His view is based on the Svapnavāśa-vadatta of Bhāsa wherein the Sanskrit dramatist "introduces Pradyota as seeking the hand of Darśaka's sister in marriage for his own son" (p. 129). The regnal period of Darśaka as accepted by Venkateswara is 437-413 B.C. Thus Caṇḍa Pradyota was alive at the beginning of the reign of Darśaka. Jain tradition" is to the effect that Vardhamāna died on the same day as Caṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti.
Thus “the founder of the Jain faith must have seen Durśaka’s reign (i.e., 437-413 B.C.), if it be true that both Vardhamāna and Caṇḍa died about the same time” (pp. 124-125).

This view can be easily refuted on the basis of what has already been said.

(G) H. C. Seth" suggests 488 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra’s death on the basis of the Buddhist tradition, assuming 487 B.C. as the date of the Buddha’s death. As he says,

“The great difficulty in accepting 468 B.C. as the date for Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa will be that it will place Mahāvīra’s death several years after that of the Buddha. The traditions preserved in the Buddhist Pali canon clearly tell us that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, i.e., Mahāvīra, died at Pāvā a little before the Buddha.” Jacobi and Charpentier have rather lightly set aside this old Buddhist tradition” (p. 820).

“The traditional chronology of the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jains given in the Tepāgaccha Paṭṭavali and Meruṭuṅga’s Vicārasreṇṭ, which has been made familiar by European scholars like Buhler, Jacobi and Charpentier, puts Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa 470 years before the Vikramā era (pp. 817-818).

“All the Jain traditions assign 40 years of reign to Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa, whose reign therefore lasted up to 605 years (430 between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and Vikrama + 135 of Vikrama’s dynasty + 40 of Nahavāṇa) after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa” (p. 834). Now his main argument is as follow—

“Nahavāṇa is, in all probability, as is generally believed by modern historians, the same as Nahapāṇa, the Mahā-Kshatrapa of Kshaharāta family, who is mentioned in several inscriptions and a large number of whose
coins are also discovered......The modern historical researches put Nahapana in the period after the commencement of the Vikrama era...... If we take out 40 years of Nahavana from 470 years, the interval given in these traditions between Mahavira Nirvana and the commencement of the Vikrama era, the difference between these two important events will be 430 years. This will give (430+58) 488 B.C., as the date of Mahavira Nirvana. This will place Mahavira's death about a year before that of the Buddha, who died, as suggested above, in 487 B.C. These two dates will reconcile most of the Buddhist as well as the Jain traditions about these two great religious teachers" (pp. 831-832).

We fully agree with him that whatsoever date we accept, the Buddha and Mahavira must be shown contemporaries, otherwise the date cannot be correct. But we suggest a modification in it.

The Christian year changes in our Pausha. This may be applicable to B.C. dates as well. If we say that Mahavira died in 488 B.C. and the Buddha died in 487 B.C., seemingly there is a difference of one year between these two events. But really speaking, there is a difference of 6½ months only; because Mahavira died in the month of Kartika in 488 B.C., the year changed in Pausha, and 487 B.C. began from that month and in Vaisakha of the same year (487 B.C.) the Buddha died. From Buddhist literature we know that some time, evidently more than one or two years, passed between the deaths of the two teachers, because it is recorded that the Buddha passed his last rainy season (evidently in 488 B.C.) at Vaisali. So 488 B.C. as the date of Mahavira's death will have to be given up and we should see if we can find out a date of Mahavira's death somewhere near that, which is in keeping with other details.
After a comparison of the details of the lives of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, especially the places where they spent their rainy seasons, we have come to the conclusion that Mahāvīra died in 490 B. C. (November) and that he had been born in 561 B. C. (April). He was alive for 71 years and 6½ months. The Buddha was born in 567 B.C. (May) and he died in 487 B. C. (May). He was alive exactly for 80 years.

In the Buddhist Tripiṭaka literature (M., II. 3.7) it is stated in most unequivocal terms that one particular rainy season was spent at Rājagṛha by the Buddha as well as Mahāvīra and five other heretical teachers. Scholars so far have not paid serious attention to it. Had they done it, perhaps they would have been able to find out the correct date of Mahāvīra. Charpentier also knew this passage and certain other passages of the same type. On page 126 (foot-note 29) of the Indian Antiquary for 1914, he says—"The Majjh. Nik. II, p. 2 sq. tells us how the six heretical teachers once spent the rainy season in Rājagṛha at the same time as the Buddha. Mahāvīra spent fourteen of his varshās there according to the Kalpasūtra 122." But he, too, ignored it. This passage, as a matter of fact, provides us with another means from the Buddhist side (besides the one indicating that Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha) to arrive at the correct date of Mahāvīra.

Now we proceed to find out the date of that specific rainy season. The following works are very useful in the quest. Buddhacaryā (in Hindi) by Rahul Sankritayayana (2nd ed., Banaras, 1952) and Śrāmanā Bhagavān Mahāvīra (in English) by Muni Ratna-Prabha Vijaya, Vol. II, Parts I and II (Ahmedabad, 1948 and 1951) respectively. According to the former, the date of the Buddha is 563 B.C.—483 B. C. and according to the latter, the date of Mahāvīra is 597 B. C.—526 B. C.
In *Buddhacarya*, which is a systematised collection of the Hindi translation of the selected passages from ancient Buddhist literature, especially *Tripitaka* literature, it is stated (p. 248) that the Lord Buddha spent his 17th rainy season (after enlightenment) at Rajagaha; and then follows the Hindi translation *Mahāsakuludāyi-Sutta* (M., II. 3.7) in which it is said (p. 249) that on that particular occasion both the Buddha and Nigantha Nātaputta spent their rainy season at Rājagaha. Taking 567 B. C. as the date of the birth of the Buddha this comes to 516 B. C.

On the basis of the life of Mahāvīra written by Muni Ratna-Prabha Vijaya, who has closely followed the early traditional literature on the subject, we find that if we take 561 B. C. as the date of the birth of Mahāvīra, he spent one of his rainy seasons in 516 B. C. at Rājagaha. This was his 16th rainy season in his ascetic life (i.e., after leaving his home which event took place in December of 532 B.C. according to our calculation). In the rainy season of 513 B.C. also both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Rājagaha. So the date 561 B.C. as the date of the birth of Mahāvīra is able not only to show that the Buddha survived Mahāvīra but also to make both the teachers spend the same rainy season at Rājagaha. This is highly useful inasmuch as it also confirms the statement in the Buddhist literature and shows that Pāli texts are not "fancy and invention."

As Charpentier collected, though for a different purpose, some examples of this situation when the Buddha and Mahāvīra were living at the same place or in the same locality we shall begin with the passages pointed out by Charpentier (IA, 1914, pp. 126-128).

1. "The well-known introduction to the *Śūnañaphalasa-sutta* (D.I. p. 47 sq.) telling us how king Ajātasatru of Magadha paid visits to one after another of the six heretical
teachers Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Keshakambala, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belāthiputta and Nigantha Nātaputta to hear their doctrines, and at last discontented with all he had learnt took refuge with the Buddha, may be a little exaggerated, as it is not very credible that Ajātaśatru saw seven great teachers after each other in one single night. But the main content of it is undoubtedly true, as much as we can control the facts narrated, concerning the doctrines of at least two of the teachers, Gosāla and Nātaputta, by comparison with Jain writings. Moreover, the Jain writings, e.g., the Aupapātika-Sūtra 39 sq., tell us of visits paid by king Kūṇiya or Koniya (Ajātaśatru) to Mahāvīra, and although there are no facts from which to conclude that it is the same visit as that alluded to by the Digha-Nikāya, there are sufficient instances to prove that the imagination of Ajātaśatru paying visits to Mahāvīra was quite familiar with Jain writers" (pp. 126-127).

This visit of Ajātaśatru to the Buddha took place in 491 B.C. according to our calculation. The rainy season of 491 B.C. was passed by the Buddha at Śrāvasti. This was his 42nd rainy season after enlightenment. So this Buddhist reference means to say that sometime in the last month (i.e., Kārtika) of the cāturmāsa the Buddha came to Rajagṛha. The example of the Buddha’s leaving his cāturmāsa place on the Āśvina Pūrṇimā (the full-moon day of Āśvina, Mahā-pravāranā day) or later is furnished by Sankrityayana on page 82 of his book. (This was the Buddha’s 7th rainy season (526 B.C.) which had been passed at Trayastrimśa).

Thus Buddhist literature says that there was a meeting between the Buddha and Ajātaśatru at Rājavṛhā in the full-moon night of Kārtika. But what about Mahāvīra? Ajātaśatru mentions before the Buddha (Sankrityayana, p.
430) that he had been to Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta as well and had held a discussion.

Coming to Mahāvīra, as is well-known, he passed his 42nd rainy season (which was his last rainy season) at Madhyamā Pāvā where he died. This, according to our calculation, took place in 490 B.C. From the life of Mahāvīra (Vol. II, Part II, page 658) we know that "Śrāmaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagṛha, Nagara during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life." The date of this rainy season will be 491 B.C.

Thus it was possible for Ajataśatru to meet the Buddha at Rājagṛha after having met Mahāvīra (at Rājagṛha).

2. "In Majjhima Nikāya I, p. 93 sq. Buddha tells his relative, the Sākya prince Mahānāman, of conversation which he had once had with some Nirgranthas in the neighbourhood of Rājagṛha. These disciples of Mahāvīra praised their master as all-knowing and all-seeing, etc.; and there is nothing remarkable in this, for the claim of possessing universal knowledge was a main characteristic of all these prophets, Mahāvīra as well as Gosāla, the Buddha as well as Devadatta" (p. 127).

This story is given in detail by Sankrityayana under 'Cūla-dukkhakkhandha-Sutta' on pages 212-216 and the reference by the Buddha to the Nirgranthas of Rājagṛha is given on page 214. The date of the event of this Sutta is given by Sankrityayana as 514 B.C. which is equivalent to 518 B.C. if we regard 497 B.C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The age of the Buddha given as 49th year which is equivalent to 519 B.C. (May) to 518 B.C. (May). Thus this event might have happened sometime between May 519 B.C. and May 518 B.C.

Now from the life of Mahāvīra (Vol. II, Part II, pp. 141, 200) we know that he passed his 13th rainy season
after leaving home (or 1st rainy season after enlightenment) at Rājagrha. The date of this according to our calculation is 519 B. C. (July-October), taking 561 B. C. as the date of Mahāvira’s birth.

Thus we see that it was possible that sometime in 519 B. C. (either in May-June or July-October) the Buddha contacted at Rājagrha (at Kālaśila near Rṣhigiri) some Nirgranthas who told him that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta was all-knowing. Very possibly, as we have seen above, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (Mahāvira) was himself residing there in the locality, although the text does not make it necessary.

3. “Moreover, there are other instances in the Pāli Canon where Mahāvira is praised in the same way by his followers; so

(a) in Majjh. Nik. II, 31, where Sakuludāyi in Rājagrha.

(b) ibid., II, 214 sq., where some Nirgrantha monks, and

(c) in Aṅguttara I, 220, where the Licchavi prince, Abhaya, in a conversation with Ānanda in Vaiśālī, eulogize Nātaputta in the same way. But all these passages speaking in a quite familiar way of Nātaputta, his doctrines and his followers seem to prove, that the redactors of the Buddhist canonical writings had a rather intimate knowledge of the communication between Buddhists and Jains in the lifetime of Gotama and Mahāvira” (p. 127).

Of the three passages above, we have already considered the first one. This is the occasion when both the Buddha and Mahāvira passed the same rainy season at one and the same place i.e., Rājagrha. This event took place in 516 B. C. according to our calculation as shown above. The other two passages are not relevant for our purposes.
4. "The passage in the Mahāvagga VI, 31, 1 sq., speaking of the meeting in Vaisālī" of the general Sīha, who afterwards became a lay-disciple of Buddha, with Nātaputta has been discussed by Professor Jacobi in S.B.E. 45, p. xvi. sq. ..." (p. 127).

The passage is very important as in this it is expressly stated that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Vaisālī at that time.

The Hindi translation of the Sīha-Sutta (A., VIII, 1.2.2) has been given by Sankrityayana on pages 138-140. He gives the date of this event as 515 B. C. which is equivalent to 519 B. C. according to our calculation. The Buddha spent his 13th rainy season at Chāliya Parvata (p. 137) and 14th rainy season as Śrāvasti (p. 158, f. n.). The date of the 14th rainy season is 519 B. C. (July-October) according to our calculation.

But where was Mahāvīra in the year 519 B. C.? He passed his 13th rainy season at Rājagrha (Life, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 141, 200) in 519 B.C. (July-October) according to our calculation and 14th rainy season at Vaisālī (Life, Vol. II, Part II, p. 231) in 518 B. C. (July-October). From the Life (page 200) again we know that "Soon after the rainy season, Śramana Bhagavān Mahāvīra left Rājagrha, and went in the direction of Videha". Then Muni Ratna-Prabha Vijaya mentions Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma (p. 201) Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma (p. 206) as the places visited by Mahāvīra. All these places were suburbs of Vaisālī. The only place outside the Vaisālī area visited by Mahāvīra between his 13th and 14th rainy seasons was Campā (page 227).

Thus combining both the Buddhist and the Jain traditions we can say that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Vaisālī in November-December, 519 B. C. and that the conversion of Sīha to Buddhism also took place at the
same time. It may further be added that this was the first visit of Mahāvīra to Vaiśālī after his enlightenment (May, 519 B.C.). That is why the Jain tradition mentions the conversion of Rāshabha-datta, Devānandā, Jamāli and Priyadarśanā to Jainism on this occasion. But it is silent about the conversion of Sīha, who was a Nirgranthā, to Buddhism, as it did not like to record such defeats.

5. "...and also the well-known Upāli-Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya (I, p. 371 sq.). Here it is related at considerable length, how Upāli, who was a lay follower of Nātaputta, went to see Buddha at a time when the two teachers dwelt at Nālandā in order to try to refute him on matters of doctrine. But this attempt had only a scanty result; for Buddha soon converted Upāli, and made him his disciple. So Upāli went back to his house in Rājagṛha, and told his door-keeper no more to admit the Nirgranthas. When Mahāvīra afterwards came with his disciples to see him, Upāli declared to his former teacher the reason of his conversion, and eulogised Buddha, his new master...But then and there hot blood gushed forth from the mouth of Nīggaṇṭha Nātaputta, since he was not able to stand the praise of the Venerable One" (p. 127).

The Upāliṇīutta is also highly important, because the event took place at Nālandā when both the teachers were there.

Rājagṛha and Nālandā are close to each other just like Vaiśālī and Vaiṣṇavāgriṭṭha or Campā and Prṣṣṭhā Campā. That is why in the S 122 of the Kalpasūtra where totals of rainy seasons passed at different places are indicated, these are shown jointly and not separately. Thus it has been stated therein (quoted in Life of Mahāvīra, vol. II, Part II, pages 690-691) that Mahāvīra passed 3 rainy seasons at Campā and Prṣṣṭhā Campā, 12 rainy seasons at Vaiśālī and Vaiṣṇavāgriṭṭha and 14 rainy seasons at Rājagṛha and Nālandā." This joint mention is significant.
Coming to the Buddhist tradition, Rahula Sankrityayana mentions in his *Buddhacarya* that the Buddha spent his 42nd rainy season at Śrāvastī (page 413, f.n.). The date of this will be 491 B.C. according to our calculation. From the next page we find the Hindi translation of *Uparati-Sutta* (pp. 414-423) with its scene at Nālandā. The date given is 487 B.C., which is equivalent to 491 B.C. according to our calculation. The year given is 77th year of the Buddha's life. This will be May 491 B.C. to May 490 B.C. according to our calculation. Thus it appears that the event took place between November 491 B.C. and May 490 B.C. as shown above.

Turning to the Jain tradition about the itinerary of Mahāvīra, we have to enquire as to where Mahāvīra was at this time: whether he was in the Rājagriha-Nālandā area or away from it.

From the *Life of Mahāvīra* (Vol. II, Part II, pages 650-658) we know that Mahāvīra was at Rājagṛha (or, in the Rājagṛha-Nālandā area, to be more exact and in keeping with the tone of the *Kalpasūtras* 122) from November 492 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C. This is evident from the following quotations:

"Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Mithilā Nagari during the rainy season of the fortieth year of his ascetic life" (page 649). (Date according to our calculation July-October, 492 B.C.)

"Soon after the close of the rainy season Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra left Mithilā and went in the direction of Magadha-deśa. Coming to Rājagṛha Nagarā, the Worshipful Lord put up at Guṇaśīla Caitya outside the town" (page 650). (Date—from November 492 B.C. onwards).

"Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagṛha Nagarā during the rainy season of the forty-first year of
his ascetic life" (page 658). (Date—July-October, 491 B. C.).

"Even after the close of rainy season, Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagrha Nagara, for a long time" (page 658). (Date from November 491 B. C. onwards for some months).

From Rājagrha he went to Apāpā Nagara or Pāvapuri (pages 664, 682) where he breathed his last in November 490 B. C. (according to our calculation).

Hence the event narrated in the Upāḷitvat at is rendered more probable due to the presence of the two teachers in the Rājagrha-Nālandā area in the period from November 491 B. C. to the early months of 490 B. C.

6. "In the Abhayakumārasutta (M.N. I, 392 sq. it is stated that prince Abhaya was asked in Rājagrha by Nigantha Nātaputta to go to Buddha, and put to him the question, whether it was advisable or not to speak words agreeable to other people. By this a trap was to be laid out for him; for if he answered 'no' he would, of course, be wrong, and if he answered 'yes', Abhaya ought to ask, why he had in such fierce terms denounced Devadatta and his apostacy" (p. 128).

Charpentier adds that "too much weight should not be attached to this passage" but we are unable to agree with him.

The date of the event of this Sutta is given as 487 B. C. by Sankrityayana (p. 424) which is equivalent to 491 B. C. according to our calculation. The scene of this Sutta is Rājagrha where both the Buddha and Mahāvīra are shown as present. We have already shown above that Mahāvīra was at Rājagrha from November 492 B. C. to the early months of 490 B. C. He passed his rainy season of 491 B. C. also at Rājagrha. Thus there is nothing impossible in it.
7. "......Sāky. Nik. IV, 322 sq. where we are told that Buddha and Nāṭaputta were staying in Nālandā at the same time during a severe famine; when the latter asked his lay-follower the squire (gāmaṇī) Asibandhakaputta (cf.-ibid., p. 317 sq.) to go to Buddha and ask him, whether he deemed it right to have all his monks there at that time devouring the food of the poor people" (p. 128, f.n.).

The story of Asibandhakaputta has been narrated on pp. 103-105 by Sankrityayana. It indicates that both the Buddha and Mahāvītra were at Nālandā at the time when there was a famine there. The date of the event is given as 518 B.C. which is equivalent to 522 B.C. according to our calculation. Just above the story is mentioned the fact that the 11th rainy season of the Buddha was passed in the Brāhmaṇa village of Nālā or Nālādā (p. 103). The date of this rainy season according to our calculation is 522 B.C. Thus if Sankrityayana is strictly followed, the event took place sometime after the rainy season, i.e., in November-December, 522 B.C.

Coming to the Jain tradition, we find that Mahāvītra passed his 10th rainy season at Śrāvasti (Life, Vol. II, part I, 472) in 522 B.C. according to our calculation). After the rains he travelled to other places. "Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvītra then went to Rāja-grha Nagara. There Īśānendra (Indra of Īśāna devaloka) came, and worshipped the Lord. After making inquiries about Bhagavān’s health, he went away" (Life, Vol. II, part I, p. 491). Thus Mahāvītra is also at Rāja-grha, i.e., in the Rāja-grha-Nālandā area at the same time.

The seven passages analysed so far are pointed out in the article of Charpentier. While reading Buddhacaryā of Sankrityayana we have come across certain other passages as well in which the Buddha and Mahāvītra are shown at the same place at a particular time. One such is given below :—
8. From the Cūla-Sakuludāyi-Sutta (M., II. 3. 9) we know (Buddhacarya, pp. 262-267, esp. p. 263) that there was a conversation between Sakula-Udāyi and the Buddha at Rājagṛha in which a reference was made by Sakula-Udāyi to Mahāvīra. The date of this event as given by Sankrityayana is 512 B.C. which is equivalent to 516 B.C. according to our calculation. We have already proved above that in 516 B.C. both the Buddha and Mahāvīra passed their rainy season at Rājagṛha. (The text in the Sutta, however, does not make Mahāvīra’s presence at Rājagṛha necessary).

Thus my conclusion is that in case the Buddha’s date is regarded as 567-487 B.C. the date of Mahāvīra should be:

Birth : 61 B. C. (April)
Death : 490 B. C. (November).

Here we would like to point out a mistake usually committed by many. When the date of the death of Mahāvīra is indicated, people find out the date of his birth by adding 72. This is wrong. Mahāvīra was alive for 71 years 6 months and 17 days, i.e., approximately for 72 years. If we add 72, we actually give him a life of 72½ years, i.e., one year more than the real length of his life. It happens in this way. Suppose the date of his death is 490 B. C. If we add 72 to this in the usual manner, the date of birth comes to 562 B. C. Now Mahāvīra was born in April and died in November. So from April 562 B. C. to November 490 B. C. will be 72 years and 7 months while the real length of his life is 71 years and about 7 months. Hence we should add only 71 in order to find out the date of his birth.

References

1. See infra for references.

These points are found in a developed form in Ind. Ant., 1914.


9. “Not only is the number of years (155) allotted to the reign of the Nandas unduly great, but also the introduction of Pāliaka, lord of Avanti, in the chronology of the Magadha kings looks very suspicious” / Jacobi, Kalpasutra of Bhadrabahu, p. 8).


12. See S. B. E., Vol. 50 (Index), p. 99, for the references regarding the Buddha’s frequent meetings with Bimbisāra.


15. This has been admirably pointed out by S.N. Pradhan (op. cit.) and need not be repeated here.


18. ‘Mahāvṛtra Nirvāṇa and some other important dates in Ancient Indian History’ in Bhārata-Kaumudi, Part II (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 817-838, H.C. Seth’s other articles on ancient Indian chronology include: ‘Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology’, Indian Culture, Vol. 5 (1938-

19. Digha-Nikāya, III, pp. 117, 209; and Majjhima-Nikāya, II, pp. 243 ff. We are told here that while Buddha stayed at Sāmagāma, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pāvā, and that the Nirgranthas, his followers, were divided by serious schisms. According to Jain traditions also Mahāvīra died at Pāvā (H. C. Seth).

20. The visit of Ajātashatru is said to have taken place in the full moon of Kārtika (about Nov. 1) after the end of the rainy season (Charpentier).


22. In the 122 of the Kalpasūtra Mahāvīra is said to have spent fourteen rainy seasons in Rājagṛha and the suburb (bahirikas) of Nalanda. This was a famous place even with the Jains, cp., e.g., Sūtrakritāṅga II, 7 (SBE XLV, 419 sq.) (Charpentier, p. 127, f. n.).

23. In case the Buddha's date is regarded as 566-486 B.C., the date of Mahāvīra in my opinion will be 560-489 B.C.
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Mahāvaṃśa
Mahāvastu
Majjhima-Nikāya
Maitreyāṇī Sāṁhitā
Mālavikāgnimitra
Manusmṛti
Matsya Purāṇa
Milindapañho
Mithilādarpaṇa
Mudrārakshasā
Nārada Purāṇa
Nirukta (Yāska)
Padama Purāṇa
Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa
Pariśisṭaparvan
Priyadarśika
Raghuvaṃśa
Rāmacaritamānasā
Rāmāyaṇa (Vālmiki)
—Nirṛtta Sāgar Press
Ṛg-Veda
Samyutta Nikāya
Śaṅkhāyana Gṛhyaśāstra
Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
Skanda Purāṇa
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa
Tīrtha Prakaṣa
Tīrthavivecana Kānda
Uttarapurāṇa
Uvāca Sūtra
Vaiśnavasūtra
Vājasaneyā Sāṁhitā
Vamana Purāṇa
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODERN WORKS</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abhidhamma Philosophy</td>
<td>J. Kashyap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affairs of a Tribe</td>
<td>D. N. Majumdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of Imperial Guptas</td>
<td>R. D. Bannerji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of Imperial Unity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of the Nandas and Mauryas</td>
<td>Vidya Bhawan Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Historical Study of the terms</td>
<td>Ed. by R. C. Majumdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Htunayana and Mahāyāna</td>
<td>K. A. Nilkantha Sastri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A History of Hindu Public Life Part I</td>
<td>R. Kimura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A History of Indian Public Life Vol. II</td>
<td>U. N. Ghoshal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Advanced History of India</td>
<td>Majumdar, Ray Chowdhuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Nepal</td>
<td>Dutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient &amp; Medieval Nepal Vol. I</td>
<td>D. R. Regmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Geography of India</td>
<td>D. R. Regmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Early History of Vaisālī</td>
<td>A. Cunningham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Indian Historical Tradition</td>
<td>J. Mishra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Record of Buddhistic Kingdom</td>
<td>F. E. Pargiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fah-sein)</td>
<td>T. Legge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions</td>
<td>R. S. Sharma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Ancient India</td>
<td>R. K. Mookherji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asoka</td>
<td>D. R. Bhandarkar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asoka</td>
<td>V. A Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asoka &amp; Decline of the Mauryas</td>
<td>R. Thapar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asoka and His Inscriptions</td>
<td>B. M. Barua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Study of Vastu Vidyā</td>
<td>T. P. Bhattacharyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bactrian Greeks in India</td>
<td>Tarn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginnings of the Buddhist Art</td>
<td>A. Foucher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar the Heart of India</td>
<td>John Haulton</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Author(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bihar Through the Ages</td>
<td>R. R. Diwakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar ka Darsaniya Asthana</td>
<td>G. P. Ambastha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>Oldenberg</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buddhist India</td>
<td>Rhys Davids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha Gaya</td>
<td>R. L. Mitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhaghotha</td>
<td>B. C. Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhadharmā aur Bihar</td>
<td>H. P. Tripathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauddhagranthakosa</td>
<td>B. M. Barua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism and Gospel of Buddhism</td>
<td>A. Coomarswamy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist Records of the Western World (2 Vols)</td>
<td>S. Beal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caitanya Bhagavata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge History of India—Vol. I</td>
<td>Ed. E. J. Rapson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castes &amp; Tribes of Central Provinces—1916</td>
<td>Russell and Hiralal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India (British Museum)</td>
<td>J. Allan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandragupta Maurya and His Times</td>
<td>R. K. Mookherji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology of Ancient India</td>
<td>S. Pradhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Maurya</td>
<td>F. Eggertmont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical Accounts of India</td>
<td>R. C. Majumdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce between Roman Empire and India</td>
<td>E. H. Wormington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins of Ancient India</td>
<td>A. Cunningham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum—Vol. I</td>
<td>Hultsch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum—Vol. II</td>
<td>Sten Konow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cult of Brahma</td>
<td>T. P. Bhattacharyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive History of India—Vol. II</td>
<td>K. A. N. Sastri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and Art of India</td>
<td>R. K. Mookherjee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture &amp; Civilization of Ancient India</td>
<td>D. D. Kosamabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithila</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal</td>
<td>Dalton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of Hindu Iconography</td>
<td>J. N. Banerjea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary of Pali Proper Names</td>
<td>Malalakshara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasties of the Kali Age</td>
<td>F. E. Pargiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasties of the Kanarese District</td>
<td>J. F. Fleet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early History of North India</td>
<td>Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Indian Sculpture</td>
<td>Luding Bachafer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Monastic Buddhism (2 vols)</td>
<td>N. Dutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern India Vol. I, II</td>
<td>M. Martin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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—N. R. Banerji
—A.S. Altekar & V.K. Mishra
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—R. Mitra
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Man in India
Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
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Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress
Records of the Geological Survey of India
Sacred Books of the East
Science and Culture
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. B. Keith</td>
<td>178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhayarāja Kumāra</td>
<td>349</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdhidhamma Pitaka</td>
<td>355</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. C. L. Carliyle</td>
<td>907</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. C. Haddon</td>
<td>68, 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādinātha</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aditi</td>
<td>254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnimitra</td>
<td>746, 749, 750, 753, 758, 781</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agniprabhā</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahalyāhyāda</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahar I</td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahicchatra</td>
<td>662, 685</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahoura</td>
<td>441</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aikshvākus</td>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajaka</td>
<td>308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajakalpa Yaksha</td>
<td>170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajataṣṭāru</td>
<td>114, 142, 230, 231, 276, 301, 302, 303, 312, 341, 342, 345, 387, 388, 393, 425, 450, 718, 793, 943, 944, 954, 955, 958, 989, 991, 994, 995, 999, 1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajitakesa Kambali</td>
<td>361</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajivika</td>
<td>377, 378, 380</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. K. Naremi</td>
<td>744</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akshayavaṇa</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alambhiyānagarī</td>
<td>364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alavī</td>
<td>929</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. L. Basham</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberuni</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahabad Pillar Inscription</td>
<td>485, 772, 773, 786, 899, 914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahappa</td>
<td>350</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allauungāsītu</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amabada</td>
<td>888</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarakāṇṭaka Hill</td>
<td>53, 440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarāvatt</td>
<td>842, 876, 906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āmbapālīvāna</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āmbapāli</td>
<td>951, 958, 959</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āmbarpur</td>
<td>888</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āmbhi</td>
<td>426</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amissbha</td>
<td>847</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitrochades</td>
<td>436</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amolakaratna</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āmrāgrāma</td>
<td>946</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āmrāpāli</td>
<td>949, 945</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ānanda</td>
<td>142, 235, 340, 342, 343, 350, 355, 370, 941, 946, 971, 972, 1001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāthapindaka</td>
<td>349</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra</td>
<td>441</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androkottas</td>
<td>425</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áŋga</td>
<td>16, 122, 166, 187, 188, 206, 240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áṅguttara Nikāya</td>
<td>101, 105, 201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angkor</td>
<td>128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áṅgulimāla</td>
<td>230, 349</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aniruddha</td>
<td>833</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjana</td>
<td>196</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antichak I, 3, 888, 902</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiōchus</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiōchus—III</td>
<td>436, 488</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āpana</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āpāpapurt</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aparānta</td>
<td>441, 687</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āpastamba</td>
<td>172, 185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. P. Banerji Sastri 147.
Araraj 726.
Arbuda 166.
Arikamedu 164.
Arishta nemī 196.
Aristobulus 674.
Arrah 928.
Ariththajanka 200.
Arjuna 166, 209, 823, 831.
Arthikagrāma 364.
A. S. Altekar 183, 229, 768, 911.
Asandhimita 485.
Aśokavardhana 437.
Atṣṭika 166.
Assapura 133.
Asvaghoṣa 301, 332, 768, 846.
Asvajīta 337.
Äśvāla 257.
Äśvamitra 754.
Äśvapura 938.
Atikrūṣṭa 260.
Ativibhūti 203.
Atirajitkhera 685.
Atirppakām 154.
Avadha 123.
Avanti 300, 584, 930, 987, 994.
Avikṣhita 203, 243.
Ayodhya 217, 753, 919, 923.
Ayutāyas 215.
Bagru 50.
Bahasatimita 755.
Bahlula 142.
Bahulāvā 196.
Baidyanath 128.
Baimbiķa 743.
Bairat 904.
Bakhtiyar Khilji 99.
Bakraur 133.
Balai Chandra Mukherjee 94.
Balamitra 764.
Bali 187, 206.
Ballia 919.
Balirajgarh 41.
Balumath 85.
Banabasa 158.
Banaras 89, 92, 911.
Banasuria 162.
Bandhula 233, 234.
Bandhumanta 203.
Bandhupālitā 488.
Banagaṅga 135.
Bansaloi 888.
Barabar 2, 44, 130, 735.
Barabar Hill 147.
Barakar 54.
Barauni 62.
Basarh 100, 229, 783.
Basham, A. L. 433.
Batane 54.
B. B. Lal 903.
B. K. Thapar 442.
Belatthiputta 36.
Beluvagāma 133.
Bennagar 740, 751, 832.
Bhābhua 75.
Bhabra Edict 836.
Bhuddila 364.
Bhadraratha 206.
Bhaddiya 364.
Bhadrabahu 991.
Bhadrakālikāstbāna 124.
Bhadraghoṣha 753.
Bhagalpur 1, 3, 4, 6, 39, 43, 44, 59, 60, 75, 86, 91, 93, 107, 113, 115, 125, 243, 934.
Bhagwatt Šūtra 378.
Bhagtratha 198.
Bhagwanlal Indraji 911.
Bhaisalotan 53.
Bhalaṇḍana 203.
Bhallika 336.
Bhāṇḍagrama 946.
Bharata 188, 283.
Bhārgava 189, 207.
Bharhut 167, 169, 740, 873, 874, 875, 878, 879, 880.
Bharhut Inscription 743.
Bhānumanta 196, 197.
Bhānumitra 753, 764.
Bhāskaravarman 106, 795, 796.
Bhikṣhuma/Thiru 53.
Bhikṣari Thakur 93.
Bhima 166, 920.
Bhimbandh 45, 134, 155, 157, 160, 885, 887, 888.
Bhīṣma 217.
Bhogānagara 946.
Bhoja-Pitnikā 441.
Bhriguṭuṣaṇa 145.
Bhumīttra 752, 757, 758.
Bhujju Lāhyāyani 257.
Bhumivarmāna 795.
Bhurkula Hill 886.
Bibhuti Bhusan Mukherjee 94.
Bihar Sharif 1, 99, 117, 129, 143, 146.
Bilvaparbha 145.
Bindusāra 261, 432, 435, 436, 438, 440, 444, 467, 468, 605.
Birbhanpur 159.
Birbhum 108, 128.
Bishunpur 75.
B. M. Barua 130, 184.
Bokuro 29, 485.
Bongara 160, 892.
Brahmadatta 208.
Brahmagiri 160, 441.
Brahmajāla 245.
Brahmamitra 873.
Brahmāvarta 183.
Bṛhadbhānu 206.
Bṛhadratha 168, 189, 206, 213, 742, 748, 745, 781.
Bṛhadukttha 196.
Bṛhanmanas 206.
Bṛhaspatimitra 754, 764.
Bṛhatkarman 206, 215.
B. S. Guha 73.
Budha Gupta 125.
Cedi 114, 553.
Cellana 230.
Cetaka 237, 363.
Ceylon 139, 693.
Chaiisa 38, 43, 44, 157, 241, 886.
Chainpur 75, 156, 157.
Chakradharpur 157, 158, 160, 885, 893.
Chakradih 888.
Chakrindas 234.
Chandhijih 888.
Chandeva Tori 51.
Chandra Roy 75.
Chandwa 85.
Chapra 133, 228, 919.
Charlemagne 493.
C. H. Bompas 230.
Chirand 1, 2, 3, 157, 158, 654, 685, 689, 704, 876, 882, 888, 892, 902, 904.
Chitaldurg 433.
Chota Nagpur 1, 21, 22, 25, 26, 35, 38, 40, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 63, 64, 73, 74, 75, 79, 84, 85, 86, 89, 97, 98, 99, 113, 115, 155, 162, 249, 772, 773, 901.
C. H. Strat zie 68.
Chunar 111.
Chu Si-hing 950-51.
Citabhumii 127.
Citraratha 206.
Colgong 92, 127.
Colonel Waddell 134.
Cunningham 113, 114, 117, 129, 133, 135, 137, 229.
C. W. Anderson 159.
Gyavana 249.
Gyavanârama 189.
Daddhabhûmi 116.
Dadhra 217.
Daivarāți 200.
Dalbhum (Dahlbhum) 24, 54, 56, 74, 115, 158, 891.
Dakshiṇamānasā 132.
Daltonganj 41, 47, 78.
Dantravakra 217.
Darbhanga 4, 60, 90, 100, 101, 102, 123, 228.
Darjeeling 29.
Daryādāsa 93.
Daśārṇa 553.
Datam 51.
D. B. Spooner 913, 229.
Deccan 50, 433.
D. C. Sircar 125, 127, 132, 794.
Deiharadun 441.
Delhi 79.
Demetrius 744, 745, 746.
De Terra 157.
Devadatta 135, 339, 341.
Devahṛda 145.
Devakotā 145.
Devamigha 196.
Devananda 361.
Devannabhaṭṭa 131.
Devapāla 6, 450.
Devaprabha 145.
Devarāṭa 196, 200.
Dhana Nanda 421, 430, 511.
Dhanadeva 723, 750.
Dhanbad 3, 60, 74, 93, 116.
Dharnidas 93.
Dharmadēśa 93.
Dharmadhīvajā 197.
Dharmānetra 215.
Dharmapāla 9, 186, 450.
Dharmasvāmin 141, 206.
Dhatala 888.
D.H. Gordon 905.
Dhrṣṭaketu 196.
Dṛtī 196.
Dhrṣṭimant 196.
Dhruvamitra 753.
Dhumrāsenā 193.
Dhuṇḍīrāja 421.
Didarganj 170, 251, 655, 723.
Dīghanikṣāya 10, 117, 142.
Dīrghatamās 188, 189.
Dīgambara 143.
Dilīpa 186.
Divīratha 206.
D. N. Majumdar 71, 73.
D. N. Sen. 129.
Draupadi 273.
D. R. Bhandarkar 175, 177, 230, 290, 911.
Dṛḍhāratha 206.
Dṛḍhasena 215.
D. Sen. 160.
Duber Kund 888.
Dumar 888.
Durgā Prasad Singh 93, 407.
Duryodhana 209.
Dusyanta 217.
Dvārakā 122.
E. Hultsch 911.
E. H. Walsh 787.
Elam 900.
Ellorā Caves 740.
E. Senart 911.
E. T. Dalton 895.
Fatwa 920, 921.
History of Bihar

Gorakhpur 89, 101, 105, 330, 926.
Gordon 157.
Gotama Rahugana 191, 198, 1001.
Gotamka caliya 168.
Gouripur 43.
Govinda Das 91.
Govindapur 884.
Gṛddhrakūṭa 111.
Grierson 89, 90, 93.
G. S. Roy 157.
Guha 76.
Gulind 158.
Gurpa Hill 137.
Haibhayas 311.
Hazipur 8, 731, 906, 921, 922, 951.
952.
Hamsatrrtha 145.
Handia Hill 906.
Hanria Hill 137.
Hanumāna 167.
Hārappa 1, 249, 723, 900.
Hari Krishna Sastri 911.
HaraprasadSastri 241, 262, 490, 491.
Harha Dun Valley 53.
Hariber 892.
Hariharakhsetra 124.
Hāriscandra 187.
Haridāsa 131.
Harigupta 834.
Harisena 261.
Harivamśa 187, 206.
Harshacarita 14, 742, 745.
Harshavardhana 5, 15, 142, 841.
Harshavarman 196.
Hasanpur 913.
Hastināpur 163, 199, 662, 685, 688, 903.
Hathigāma 144.
Hāthigūmpa Inscription 310, 745, 746, 754, 756, 763, 766, 904.
Index

Hatia 54.
Hatthinika 329.
Haryanga 206.
Haryâśva 196.
Hazaribagh 25, 26, 36, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 59, 64, 74, 77, 80, 81, 85, 86, 91, 113, 116, 146, 365.
H. B. W. Garrick 907.
H. C. Raychaudhuri 100, 109, 160, 190, 489, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 813.
H. De Terra 154.
Heliodorus 751, 831, 832.
Hellebrandt 111.
Hema 206.
Hemacandra 203.
Hindukush 426, 431, 768.
Hiranya Parvata 110.
Hirni Falls 51.
Hisuen Chiu 134.
Hitler 493.
Honkong 163.
Hui Wen 141.
Hundru Falls 51.
H. Pandey 112.
Hutton 70.
Huvishka 8, 770, 811, 812, 874, 913.
Hyderabad 161.
I-Ching 141.
I-Lia 141.
Ikshvaku 101, 195, 511.
Indra 254.
Indragnimitra 755, 765, 813.
Indrajit 873.
Indramitra 752, 754, 755.
Indrapalita 488.
Indrapahari 888.
Irragudi 441.
Isigiri 129.
Isigili Hills 129, 142.
Isipattana 133.
I-tsing 15, 141, 950, 978, 979.
Jabalpur 29, 763.
Jagannath 748, 752.
Jagarnathpura 43.
Jagait 144.
Jagdish Trigunayat 97.
Jaimangalgarh 12, 781.
Jamalpur 890.
Jamatoli 157.
Jambudvipa 433.
Jambugrâma 946.
Jambeshpur 42, 54, 79.
Janaka (Videha) 195, 225, 256, 262, 289, 920, 922.
Janakapura 124, 129, 922.
Janamejaya 203.
Jarâsandha 129, 163, 213, 284, 315, 823.
Jaratârâva Ārtabhâga 257.
Jaspur 162, 889.
Jatinga 441.
Jauqada 164.
Jaya 196.
Jayadeva I 795.
Jayadeva II 795.
Jayadratha 823.
Jayakant Mishra 90.
Jayamitra 754.
J. C. Ghosh 136.
J. Coggin Brown 898.
History of Bihar

J. D. Beglar 897, 905.
J. Deniker 858.
Jethian 49, 136, 137, 969.
Jitvaka 349.
Jitvaka Āmbavana 135.
Jitväkatāma 135.
Jinaprabhauṣuri 141.
John Marshall 826.
Jonha Falls 151.
Jugal Kishore Mokhttar 858.
Justin 423, 425, 428, 429.
J. Wood Mason 886.
Jyeshthā 230.
Jyeshṭila 145.
Jyotiṛathyā 146.
Jyotiristvāra Thākura 91.
Kabir 93.
Kabul Valley 426.
Kahna Koonjer 888.
Kaimur Plateau 55.
Kakandaka 356.
Kākavarman 795.
Kākṣhtvant 187, 189.
Kalamati 75.
Kālā Pahāda 120.
Kalāra 200.
Kalhua 13.
Kalidāsa 13, 186.
Kalīhrda 145.
Kalai 441.
Kāmarupa 441.
Kamboja 291, 441.
Kambala Tirtha 832.
Kamtaul 242.
Kanauj 755, 787, 936.
Kandhar (Kandahar) 427, 432, 433.
Kandra 157.
Kapiṣhka 768, 769, 770, 771, 774, 782, 783, 784, 785, 811, 846, 913.
Kapiṣhka II. 918.
Kajangalā 938.
Kankarshola 888.
Kanoda Kauśītakēya 257.
Kanpur 936.
Kāṇṭṭārapathā 403.
Kanti Falls 85.
Kanyāsaśīvedya 145.
Kapiśa 769.
Karachi 886.
Karāla Janaka 225, 243.
Karandhamā 203.
Karandaka 329.
Karle 740.
Karmāmā 114.
Karpa 320, 329.
Karīṭā 409.
Kapalasura 441.
Kāruṣa 114, 217, 250, 553.
Kārvāki 485.
Kashmir 13, 249, 769.
Kašt 114, 186, 687.
Kasia 946.
Kāśībhāravāja 384.
Kaṭhaka Samhīta 283.
Kathmandu 784, 795.
Kātyāyiṇi 257, 314.
Kaushtik 185.
Kausikikshetra 109.
Kausikthrasa 145.
Kausikiñjaka Âranyaka 186.
Kausitàkì Upanishad 173.
Kautilya 102, 231, 253, 259, 265, 304, 313, 412, 422, 429, 432, 436, 454, 465, 467, 473, 491, 497, 498, 510 to 529, 531, 532, 533, 540, 544, 545, 550, 552 to 563, 567, 571, 572, 574, 575, 593, 599 to 596, 601 to 609, 622 to 644, 647, 649 to 659, 661, 667 to 670, 673, 676, 678 to 698, 733, 759, 793, 807, 924.
Kowal 897.
K. Chattopadhyaya 172.
Kedarnath Banerjee 94.
K. Deva 229, 904.
Kesariya 951, 59.
Kellasadatta 834.
Kevala 203.
Khamar Pat. 54.
Khanitra 205.
Khaninatra 203.
Khâragpur 37, 49, 160.
Khemâ 340.
Kikatā 183.
Kirtiratha 196.
K. K. Datta 229.
Kokâmukha 125.
Kolhun 888, 952.
Kalai 441.
Konar 54.
Korantedi 919.
Kosaladevi 302.
Kôtigâma 144.
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute 155.
K. P. Sen 905.
Krishna 829, 830, 831, 832, 834.
Krishna Deva 164.
Krishnadeva Upâdhyâya 93.
Kâlâsâva 203.
Kharatirâni Trishala 362.
Kshemâ 215.
Kahemari 196.
Kshupa 203.
Kuchañjharâ 157.
Kumavatî 116.
Kuju Kadhvîs 768.
Kukkuṭapâdagiri 136, 146, 966, 967, 970.
Kulesvari Devī 144.
Kuluhâ Hill 144.
Kumhrar 2, 3, 4, 6, 12, 249, 438, 441, 652, 689, 736, 768, 769, 806, 811, 812, 816, 816, 874, 876, 877, 882, 904, 908, 909, 912, 933, 954.
Kuńsla 481, 485, 486, 488, 489.
Kuṇḍagrâma 143, 230.
Kupiya 999.
Kurkhâr 3, 137.
Kuruśetra 145.
Kurukutia 888.
Kurmadhat 888.
Kûrma Purâṇa 131, 132.
Kurumgarh 156, 157.
Kuśādhvâja 197.
Kuśâgârâpa 971.
Kuśâkrâma 145.
History of Bihar

Kuśinārā 228, 946, 950, 951, 959, 980.
Kuśinārā 133, 234, 343, 350, 402, 935.
Kuṣagra 213.
Kusumapura 128.
Kuṭadanta 383.
Kwangung 141.
Kwé-chung 141.
Lagwa 888.
Lakhisarai 110, 134.
Lakhsmāna 123, 217, 284, 834, 919.
Lakṣmīdhara 93, 131, 132, 145.
Lalanji Gopal 686.
Lalganj 952, 260.
Lalpur 157.
Laṇkā 136.
Laṭṭhivana 136.
Lauriya 441, 907.
Lauriya Araraj 2, 4, 441, 951.
Lauriya Nandangarh 2, 4, 875, 951, 961.
L. D. Barnett 911.
Ling Wan 141.
Lohanipur 251, 723.
Lohardaga 75.
Lomapāda 122, 188, 197, 205, 208.
Lomaśa Rśhi 147.
Lomaśa Rśhi Cave 904.
Lota Pahar 155, 157, 187.
Lumbini 330, 836.
Machwatoli 406.
Madagascar 95.
Madhavasena 747.
Madhuban 888.
Madras 154.
Madras Museum 898.
Madura 687.
Magadhavana 146.
Mahābhārata 7, 100, 108, 110, 115, 116, 125, 129.
Māṇḍhārā 186, 196.
Mahājanaka 200.
Mahājanaka II 200.
Mahakāśyapa 137, 350.
Mahālī 290.
Mahāpadma Ugrasena 317.
Mahāpadma Nanda 210, 308, 310, 312, 420, 423.
Mahāprajāvata 339.
Mahārajā Trikamāla 139.
Mahāśāntihika 143.
Mahāvamśātika 423, 429.
Mahendra 637.
Mahendragiri 440.
Mahendrapāla 7.
Mahīśha 687.
Mahmud Ghaznavi 104.
Maitreyī 257.
Majumdar R.C. 70.
Makhādeva 144.
Malada 250.
Malalasekhara 113.
Malakapur 157.
Mālavikāgūmitra 13, 46, 48, 49.
Malla 350.
Mallinātha 144.
Manaksha 795.
Manbhūm 40, 43, 45, 80, 87, 115, 893.
Mandar Hill 143.
Mangovinda Banerjee 115.
Mapibhadra Caitya 117.
Maṇikā 715.
Maṇiyar 248.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>1029</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manu 196, 629, 801, 802, 803, 808, 810, 813.</td>
<td>Mohenjadoaro 7, 723, 822, 900.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Märkaṇḍeya 146.</td>
<td>Mokama Tal 50.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markatāhyda 133.</td>
<td>Monghyr 1, 3, 5, 6, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 59, 60, 64, 75, 86, 91, 101, 110, 125, 134, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marutta 203, 243.</td>
<td>Morha 54.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwat Pass 53.</td>
<td>Mudrarākshasa 13, 421.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masarh 146.</td>
<td>Muhamad Tuglaq 495.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masi 160.</td>
<td>Mūladeva 750.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.A. Stein 135, 137.</td>
<td>Munisuvrata 141.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghavarpa 139.</td>
<td>Nabhānicedhita 203.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia 901.</td>
<td>Nagarāja Mucalinda 166.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrāramātā 349.</td>
<td>Nagarjunikond 842, 847.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithi Janaka 166, 196.</td>
<td>Nalagrama 929.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirzapur 44, 111, 159.</td>
<td>Nalanda University 17, 136.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārāyaṇaśabhaṭṭa 132.</td>
<td>Narāyaṇaṇa 132.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narishyanta 203.</td>
<td>Nathpur 125.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nathuram Premi 858.
Naulagarh 781.
Navdatoli 158.
Navgaon 157.
Naudih 157.
Neminath 144.
Netarhat 50.
Niglia 441, 926.
Nim 195, 209, 225.
Nimi Mathava 198.
Nimi Videha 196.
Nirmitra 215.
Niranjan 54.
Nirvrasangama 145.
Nityansund 128.
N. L. Day 107, 113, 114, 115, 118, 144, 187.
Normandy 68.
Normans 67.
Nyagrodhi Park 338.
Okkkaka 329.
Okkamukha 329.
Oldenberg 111, 269.
Oriup 157, 685.
Padma Purana 125, 130.
Padmahati 230, 305.
Pakur 87.
Palamau 25, 31, 38 to 45, 50, 54, 56, 59, 65, 74, 78, 81, 85, 91, 92.
Palkiyuda 441.
Palavaranma 884.
Paanchavinda Brhamapa 11.
Pandit Chanda Jhau 91.
Pandu Rajadhipi 159.
Patiini 11, 13, 102, 260, 394, 823, 829, 830.
Pargiter 189.
Parshurama 823.
Paniyabhum 142, 143.

Parewa Falls 51.
Parasnath Hills 50, 144, 889.
Parasvanatha 110, 118.
Parleyaka 929.
Patshapakacetyia 196.
Palubhum 115.
Paupati 822, 823, 827.
Pasuprekshadeva 795.
Patanjali 13, 396, 477, 743, 781, 803, 804, 805, 806, 810, 813, 814, 823, 824, 830, 832, 834.
Patna 4, 6, 45, 53, 56, 60, 64, 91, 109, 113, 115, 128, 155, 438, 682, 770, 783, 859, 880, 908, 909, 920, 921.
Patna College 807.
Patna Museum 3, 8, 170, 806.
Patraha 405.
Parsvanatha 110, 118.
Parshurama 823.
Pavapuri 143, 365.
P. C. Basu 71.
P. C. Mukherjee 926.
Persia 728, 729, 730.
Persian Gulf 695.
Peshavar 886, 957.
Phalguni Mitra 754.
Philip 426.
Piparia 105.
Pirpainti 955.
Pippaliguha 135.
Pippalivana 105, 423.
Pipraha 690.
P. L. Bhargava 190, 197.
P. L. Gupta 791.
Plutarch 423, 425, 432, 433.
P. Mitra 895.
Polajanaka 200.
Polynesia 95.
Prabhâsa 122.
Prabhâvat 230.
Prabhuddana 790.
Pradyota 230, 300, 302.
Pradyumna 196.
Prâjapatisûrya 754.
Prâkramamata 141.
Prâkhyañukruti 140.
Prâmaganda 111, 183.
Prasenjit (Pasendi) 230, 246, 340, 349, 398, 450.
Præshthâ Campâ 364.
Pratappur 157.
Prattindha 196.
Pravahana Jaivali 263.
Prayâga 122.
Presâlita 132.
Prthulaksha 206.
Pulika 299.
Pulindaka 752.
Pûndra 188, 207.
Pûndravardhana 441.
Pûrâna Kassapa 361.
Pûrâpbhadra Temple 170.
Pûrânavarman 140.
Pûrîca 32, 54, 60, 64, 75, 86, 91, 94, 109.
Pûrushapura 783.
Purushottama Mâyâtmya 132.
Pushapura 743.
Pushpavanta 213.
Pushyamitra Shûga 489, 491, 492, 499, 742, 743, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 752, 753, 758, 764, 781, 803.
P. V. Kane 125, 227, 130.
Râdhâ Gupta 485.
Raghunîr Narayan 95.
Rahula 931.
Rahul Sankrityayana 102, 115, 359, 927, 946.
Raipur 753.
Raivataka 122.
Rajarappâ 155.
Raja Ram Krishna Bhagwat 172.
Rajaçekhara 261.
Raja Vishal-ka-Garh 3.
Rajghat 662, 688.
Rajmahal 28, 30, 31, 39, 48, 55, 56, 87.
Rajmahal Hills 52, 53, 70.
Rajpinda 136.
Rajul-Mandagiri 441.
Râjyavardhana 203.
Rakha Mines 43, 158.
Râkshast Tâdaga 165.
Rāma 143, 217, 284, 558, 830, 919, 920, 921, 923.
Rāmacandra 165.
Rāmanuja 833.
Rāmagrāma 350.
Rāmayāna 101, 102, 107, 114.
Ramā 203.
Ramgarh 29, 43, 76, 891.
Rāmgarh 53.
Ram Naresh Tripathi 93.
Rampurva 2, 4, 685, 727, 931.
Ranchi 25, 31, 37, 41, 43, 50, 51, 54, 56, 59, 61, 74, 75, 77, 60, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 92, 894, 895, 896.
Rānigunj 29, 885.
Ranipur 963.
Rathika 441.
Ratnapura 852.
Rāvaṇa 217, 823.
R. Bruce Foote 154.
R. C. Dutt 184.
R. C. Kar 882.
R. C. Majumdar 911.
R. E. Wheeler 153.
Revelganj 922.
R. G. Bhandarkar 174, 911.
R. Heine Gelden 899.
Rhys Davids 405, 716.
Ripuṇjaya 215, 300.
Rāshikunda 45, 891.
Risley 70.
R. K. Choudhary 172, 174, 177.
R. K. Mookherjee 442.
R. L. Mitra 130, 165.
R. M. Smith 305.
Rohilkhand 752.
Rohita 187.
Rohitapur 187.
Rohitas 187.
R. R. Bhagwat 176.
R, Roztozzeff 999.
Rahabha 213.
Rahabhadatta 361.
Rahabhapūr 141.
Rahigiri 117, 129.
Rahipāṭana 350.
Rāhyārāga 188, 208.
Ratnīta 196.
Rāshikunda 126.
Rudra 176, 822, 824.
Rudradāman 441.
Rudraka Rāmaputra 333.
Rudrasena 789, 790.
Rudrayāmala 124.
Rumindei 441, 927.
Rupār 907.
Rupuath 441.
R. V. Joshi 155.
Sādhīma 200.
Sahadeva 203, 213.
Saharsa 60, 64, 91, 100.
Sahelganj 53.
Śakadvīpa 110.
Śakārī 54.
Śakāṭāla 422.
Sakhogara 888.
Śakravāpi 166.
Śakuni 196.
Samastipur 228.
Samantabhadra 359.
Samarkand 141.
Śambhu 823.
Sanghavarman 141.
Sammeta Śikhara 118, 856.
Samprati 487, 499.
Index

Sambhata Gupta 5, 7, 772, 773.
Samyutta Nikāya 104, 129.
Sanadavāja 196.
Sanchi 138, 740, 837, 873, 874, 880.
Sanchi Stūpa 441.
Sandalpur 953.
Saṅghamitra 631.
Sanjaya 196, 361.
Sanjaya Valley 155, 159.
Saṅkara 257.
Saṅkāya 197.
Satkata Prasada 93.
Saṅkhaprabha 145.
Saṅkhāyana Aranyaka 185.
Sānta 298.
Sānti Parvan 860.
Sarat Chand Chatterjee 93.
Sarat Chandra Ray 75, 84.
Sāroputta 136, 350.
Sarkar S. S. 70.
Sarnath 336, 441, 730, 837, 929.
Sarnath Pillar Edicts 462, 785.
Sarvāyudha 145.
Sāṣāka 140.
Sasanavāma 186.
Sasaram 75.
Satānanda 243.
Śatānaka 230, 231.
Satyaratna 196, 206.
Sattapani 135.
Sattapani Cave 137.
Satyājīta 215.
Satyaratna 196, 206.
Scandinavia 67.
Selucus Nikator 510.
Shahabad 42, 44, 64.
Shahabazgarhi 441.
Shaikhpura 49.
Sherghati 156.
Sialkot 814, 815.
Siddbagiri 441.
Siddhārtha 227, 331, 926, 927.
Sinhavarman 363.
Singbonga 84.
Sind 291.
Singhbum 52, 59, 74, 76, 93, 94, 113, 115, 116, 893, 896, 897.
Singrauli 159.
Śnipura 329.
Śrādhvaja 196, 202.
Śīrima 139.
Śīsunaga 306.
Śīrupalaghar 162.
Śita 197, 923.
Śiva 230, 822, 823, 824, 826.
S. K. De 190.
Śkanda Purāṇa 131.
S. N. Pradhan 190, 197.
Somadatta 203.
Somanātha 122.
Somāvara 53.
Sonanda 383.
Sonbhandar Cave 135.
Sonpur 1, 124, 157, 534, 661, 668, 689, 888, 902, 904, 912.
Sosbanga 97.
Spooner 874.
Śravasti 291, 350, 402, 691, 929, 935, 943, 999, 1006.
Śrēṇika 142.
Śrīgupta 950.
Śrīgirikh 126.
Śrikanta Sastri 177.
Śrījaya 203.
Śrutakirti 197.
Sunanda 196.
Śrutaśravas 215.
Śrutāyus 196.
Sten Konow 387.
History of Bihar

Svarṣaroman 196.
Sylvain Levi 481.
Taḍaka 919, 920.
Tālkampa 116.
Takshaśila (Taxila) 230, 252, 291, 516, 574, 584, 585, 605, 825, 831, 903.
Taka 158.
Tamralipti 441, 957.
Tamraparni 443.
Tāou-Sing 141.
Tāou-Fang 141.
Tāou-Lin 135, 141.
Tappassu 336.
Tāpods 134.
Tāranāth 436, 769, 783, 794.
Tatăka 217, 250.
T. Bloch 229, 905, 913.
Telīgarthi 108.
Telkāpi 116.
Thakurani 162.
Theravāda 141, 454.
Tissarakkhiṭṭa 485, 490.
Tītikshā 168, 206.
Tīvra 486.
Todd 157.
Topra 441.
Toṣali 284.
T. P. Bhattacharya 130.
Trayastrīṁśā 929.
Trinābindu 203.
Triḍala 227.
Tulasī Bṛndā 167.
Tuṅga 140.
Ucatbyā 188.
Udayagiri Hills 135.
Udaya Nandī: 721.
Udayana 16, 211, 305, 450.
Udaya Narayan Tiwari 90.
Udāvasu 196.

Somadhi 215.
Subandhu 261.
Subhadra 343, 849.
Subhāgasena 488.
Sucala 215.
Sucandra 203.
Sudama Cave 735.
Sudānī Falla 51.
Sudāsana 142.
Sudēśvara 188.
Sudhanvan 213.
Suddhodana 330, 331, 338.
Sudhṛti 196, 203.
Sugandhā 130.
Suhma 188, 207.
Sujyeshṭha 230.
Sukalpa 312.
Suketu 196.
Sukhātra 215.
Sultanganj 110, 897.
Sumati 203, 215.
Sumha 115.
Sumhottara 115.
Sumsumatrāgiri 350, 929.
Sunetra 215.
Sung-Yung-se 957.
Sunidha 231.
Surasvāma 196.
Surajkera 688.
Śūraśena 311.
Surguja 50.
Suruś 196.
Sūrūta 200.
Sūrāpas 206.
Suttapiṭaka 355.
Suvarcas 196.
Suvarṇagiri 584.
Suvrata 215.
Suvṛddhi 203.
Śvāmi Rudrasena 827.
Index

Udena 102, 300.
Uddalaka Arupi 242, 257.
Ujjain 204, 230, 432, 488, 516, 584, 585, 662, 663, 685, 747, 789, 850, 988.
Ukkattha 246.
Uma Chaturvedi 886.
Umśavant 859.
U. N. Ghoshal 679.
Upagupta 196.
Upali 136, 399.
Upavarsha 314.
Upendra Nath Ganguly 94.
Uragapurpa 860.
Urja 213.
Urjavaha 196.
Uṣasta Cakrāyapa 257.
Uṣiṣa Āṅgirasa 243.
Utkala 211.
Uttara Mānas 132.
U. Thakur 190.
Vācaspati Miśra 131.
Vālikta 291.
Vaiḍbharaṅgiri 141.
Vaiḍeṣṭipta 231.
Vaiḍyanātha 109.
Vaihara 117, 129.
Vaijābhumi 116.
Vaijī 102, 223.
Vaijrabhumi 143.
Vaijramitra 751, 752.
Vaijrasena 736.
Vaiśesvara 128.
Vaiśukara 133.
Vaiśnavī Purāṇa 131.
Vaiśnavatīrtha 145.
Vaiṣṇava 122, 188, 240, 687.
Vaiśtragā 156.
Vaiśrambhīra 788.
Vaiśra Purāṇa 125, 126.
Vaiśvānār 114, 208, 307, 316, 337, 402, 403, 404, 768, 785, 919, 932.
Vaiśvānāra Mahāvīra 142.
Vaiśvanja 929.
Vaiśvāṇa Nandin 721.
Vaiśvamitra 754.
Vaiśvānāra 274.
Vaiśvānāra 145.
V. A. Smith 229, 314, 730, 910.
Vaiśvānāra 231, 303, 943.
Vaiśvānāra 217.
Vaiśvānāra 747, 752, 779, 825, 827, 828, 830, 831, 833.
Vaiśvānāra 747, 749, 750, 756.
Vaiśvānāra 11, 114.
Vaiśvānāra 203.
Vaiśvānāra 261.
Vaiśvānāra 11, 112, 122, 131.
V. Ball 156.
Vaiśvānāra 159, 163, 893.
Vaiśvānāra 134.
Vaiśvānāra 114.
Vaiśvānāra 203.
History of Bihar

Veluvanārāma 136.
Vepulla 129.
Veṭhadvipa 350.
V. H. Jackson 137.
Vibhu 215.
Vibudha 196.
Vidagdoha Śākalya 257.
Vidarbha 746, 747.
Videha 100, 105, 183, 190, 223, 781.
Vīdisa 403, 432, 746, 749, 758, 764.
Vidisaṁahādevi 483.
Vidyadhara 145.
Vidyāpati 91.
Vigataśoka 486.
Vijaya 142, 196.
Vikramaśila 902.
Vinasa 203.
Vinaya Patrika 407.
Vinayapiṭaka 355.
Vipula 117.
Virasena 488, 489.
Vīśakha 349.
Vīśakhadatta 849.
Vīśāla 208.
Vīśāłakṣaḥi 145.
Vīśāvaśa 203.
Vīśvajit 206, 208, 215.
Vīśvapāla 754.

Visvarūpa 834.
Vīśvāmitra 114, 123, 124, 217, 274, 284, 919, 920, 921.
Vīśṇupada 145.
Vīśṇu Purāṇa 114.
Vīshnumitra 764.
Vītahavya 196.
Vīthamskapura 108.
Vizagapatam 311.
V.K. Mishra 906.
Vṛddhaśarman 217.
V.V. Mirashi 911.
Vṛghrapura 132.
Wajiranj 137, 966.
Wang-Huien-tse 139.
Wema Kadphises 768, 783, 784, 785.
W.G. Archer 93.
Yaśodhara 206, 331, 849.
Yaśāvalkya 242, 251.
Yaśāvalkya Smṛti 185.
Yaśjitana 136.
Yuan Chwang 667.
Yuan Hwu 135.
Yudhisthira 197.
Yun Shu 141.
# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Plate</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Courtesy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Achulian Hand Axe</td>
<td>Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Bihar, Patna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a.</td>
<td>Abbevillian-Achulian Hand Axe</td>
<td>Department of Ancient Indian History &amp; Archaeology, Patna University, Patna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Copper Anthropomorph and Axe</td>
<td>Patna Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Painted Grey Ware</td>
<td>Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Bihar, Patna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Rajgir Fortifications</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a.</td>
<td>Bulandihag Palisades</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Lion Capital</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Lauriya Nandangarh Pillar</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>(a) Lion Pillar</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Bull-Capital</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>(i) Aśokan Pillar</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Minor Rock Edict</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a.</td>
<td>Lomash Rishi Cave</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Bodh Gaya Railings</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12a.</td>
<td>Bodh Gaya Railings</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Sūrya (Bodh Gaya)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Śalabhanjika (Bodh Gaya)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Purchase of Jetavana (Bhārhat) and Yaksha.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Yaksha, Patna</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Plate</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Courtesy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 a</td>
<td>Murtaziganj Stone-discs Patna</td>
<td>Patna Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 b</td>
<td>Murtaziganj Stone-discs Patna</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 a</td>
<td>Murtaziganj Stone-discs Patna</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 b</td>
<td>Murtaziganj Stone-discs Patna</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kumhrar Excavation, Patna</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 (a)</td>
<td>Yakshli (Didarganj)</td>
<td>Patna Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 (b)</td>
<td>Tirthañkara (Torso, Stone)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 (a)</td>
<td>Lion-head (Masarh)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 (b)</td>
<td>Temple Plaque (Kumhrar)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 a</td>
<td>Gold Leaf (Lauriya)</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 b</td>
<td>Gold Clip (Vaiśālī)</td>
<td>Directorate of Archaeology &amp; Museums, Bihar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 c</td>
<td>Gold Ear-lobes</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 a</td>
<td>Gold Objects (Vaiśālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 b</td>
<td>Bull (Gold, Vaiśālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 c</td>
<td>Bull (terracotta, Vaiśālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 (a)</td>
<td>Sūrya (Terracotta)</td>
<td>Patna Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 (b)</td>
<td>Honey-Suckle Pillar-Capital</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 (a)</td>
<td>Female Figurine (Terracotta, Bulandibag, Patna)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 (b)</td>
<td>Female Figurine (Terracotta, Bulandibag, Patna)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Female Figurine (Terracotta, Sonepur, Gaya)</td>
<td>Directorate of Archaeology and Museum, Bihar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 (a)</td>
<td>Female Figurine (Terracotta, Buxar)</td>
<td>Patna Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 (b)</td>
<td>Female Figurine (Terracotta, Kushāna)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 (a)</td>
<td>Laughing Boy (Terracotta)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 (b)</td>
<td>Figure with pierced face (Terracotta)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Mother Goddess with Weapon symbols on the head (Campā).</td>
<td>Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, Patna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of Plate</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Courtesy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Female Heads (Terracotta, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Human Figures (Terracotta, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Human Figures (Terracotta, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Human Figures (Terracotta, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Human Figures (Terracotta, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.a</td>
<td>Human Figures (Terracotta, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.b</td>
<td>Female Figure (Terracotta, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Animal Figures (Terracottas, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Animal Figures (Terracottas, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Snakes (Terracottas, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.a</td>
<td>Animal Figures (Terracottas, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Wheels (Terracottas, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Bangles (Terracottas, Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>9 Stone Weights (Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Copper Objects (Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Iron Objects (Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.a</td>
<td>Iron Object (Vaisālī)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Balarāma, Ekānsa and Krishnā (Kushāna)</td>
<td>Patna Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.a</td>
<td>Jvākārāma (general view, Rajgir)</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Monastery (Chirand)</td>
<td>Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Bihar, Patna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Maniyar Math (Rajgir).</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### History of Bihar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of Plate</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Courtesy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46.a</td>
<td>Main Stūpa (Nalanda).</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Nandnagarh (Mound).</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Bodh Gaya Temple.</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.a</td>
<td>Bodh Gaya Temple with the Bodhi tree</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Buddha (Gupta-Saranatha).</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Buddha (Gupta).</td>
<td>Indian Museum, Calcutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>(a) Buddha (Copper, Gupta, Sultanganj).</td>
<td>Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Naga Sculptures (Maniyar Math, Gupta).</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Chakrapurusha (Aphand, Late Gupta).</td>
<td>Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.a</td>
<td>(i) Torso of a male (Terracotta).</td>
<td>Patna Museum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) A male head (Terracotta).</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Karitkeya (Late Gupta)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.a</td>
<td>Kiratarjunya Panel.</td>
<td>Indian Museum, Calcutta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>(a) Karitkeya (Vaisali, Late Gupta).</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Vishnu on Gruḍa (Patharghatta, Late Gupta).</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Soebbandar Cave (Rajgir, Gupta).</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>(a) Vishnu on Gruḍa (Rajgir, Gupta)</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Trailokya Vijaya (Nalanda)</td>
<td>do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COIN PLATES:**

(i) Coins of Gupta Kings

(ii) Coins of Gupta Kings

**MAPS:**

- Physical Map of Bihar
- Relief Map of Bihar
- Normal Rainfall in Bihar
- Bihar (Minerals)
- Bihar (Forests)
- Bihar (Drainage)
- Bihar (Crops)
- Bihar (Main Tribes)
- Rāma's Route from Ayodhya to Mithila
- Itinerary of Buddha in Bihar
- Itinerary of Fa-hian in Bihar
## ERRATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Read</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Successor</td>
<td>Successor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Pala</td>
<td>Pāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dharmasrami</td>
<td>Dharmasvāmin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>more</td>
<td>mere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>10,31</td>
<td>Ganga</td>
<td>Gangā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>exercising</td>
<td>exorcising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Laboures</td>
<td>labourers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Vihara</td>
<td>Vihara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bihai</td>
<td>Bihari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Maigahi</td>
<td>Magahi</td>
</tr>
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PLATE No. 7

Buddha Relic Casket (Stone, Vaisali)

D.A.M., Bihar
PLATE No. 11(a)  Lomash Rshi cave (Barabar)  ASI, Delhi
PLATE No. 22 (b)  Gold Clip (Vaisālīt)  DAM, Bihar
PLATE No. 29.  
Mother Goddess with weapon symbols on the head  
(Terracotta plaque, Champa, Bhagalpur)
PLATE No. 31
Human Figures (Terracottas, Vaishali)

DAM, Bihar
PLATE No. 37
Snakes (Terracottas, Vaisali)
PLATE No. 40
9 Stone Weights (Vaisālī)

DAM, Bihar
PLATE No. 48 (a)  Bodh Gayā temple with the Bodhi tree

ASI, Delhi
PLATE No. 52 Cakrapurusha (Apsaśad, Late Gupta) Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.
BIHAR DRAINAGE

RIVER BASINS
1. Damodar
2. Subarnarekha
3. South Koel
4. North Koel
5. Shankh