PURANIC CHRONOLOGY

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The position now is this — there is a strong presumption in favour of
tradition ; if any one contests tradition, the burden lies on him to show that
it is wrong ; and till he does that, tradition holds field.

AIHT—PARGITER

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पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिर्गताः ॥ Vy 53, 3
पुराणमेकमेवासीत्तदा कल्पान्तरेऽनघ ।
त्रिवर्गसाधने पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥ 4

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI. = Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute
Ag. = Agnipurāṇa
AIHT = Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter
AMMK = Aryamanjusrimulakalpa
B. = Bappabhaṭṭi
Bḍ. = Brahmāndapurāṇa
Ben Rāj. = Bengli Rājavali
Bg. = Bhāgavatapurāṇa
Bh. = Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
Bht. = Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa
Bly. = Blind Yudhiṣṭhira
Br = Brahmapurāṇa
Brd. = Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa
Brv. = Brahmavaivartapurāṇa
C. = Curtius
CAI. = Chronology of Ancient India by S. N. Pradhan
Ch. = Chandragupta I or II
CHI. = Cambridge History of India
CJ. = Cippaṭa Jayapiḍa
D. = Diodorus
DKA. = Dynasties of Kali Age by Pargiter
GI–GII-GIII. = Gonanda I or II or III
Gḍ. = Garudapurana
G E. = Gupta Era
HJK. = Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka
Hr. = Harivams'a
IHQ. = Indian Historical Quarterly
JBORS. = Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Soicety
K. E. = Kali Era
Kl. = Kalhaṇa
Km. = Kūrmapurāṇa
KR. = Kaliyugarājavṛttānta
Lg. = Liṅgapurāṇa
Mbh. = Mahābhārata
MCM. = Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method

M.E.	=	Mahāvira Era
Mk.	=	Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa
MMK.	=	Mañjuśrimūlakalpa, same as AMMK
Mt.	=	Matsyapurāṇa
Nar.	=	Narasiṁhapurāṇa
Nd.	=	Nāradapurāṇa
NIA.	=	New Indian Antiquary
P.	=	Parikṣit
Par.	=	Pargiter
PHAI.	=	Political History of Ancient India by Raychaudhari
PM.	=	Padmapurāṇa
Raj.	=	Rājataraṅgiṇi by Kalhaṇa
Rgh.	=	Raghuvaṁśa
Rv.	=	Ṛgveda
S.	=	Saptarṣis
SBE.	=	Sacred Books of the East
S. E.	=	Saptarṣi Era
Sk. Raj.	=	Sanskrit Rājāvali
Sp.	=	Satyārthaprakāśa
Sr.	=	Saurapurāṇa
Sv.	=	Śivapurāṇa
Vn.	=	Viṣṇupurāṇa
Y.	=	Yudhiṣṭhira
Y. E.	=	Yudhiṣṭhira Era

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यो विद्याचतुरो वेदान्साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजाः।

न चेत्पुराणं संविद्यान्नैव स स्याद्विचक्षणः॥

Preface

In this volume, I have tried to determine certain epochs of the ancient Indian Chronology from Manu Vaivasvata to the rise of the Guptas. In so doing I have relied upon the Purāṇas and my claim is this that *according to the Purāṇas as they are available today*, we get the following definite information about our Chronology.

(1) In the days of the Mahābhārata i. e. in the days of Parikṣit and Janamejaya they had counted 2800 years as elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to the death of Yudhiṣṭhira.

(2) In the days of Adhisimakṛṣṇa and other 'Sāmprata' kings, they had counted three yugas i. e. 3000 years to have been over from Manu Vaivasvata.

(3) In the days of Śiśunāga and Mahānanda they had counted four yugas i. e. 4000 years as having elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to Śiśugāga and Mahānanda.

Purāṇas show these three periods clearly and definitely and in my opinion, this is amply demonstrated in the following pages.

Again, a study of the Purāṇas has shown that Manu was a dynastic title and Manvantara meant a dynastic period, and taking these senses as well as the evidence furnished by Megasthenes and Herodotus into considesation, it is found that all our present Puranic genealogies upto Nandas and even Āndhras have been constructed on an arbitrary and artificial method, which I have designated as Manvantara — Caturyuga — Method (= MCM). According to this Method one king-name in the genealogies represents a time-unit of 40 years or 20 years. Thus the succession list which is given in the Purāṇas is not reliable *as such*, but this also is certain that a name mentioned in the Puranic genealogies generally guarantees the existence of that person as a king, not necessarily in the same chronological order but most probably in the same family.

This MCM is found employed in the dynastic lists of Kashmir, Nepal and Assam and I have studied these here.

And, combining the evidence of the Purāṇas on the one hand and of Megasthenes and Arrian on the other I have arrived at the following dates.

(1) Date of Manu Vaivasvanta is 5976 B. C.

(2) Date of Mbh war is 3201 B. C.

(3) Date of Yudhiṣṭhira's death is 3176 B. C.

(4) Date of the end of Dvāpara and start of Kali is 2976 B. C.

(5) Date of Kali-end is 1976 B. C.

All this has led me to the conclusion that the contemporary of Alexander was not Chandragupta Maurya, but Chandragupta I of the Gupta Dynasty. For the post-Mbh chronology I wish to emphasise only two points.

(1) Relying on the evidence of Arrian it is shown here that there were three kingless periods of 350 years (between the Saisunāgas and the Nandas), 300 years (between the Mauryas and the Suṅgas) and 120 years (between the Suṅgas and the Kāṇvas) respectively. It is further shown that out of the two Puranic schools, one counted the years of these periods but the other silently omitted them, thus showing so many years less in its general totals.

(2) Taking into consideration Kalhaṇa's date of Mahābhārata, it has been shown, here, that there existed a difference of 653 or 753 years between the two schools and that one school included while the other omitted these years in its calculations.

And, in this light, various dates about the Nirvāṇa of Buddha and Mahāvira as also about some other incidents mentioned in Buddhistic and Jain works have been examined here.●

I am indebted to Shri M. S. Patel and Shri P. C. Vaidya for helping me in seeing this work through the press.

16-12-51.

Vithalbhai Patel Mahavidyalaya   *D. R. Mankad*
Vallabhvidyanagar, via Anand.

● Whoever writes anything about this book is requested to send a copy of his writing to me at the above address.

x

PRRT ONE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं व्यासं ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

It is customary for our Paurāṇikas to commence a Puranic work with the above salutation. I, too, begin this humble work with this time-honoured prayer, in the hope that with the blessings of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, of Sarasvati and Vyāsa, I shall get *jaya* in my present undertaking, which is to reconstruct Puranic chronology.

In reconstructing ancient Indian chronology, it will be convenient to commence with a consideration of the following extracts from two well-known Greek writers. Amongst the fragments of the *Indika* of Megasthenes, the following two are relevant for our purposes. One is from Pliny and the other is from Solinus.

"From the days of Bachhus to Alexander the Great, their kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extended over 6,451 years and three months."[1]

"Father Bachhus was the first who invaded India and was first of all who triumphed over the vanquished Indians. From him to Alexander the Great, 6,451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the interval, to the number of 153."[2]

Following extract is taken from Arrian's *Indika*.

1. Fragments of the *Indika* of Megasthenes collected by Dr. E. H. Schwanback, Bonn 1846 and translated by J. W. MacCrindle, Calcutta, 1926, p. 116 (Fragm L. C. Plin. Hist. Nat.)

2. Ibid p. 115 (Solin 52.5).

"From the time of Dionysos to Sandrocottos, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6,042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established ..... and another of 300 years and another of 120 years."[1]

This information, recorded in 3rd century B. C. by Megasthenes and again in 2nd century A. D. by Arrian, is extremely valuable for our purpose. But as the original work of Magasthenes is lost, we may be tempted to say that quotations given by later writers have very little value. But, when two different writers (Pliny and Solinus) quote from the same source-book and when both the quotations are practically identical, as they are here, we may safely take them to represent the original. But, then, it may be objected that there are contradictory statements in the above extracts. Thus, between Pliny and Solinus one gives the number of kings as 153 and the other as 154. But this is checked up by Arrian's statement, which gives 153 kings and which, therefore, we may take to be the correct number. Again, it may be said that the number of years, given by Megasthenes differs from the one given by Arrian by 409 and this may deter us from relying upon these statements. Again, one talks of the period as having elapsed between Bachhus and Alexander and the other as between Dionysos and Sandrocottos. Are these limits identical? I shall consider these points here before proceeding further.

How did these two Greek writers come to possess the information they have recorded here? In other words, what could have been the source of their information? Such precise numbers as 153 and 6,451 or 6,042 cannot be pure inventions. Evidently, the Greek writers are, here, quoting what their Indian informants told them; and their Indian informants, in all likelihood, were the Paurāṇikas. In fact, in India, apart from the Purāṇas, there is no other source for such information. Therefore, we can safely take it that these Greek writers were supplied with these facts by the Paurāṇikas, as they were recorded in the Purāṇas in their days. But, then, neither the Paurāṇikas nor the Purāṇas could have used the names Bachhus and Dionysos. And still one Greek writer uses the name Bachhus and the other Dionysos. In fact, Megasthenes gives these figures for kings from Bachhus to Alexander and Arrian for kings from Dionysos to Sandrocottos. A question would, naturally, arise

1. From the *Indika* of Arrian, same edition as above, p. 208.

whether both these calculations refer to the period between the same two kings or not. As Sandrocottos was a contemporary of Alexander, we can say that both the writers calculated upto the same period i. e. upto the period of Alexander or upto c. 325 B.C. Thus the lower limit is the same. But are Bachhus and Dionysos the same ? We are, here, not concerned with the Greek mythology. Whatever their respective position be in Greek mythology, here, at any rate, they seem to refer to the same person: for, the number of kings given by both the writers is 153 and if both the calculations end with one and the same king (viz. Sandrocottos), they must start also with one and the same king. Therefore, I think that both Megasthenes and Arrian refer to the same person by Bachhus and Dionysos. But who was this person with whom these calculations started ? As I said above the Indian Purāṇakāras, who gave this information to the Greek travellers, could not have used the names Bachhus and Dionysos. Then what could have been the name given by the Indians to them ? Our Puranic chronology gives us two distinct vaṁśas – one the Svāyambhuva vaṁśa and the other the Vaivasvata vaṁśa. Out of these two, the first was, more or less, taken as divine and all our Puranic dynasties, solar as well as lunar, start with Manu Vaivasvata. I, therefore, think that the Paurāṇikas, who gave to the Greek travellers the above information, counted the period from Manu Vaivasvata to Sandrocottos.

But, if all this information was given from the Purāṇas, we should see if our Purāṇas, as they are to-day, furnish a corroboration of these statements. I shall, therefore, examine the Puranic evidence, in what follows, understanding that the information recorded by Megasthenes and Arrian was based upon Puranic traditions current in their days.[1]

These Greek writers say that from Manu Vaivasvata to Sandrocottos, there had ruled in India 153 kings and their total regnal period was 6,451 or 6,042 years.[2] Let us consider the number of kings first. Our Purāṇas, as we have them to-day, start with Manu

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1. These statements have been considered by many earlier writers. See Fergusson, Shamashastry, Gopal Aiyyar, Narayana Shastri, Jagannath Rao, Dev and others. But no one has attempted to see if the number of kings and years both tally with our traditions.

2. The difference of 409 years between the figures of these writers is apparent only. It will be fully explained later.

Vaivasvata and branch off into Solar and Lunar lines. Both these lines first stop at the Mahābhārata (Mbh) war and then the Solar line goes on for about 30 kings and finally stops. The Lunar line, through its Hastināpura branch, stops after about 30 kings, but through its Magadha line, goes on down to the end of the Āndhras. Now, Sandrocottos, who was a contemporary of Alexander, was a king of Magadha. Therefore, the king, with whom the number 153 was completed, was a Magadha king. Now, Magadha branch, in all the Purāṇas, is always put in direct continuation of the Lunar line. The Magadha king, who died in the Mbh war, was Sahadeva, the son of Jarāsandha. His number from Manu Vaivasvata, as found in different Purāṇas to-day, ranges between 48 and 36.[1]

Thus we get 48 to 36 kings before the Mbh war. Then, for the post-Mbh Magadhan dynasties, I give below the number of kings for each dynasty as found in Pargiter's *Texts of Kali Dynasties* and also as found in *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*[2] (Bht) (as quoted in M. Krishnamachariar's *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. xxviii) I should point out that Pargiter's text represents the concensus of *Vy, Bd, Vn* and *Mt.*

	Pargiter	Bht
Bārhadrathas	22	22
Pradyotas	5	5
Śaiśunāgas	10	10
Nandas	9	9
	46	46
Mauryas	10	12
Śuṅgas	10	10
Kāṇvas	4	4
Āndhras	30	32
	100	104

Here we find that both the schools are agreed in their numbers for all the dynasties but two. For the Mauryas Pargiter gives 10 kings and Bht gives 12 and for the Āndhras Pargiter gives 30 and Bht gives 32. Out of this, for the Mauryas, most of the sources of Pargiter give 9 or 10 kings but one source (evā) gives 12 also. Thus the tradition of 12 kings for the Mauryas is

1. Thus: 36 (*At*); 39 (*Bg*); 41 (*Vs*); 44 (*Hr*); 46 (*Vy*), (*Bd*), (*Gd*); and 48 (*Mt*).
2. I shall discuss later the genuineness of this Purāṇa.

not restricted to Bht only. Number 32 for the Āndhras as given in Bht, is not noted by Pargiter anywhere. But this shows that the difference between the two schools is, at the most, of two to four kings and that, too, amongst the dynasties after the Nandas. Thus we get 46 kings, according to both the schools, upto the end of the Nandas and 100 to 104 kings upto the end of the Āndhras. Now, this shows that Chandragupta Maurya, who succeeded the Nandas, and whom we almost unanimously take to have been the contemporary of Alexander and therefore the same as Sandrocottos of the Greek writers, was 47th after Sahadeva. Therefore, the number of Chandragupta Maurya from Manu Vaivasvata will be 48 (number of Sahadeva) + 47 = 95th at the most. But, as we have seen above, both Megasthenes and Arrian say that Sandrocottos was 153rd from Manu Vaivasvata. How is this to be explained? Either the information recorded by the Greek writers is wrong or the Purāṇas as we possess them to-day are wrong. But I think that the figure 153 is correct. Both Megasthenes and Arrian independently give the same figure. It cannot be said that Arrian is here following Megasthenes, as the number of years given by both differs by 409. Therefore, these two statements are distinctly based upon two independent traditions. And because both give the number of kings as 153, that number, I think, is correct. Are, then, our present Purāṇas incorrect? I do not think that to be the case either.

We know that, of late, some scholars have advocated[1] that the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, and not Chandragupta Maurya. We should, therefore, in all fairness, go down to Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and count the number of kings from Manu Vaivasvata to him. The above table shows that the number of the last Āndhra king was 100th after the Mbh war, according to one school and 104th according to the other school. Therefore, the number of Chandragupta I, who succeeded the last Āndhra was either 101st or 105th from after Sahadeva. And we have seen that Sahadeva's own number from Manu Vaivasvata was 36th, 39th, 41st, 44th, 46th or 48th. If we take his number to be 48th according to Mt, we get (48 + 105 =) 153rd as the number of Chandragupta I from Manu Vaivasvata. And that is the number given to Sandrocottos by the Greek writers. The disorderly nature of the texts

1. T. S. N. Shastri; M. Krishnamachariar, Jagannath Rao, D. S. Triveda and some others.

of the different Purāṇas will be examined by me later; but let us,
here, remember that the number 153 tallies (at least according to
one Purāṇa) with Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and not
with Chandragupta Maurya, according to any Purāṇa. Thus we
find that the number of kings given by the Greek writers in the
above extracts, is actually found corroborated by our present
Purāṇas and this suggests that the Magadhan contemporary of
Alexander the Great was not Chandragupta Maurya, but Chandra-
gupta I of the Gupta dynasty.

Let us, now, see if the number of years i. e. 6,451 years given
by Megasthenes did elapse between these 153 kings i. e. between
Manu Vaivasvata and Chandragupta Maurya or Chandragupta I.
Our Purāṇas give us totals of the regnal periods of different
dynasties that ruled after the Mbh war, but for the dynasties of the
pre-Mbh period they give us no regnal periods. Let us, therefore,
first consider the question of the regnal periods of the different
post-Mbh Magadhan dynasties as they are found in the Purāṇas
to-day. I give below a consolidated table of the totals of the regnal
periods of post-Mbh dynasties as found in Pargiter's texts and
as found in *Bht*.

	Pargiter	Bht
Bārhadrathas	1,000	1,000
Pradyotas	138	138
Śaiśunāgas	360	362
Nandas	100	100
	1,598	1,600
Mauryas	137	316
Śuṅgas	112	300
Kāṇvas	45	85
Āndhras	456	506
Āndhrabhṛtyas[1]	52	...
	2,400	2,807

It will be seen that whereas Pargiter's texts give upto the rise
of the Guptas, a maximum total of 2,400 years, Bht gives 2,807.
Thus the difference between the two schools is of 407 years. But
before proceeding further, I should mention that *Bht* totals given
above are taken from the *Classical Sanskrit Literature* by M.
Krishnamachariar, and recently it is maintained by some scholars[2]

1. I have included these here, because I think that the figure 506 found
in Bht for the Āndhras includes these years.

2. R.C. Majmudar and N. N. Dasgupta in *IHQ.* xx. 4, p. 345 ff.

that this *Bht* is not reliable and is not genuine. There is some truth in this view, but this whole question has a history, which is very important for our purposes.

It was Mr. T. S. Narayan Shastri, who, in his the '*Kings of Magadha*' (published in 1916 ?) had, for the first time, printed and discussed these verses, which are quoted by Krishnamachariar. Mr. Shastri declared that he possessed a Ms of *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* (KR) as given in *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*, from which he had quoted these verses. I have found that these same verses have been used by Krishnamachariar in his '*Classical Sanskrit Literature*' by Mr. Jagannatha Rao in his the '*Age of the Mahābhārata war*' and by some other writers; but almost all of them have never acknowledged that they have drawn these verses from Shastri's book.

Mr. Shastri's original work shows his scholarship, his fresh outlook, his original interpretative powers and sincere enthusiasm for our ancient Indian culture. I shall, therefore, explain the whole position as I have understood it from a close study of his work.

Mr. Shastri seems to have thought that the traditional date of the Mbh war viz 3101 B.C. was correct. Now so far as our tradition goes, 3101 B. C. as the date of the Mbh war has been found current from a long time past. At the same time, we should admit that there is one other date – 2448 B.C. – for the Mbh war, which is accepted by Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī. Thus, our tradition knows of two dates for the Mbh war – 3101 B.C. and 2448 B.C. A third date is sometimes obtained by the modern scholars in an indirect manner. Our Purāṇas give the number of years that had elapsed from the time of Parikṣit's birth to Mahāpadma Nanda's accession. But the Puranic texts, at this point are confused and they give figures like 1,050, 1,150, 1500. And the modern scholars, accepting the lowest figure as correct, and putting Mahāpadma Nanda in c. 327 B.C. say that the Mbh war was fought in c. 1400 B. C. This presupposes the synchronism between Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander; but, we have just noted that this synchronism has been disputed by some scholars. In fact, there is not a single statement in our vast ancient literature, which directly puts the Mbh war in 1400 B.C. Therefore, to one who wishes to rely upon genuine traditions, and then to examine other literary evidence in that light, there are only two dates known for the Mbh war – 3101 B.C. and 2448 B C. Out of these two dates, 3101 B.C.

is known to have been used earlier than Kalhaṇa, who, for the first time advocates the date 2448 B.C. Of course, it is not unlikely that it was known before the days of Kalhaṇa.[1] Any way, so far as Mr. Shastri is concerned, he has taken 3101 B.C. as the correct date and then tried to examine, on that basis, the synchronism, established by the modern scholars, between Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander.

The question for him was this: if we put the Mbh war in 3101 B.C., who was the king ruling in Magadha in 327 B.C., *purely* according to the Puranic evidence? To answer this, we must examine the various Kali or post-Mbh dynasties given in the Purāṇas. Mr. Shastri has done this in his book, and I put his results below with my own remarks thereon. He takes 3101 B.C. as the date of the Kali-start and as Kali had started with the death of Kṛṣṇa and Yudhisthira, 3101 B.C. is the date of Yudhisthira's death. Now, Yudhisthira is said to have ruled for 35 years. Therefore the Mbh war, Mr. Shastri urged, had been fought in 3101 + 35 = 3136 B.C. Thus Mr. Shastri starts his post-Mbh chronology with 3136 B.C. He, then, takes up the total regnal periods of the various dynasties that ruled over Magadha after the Mbh war.

Now, our Purāṇas give, for each of the post-Mbh dynasties, the regnal periods of each individual king as well as the general total of the reigns of the whole dynasty. Sometimes, it is urged that the Purāṇas show discrepancy when we total up individual regnal periods and compare them with the general totals (of the whole dynasty). But I must say that I have studied this question in detail and have found that this discrepancy is found only if we accept the readings with the lowest figures. I know (and it will be clear later on) that if we adopt proper readings, the total of the individual rules and that of the whole dynastic rule agree very well. Having, thus, cleared this point, let us, now, proceed.

After the Mbh war, the Purāṇas unanimously give 1,000 years to the Bârhadrathas, 138 years to the Pradyotas, 360 or 362 years to the Saisunâgas and 100 years to the Nandas. Thus according to these totals, given in all the Purāṇas uniformly Chandragupta Maurya came to the throne 1,600 years after the Mbh war. Putting

1. I have, later, examined in detail the question of the initial year of Kali Era.

the Mbh war in 3136 B. C., as Mr. Shastri does, we get 3136 —
1600 = 1536 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession.
But our scholars do not take 1500 years as the correct figure for
the first three post-Mbh dynasties i. e. upto the accession of
Mahāpadma Nanda. They rely upon a verse (found in all our
Purāṇas), which reads as under :

महापद्माभिषेकातु याबज्जन्म परीक्षित : ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् । (Pargiter p. 58)

This verse gives 1,050 years from Parikṣit's birth (i. e. Mbh war)
to Mahāpadma's accession and above we have seen that according to
the totals of the first three dynasties, we get 1,500 years for the
same period. Thus, here, we seem to come in conflict with two diffe-
rent Puranic texts. But, I should, here, point out that even accori-
ing to Pargiter the last line of the above verse has a reading
like pañcaśatottaram which gives just 1,500 years for this period.
Therefore, in order to have conformity, we should accept this
reading, and not the one accepted by Pargiter. But the modern
sch olars accept the wrong reading and then complain of discrepancy
in the Puranic texts. Mr· Shastri, has accepted 1,500 years for this
period, as it is an authentic reading according to the Purāṇas.

Thus, putting the Mbh war in 3136 B. C., Mr. Shastri found
that Chandragupta Maurya, according to the Purāṇas, came to the
throne in 1536 B. C. Therefore, he said that Chandragupta
Maurya was the contemporary of Alexander. Now, it should
be remembered that so far, that is, upto the end of the Nandas,
all the Purāṇas are unanimous in their totals for the different
dynasties and the totals given from KR by Shastri also agree with
these totals. Therefore, even if KR is a forgery, there should be no
difficulty in accepting the figures given by all the existing
Purāṇas unanimously. Even if we put the Mbh war in 2448 B· C.
according to Kalhaṇa and others, Chandragupta Maurya's accession,
according to this calculation, will have to be put in 848 B. C. and
thus also he cannot be taken to be Alexander's contemporary.

Thus, so far the position is this. Purely from the standpoint of
Indian Brahmanic tradition, Chandragupta Maurya lived much ear-
lier than 327 B. C. Thus, by examining the traditional evidence, Mr.
Shastri came to the conclusion, first, nagatively, that Chandragupta

Maurya could not have been the contemporary of Alexander and then, positively, that it was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, who was Alexander's contemporary. Before I examine the evidence relied upon by Mr. Shastri, for the period subsequent to the Nandas, I must emphasise the fact that it is only after disregarding Brahmanic traditional evidence altogether and that too most unceremoniously that the modern scholars obtain the syrchronism between Chandragupta Maurya, and Alexander. Now let us proceed.

If Chandragupta Maurya was not the contemporary of Alexander, who else was his contemporary at Magadha ? The names Xandrames and Sandrocottos found in the writings of the Greek writers point to a name like Chandragupta. If, therefore, a Chandragupta was the contemporary of Alexander and if he was not Chandragupta Maurya he must have been Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, as the earliest Chandragupta (after the Maurya Chandragupta) of whom we know in our history, was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. We should, therefore, just see whether he could have been Alexander's contemporary or not. If he was, he must be placed in c. 327 B C. Therefore he should be removed from the Mbh war by about (3136 (taking that to be the date of the war) – 327=) 2,809 years. According to the Purāṇas, the Guptas come after the Āndhras. Therefore, we should see if the Purāṇas give about 2,809 years for the post-Mbh dynasties up to the end of the Āndhras. A study of the Puranic texts, as given in Pargiter's Kali texts and as are generally found in our printed Purāṇas, shows the following. Just after the Mbh war, Bārhadrathas ruled for 1,000 years, Pradyotas for 138 years, Saisunāgas for 360 years, Nandas for 100 years, Mauryas for 137 years, Sungas for 112 years, Kāṇvas for 45 years and Āndhras for 456 years. This gives us a total of 2,348 years and not of 2,809 years.

It is just at this point that Mr. Shastri's KR is said to differ from the other Purāṇas. Following table will make this difference clear.

	Acc. to P's texts	Acc. to KR	Difference
Bārhadrathas	1,000	1,000	—
Pradyotas	138	138	—
Saisunāgas	360	362	2 years
Nandas	100	100	—
Mauryas	137	316	179 years
Sungas	112	300	188 years
Kāṇvas	45	85	40 years
Āndhras	456	506	50 years
	2,348	2,807	459

This table shows that KR differs from Pargiter's texts in the case of the Saisunāgas by 2 years, in the case of the Mauryas by 179 years, in the case of the Sungas by 188 years, in the case of the Kāṇvas by 40 years and in the case of the Āndhras by 50 years. And we find that the figures according to KR give us a total of 2,807 years, which is practically the same as 2,809 which would be required according to Mr. Shastri's calculations, if Chandragupta I was Alexander's contemporary. Difference of 2 years would only mean that Chandragupta I came to the throne in 329 B. C. and not in 327 B. C.

Now, because we find that the verses regarding the Guptas as given by Mr. Shastri from KR are forged (and I admit that certain details given in those verses are really suspicious), we are likely to say that these totals for different dynasties as given according to KR, are also forged. But before rejecting those figures summarily, I suggest that we should hear what Mr. Shastri himself has said about them. I should point out that Mr. Shastri himself has shown that at all the places, where a difference is found between his figures and those of other Purāṇas, his figures i. e. the figures of KR are supported by one or the other known Purāṇa. I have myself verified Mr. Shastri's arguments and statements and I give below the whole position about these dynasties as I find it.

Mr. Shastri gives 362 years for the Saisunāgas, while the other Purāṇas give 360 to them. But even according to Pargiter (p. 22 fn. 46), certain mss of Vāyu and Viṣṇu give 362 to the Saisunāgas.

Regarding the Mauryas, we find that Pargiter's texts give them 137 years and Shastri's KR gives them 316 years. Mr. Shastri says the following in support of his figure (The kings of Magadha p. 66).

" There is however another version of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa which mentions the names of all these 12 kings and total number of years for which they reigned makes up exactly 316 years. Miss Cl Mabel Duff in her Table of the Maurya Dynasty appended to her Chronology of India refers to a version of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa in which the names of 11 kings are mentioned omitting the name of Indrapalita who ruled for 70 years: and the number of years given to each of these kings exactly tallies with this version [i. e. KR] excepting the fact that Chandragupta is assigned only 24 years instead of 34 years and Nandasāra only 25 years instead of 28 years as we have in this version."

And I should add that Pargiter's *eva* (e ms of Vāyu) also gives the same figures as are given by Miss Duff. So that what Mr. Shastri says is quite plausible and we have to admit that the tradition of about 316 (if not exactly 316) years was known to at least two of the known Purāṇas

Mr. Shastri's *KR* gives 300 years to the Śungas, while Pargiter's texts give them 112 years. Here also, as Mr. Shastri has pointed out, some of the Purāṇas do read 'sate dve ca' i. e. 100 plus 200 i. e. 300 years in all. Pargiter also notes this reading (sate dve) in fn 50, p. 33.

Regarding the Kāṇvas, Pargiter gives 45 years and KR gives 85 years. Here also Mr. Shastri has noted a reading of *Viṣṇu* thus (p. 86-7).

एते चत्वारिंशत् काण्वायनाभत्वार: पञ्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति ।

And Shastri has taken this to mean $40 + 45 = 85$ years for the four Kāṇvas. I should only add that a similar reading is noted by Pargiter also (p. 35 fn 29).

Thus, though it is true that the figures given for these dynasties by Mr. Shastri's *KR* differ from Pargiter's texts, it is equally true that there are other genuine readings which support the figures given by Mr. Shastri. So that, even if we say that the talk of *KR* is altogether fabricated by Mr. Shastri, we can still not get away from the fact that there seem to have been two distinct traditions regarding the regnal periods of these dynasties. This is supported by the following also.

It will be seen from the table given above that for the Mauryas, the Śungas and the Kāṇvas, there is a difference of 407 years between the two traditions. Later on we shall see that the Nandas ruled for about 87 and not for 100 years. And thus this difference will be of 420 years. It will also be seen later that there were two kingless periods of $300 + 120 = 420$ years somewhere between these dynasties and that one tradition included and the other did not include these 420 years in its totals. For this I, here, note only one proof; later the matter will become fully clear. Usual figure for the Śungas is 112 years and as is pointed out by Pargiter, if we include months, (p. 30) then 118 years. Now jmt (j. ms. of Matsya) gives 538 years to the Śungas (see Pargiter's texts p. 33, fn 50), i. e. exactly 420 years more than the usual figure. This, I suggest, includes 420 years of the two kingless periods (of which we shall soon talk).

Thus we do find two distinct schools upto the end of the Kāṇvas. Then for the Āndhras, Pargiter gives 456 and KR gives 506 years. The difference of 50 years is, I think, caused by the inclusion of 50 or 52 years of the Āndhrabhṛtyas.

Thus, without passing a judgment about the genuineness or otherwise of Mr. Shastri's KR, we have to admit that our Puranic tradition knows of two distinct versions and according to one of these versions, the total of the post-Mbh dynasties upto the end of the Āndhras is 2,348 years and according to the other version 2,807 years.

Having thus established the existence of two distinct schools, let us now consider the number of years given by the Greek writers.

We find from the above that between the Mbh war and Chandragupta Maurya, there had elapsed, according to one school 1, 8 years, and according to another 1,600 years and between the Mbh war and Chandragupta I, there had elapsed, according to one school 2,348 years and according to another school 2,807 years. Therefore, in order to have 6,451 years between Manu Vaivasvata and Chandragupta Maurya, we shall require for the pre-Mbh period upto Manu Vaivasvata, either $(6,451 - 1,598 =)$ 4,853 years or $(6,451 - 1600 =)$ 4,851 years, and between Manu Vaivasvata and Chandragupta I, we shall require, for the pre-Mbh period upto Manu Vaivasvata, either $(6,451 - 2,348 =)$ 4,103 years or $(6,451 - 2,807 =)$ 3,644 years. Is there any evidence to show that there had elapsed between Manu Vaivasvata and the Mbh war, a period of 4853 or 4,851 or 4,103 or 3,644 years?

It is really unfortunate that the Puranic texts do not give us regnal years of the kings of the pre-Mbh dynasties. It is rather strange that they should not. Did the practice arise only after the Mbh war? There is hardly any positive evidence for answering this question. But I should submit that there are definite indications in the Purāṇas for calculating the regnal periods of the kings of the pre-Mbh dynasties.

One method of calculating time-intervals was the yuga-system. yuga-system seems to have changed its scope and nature several times. At one time, it seems to have been used for computing historical intervals of time. Later, it came to be used for astronomical purposes and in between somewhere, the whole system of yugas was given a

religio-ethical basis. But here we are concerned with the use of yuga-system for computing historical periods. All our Puranic tradition loudly proclaims that the Mbh war was fought either at the end of Dvāparayuga or during the Sandhyā period between the Dvāpara and Kali yugas. But this raises the question of the number of years to be assigned to each yuga.

Usual number of years assigned to each yuga is as under:— Kṛta = 17,28,000 years, Tretā = 12,96,000 years, Dvāpara = 8,64,000 years and Kali = 4,32,000 years. But all the scholars who have studied this question of yuga-system have agreed that these huge numbers of years assigned to yugas are for astronomical purposes and that for historical purposes the number of years for each of the yugas was as under: Kṛta = 4,800 years, Tretā = 3,600 years, Dvāpara = 2,400 and Kali = 1,200 years[1]. I have in this connection, shown[2] that Āryabhaṭṭa and Puliṣa preserve a tradition of each yuga having an equal number of years; and therefore, I have suggested the possibility of each yuga having 1,000 years only or with Sandhyā periods of 200 years, 1200 years only. In fact, I have discussed this question of yuga-system in some details and I have appended the whole discussion at the end of this volume.[2]

But thus, we get four sets of number of years for the yugas as under:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)
Kṛta	17,28,000	4,800	1,200	1,000
Tretā	12,96,000	3,600	1,200	1,000
Dvāpara	8,64,000	2,400	1,200	1,000
Kali	4,32,000	1,200	1,200	1,000

Let us now apply each one of these to our present enquiry. Taking the Mbh war to have happened at the end of Dvāpara (as it is very generally believed), and putting Manu Vaivasvata at the beginning of Kṛta, we should take the total of the first three yugas as the total regnal period for the pre-Mbh dynasties from Vaivasvata to Sahadeva (the Magadha king who died in the Mbh war). Now, according to the first computation above, we shall have 38,88,000 years for the first three yugas. But this figure does not tally with any of the four figures (viz 4,853, 4,851, 4,103, 3,644) arrived at above.

1. Rangacarya, Aiyyar, Tilak.
2. See further Pt IV. *The yugas.*

According to the second computaion, we shall have 10,800 years for the first three yugas, but this also does not satisfy any of the above four figures. According to the third computation, we shall have 3,600 years and according to the fourth computation 3,000 years for the first three yugas. Out of these two, the figure 3,600 is nearest to 3,644 years, which we wanted for the pre-Mbh period, according to one calculation. In fact we have found above that if we can have 3,644 years for the pre-Mbh period upto Manu Vaivasvata, the figure of 6,451 years given by Megasthenes will be correct. Here we get 3,600 years for the first three yugas, which cover the period of pre-Mbn kings upto Manu Vaivasvata, we have earlier got, according to one Puranic version 2,807 years for the post Mbh period upto Chandragupta I (not Chandragupta Maurya). Thus we get 3,600+2,807=6,407 years in in all from Manu Vaivasvata to Chandragupta I. The total given by Megasthenes is more by 44 years. These 44 years will be accounted for by me later on. I shall, later, go into all the details of the pre-Mbh and post-Mbh dynasties and the different calculations given in different purāṇas: but we may, at present, note that even this rough calculation, based upon yuga-system shows that the traditions recorded by Megasthenes tally quite well with the Puranic evidence which we posses even now. However, at this stage, I request the reader to consider all the above considerations as rough only.

CHAPTER TWO

MANVANTARA–CATURYUGA–METHOD

[THE THEORY]

BUT the figure of 6,451 years is arrived at in some other way also. In fact, I have found that there was a very peculiar device resorted to by our Puranic chronologists for counting longer chronological periods. This peculiar device, I find, is enunciated in clear terms by Megasthenes. I shall re-quote the passage from Solinus.

"From him (*i. e.* Bachhus) to Alexander the Great, 6,451 years are reckoned with three months additional, *the calculation being made by counting the kings that reigned in the intermediate period,* to the number of 153."

Here, I wish to draw attention to the italicised portion in the above extract. It seems to mean that we can calculate 6,451 years by counting the kings i. e. the number of kings that ruled in the intermediate period. But how can we know a total (dynastic) regnal period by simply counting the kings who ruled during that period? And yet, if the above statement is to bear any sense, it should mean that the ancient Indians used to reckon a given dynastic regnal period by counting the number of kings, who ruled in the interval. The statement almost means — there had elapsed 6,451 years between Bachhus and Alexander, because 153 kings had ruled between them. The statement looks senseless and yet, we can find the total dynastic regnal period by counting the number of intermediate kings, if (and only if) the kings represented some time-unit. Therefore to me, this statement seems to say that the Indians had evolved some method of computing longer regnal periods and that this method was to give the required number of time-units represented by king-names, for computing

the total regnal period. Thus each king-name will have a time-value. But then the question will be what was this time-value. We seem to get an indirect answer to this from the Greek writers themselves. Megasthenes gives 153 kings for 6,451 years, which gives an average of 42.2 years, per king. Arrian gives 153 kings for 6,042 years, which gives an average of 39.6 years per king. I, therefore, take it that the time-value given to each king-name in the genealogical lists was of 40 years.

Of course, this whole device looks and is artificial, but it seems to have been noted by a Muslim traveller in the ninth century. The Muslim traveller Suleman Sodagar (A. D 851) writes:[1]

इन के यहाँ अरब निवासियों की तरह तारीख की गणना हजरत मुहम्मद साहब के समय से नहीं है, बल्कि तारीख का सम्बन्ध राजाओं के साथ है ।

Here also the portion, in black types, most probably, connects the calculation of time with the kings.

But, I wish to submit that artificial as the whole device is, it is positively found used in other countries. Read in this connection, the following from Herodotus is interesting.[2]

"They declare that from their first king to the last-mentioned monarch, the priest of Vulcan, was a period of three hundred and forty-one generations. Such, at least they say was the number both of their kings and of their high-priests during this interval. Now three hundred generations of men make ten thousand years, three generations filling up the century; and the remaining forty-one generations make thirteen hundred and forty years, Thus the whole number of years is eleven thousand, three hundred and forty."

Here, Herodotus tells us in clearest terms that the ancient Egyptian chronologists took 3 king-names to represent 100 years; thus a king-name, in Egyptian chronology will represent a unit of 33.33 years. This shows clearly that such an artificial system of chronological computation did exist in ancient times in Egypt, particularly when we find the same number (341) of generations given for the kings and the priests both. The above statements of Megasthenes and Suleman show that it existed in India also. Only, ancient Indian chronologists seem to have taken a king-name to represent a time unit of 40 years.

1. I quote this from *Vaidika Vaṅmaya ka itihasa* pt I by Bhagavaddatta p. 31.

2. *History of Herodotus*. G. Rawlinson, London. 1892, p. 189.

But all this would naturally raise the question of the source of Megasthenes' information about this peculiar device. Did the Puranic informants inform Megasthenes that they were using such a method for computing longer regnal periods ? Megasthenes' statement is unmistakable, and the only inference therefrom would be that the Purāṇas have actually used such a method and Megasthenes was informed of it by the Paurāṇikas. But, if it is so, why do we not find this method mentioned in the present Purāṇas ? Here, I should submit that this whole question is linked up with the question of Manvantara and caturyuga.

We find that Manvantara is one of the five lakṣaṇas of a Purāṇa. Apart from sarga and pratisarga, each of the Purāṇas is supposed to have vaṅśa, vaṅśānucarita and manvantara. Vaṅśa, of course, means genealogical tables of different dynasties. Vaṅśānucarita would mean noteworthy points in the lives of certain kings of these dynasties. What, then, is Manvantara ? Manvantara, here, is evidently not used in its astronomical sense. Apparently, it should have, as a lakṣaṇa of Purāṇa, some connection with vaṅśa and vaṅśānucarita, particularly because it is not connected there, with yuga, kalpa etc. I, therefore, here, examine the entire question of Manvantara as it is employed in the Purāṇas.

Our Purāṇas, usually, speak of 14 Manvantaras. Let us understand what Manvantara meant in the Purāṇas. My study has shown to me that at least in relation to vaṅśa and vaṅśānu-carita, Manvantara was not a unit of astronomical calculations. Manvantara is a word composed of two words viz. Manu and antara. Let us, therefore first understand the sense of Manu.

Manu, I have found, was a generic dynastic title like Caesar, Gaekwad etc. Manu, thus, was a title designating king's office. Following are the grounds on which I say this.

(1) Usually we hear of 14 Manus only, but if Manu was a generic title like Caesar, Gaekwad, as each king of that dynasty would be called Caesar (like Julius Caesar, Augustus Caesar etc), so each king in ancient dynasties would be called Manu. And we find Priyavrata (who is definitely not one of the 14 Manus) being called a Manu in Bg v. 1, 22.

(2) Again Mbh speaks of a Prācetasa Manu (not one of 14 Manus) (Shānti 57, 43). Prācetasas are one step above Dakṣa.

(3) Again amongst Ṛgveda-ṛṣis, we find two ṛṣis named Manu Saṁvaraṇa, author of IX, 101, (10—13) and Manu Āpsava, author of XI, 109, (7—9). Both of these are not found in the names of the 14 Manus.

(4) In *Vy* we find 36 Manus mentioned.

अयं यो वर्तते कल्पो विश्वरूपस्त्वसौ स्मृतः ।

यस्मिन्नभवादयो देवाः षट्त्रिंशन्मनवः स्मृताः ॥ 23rd, 47.

(5) In the following *Manutva* is very clearly used in the sense of Manu-ship or kingship.

वासावस्मिन्महाकल्पे तनयः स विवस्वतः ।

श्राद्धदेवो इति ख्यातो मनुत्वे हरिणार्पितः ॥ *Bg.* VIII, 24, 7.

Here, *Manutva* is very clearly used in the sense of the office of a Manu.

(6) According to ancient Iranian tradition, Narsih, the brother of Yima, was called the Minos of Chino (see *S. B. E.* V, 130-1). Here Minos is clearly an official title and it is quite clear that Mino-s and our Manu are the same words.

I, therefore, think that Manu, at any rate in our very early tradition, had the sense of generic title of a king and therefore every king would be entitled Manu.[1]

But, though it is, thus, possible that Manu was a generic title for a king and therefore each and every king would be called Manu, our Puranic tradition seems to have selected some 14 kings for being designated by this term. In fact, a study of the names of these 14 Manus reveals certain matters of historical importance. It is found that whereas the first 7 or 8 Manus were historical personages, the last 7 or 6 Manus were not historical. Let us see how the matter stands.

All the Purāṇas are unanimous in naming the first eight Manus thus: Svayambhū, Svarociṣ, Uttama, Tamas, Revat, Cakṣuṣa Vaivasvata and Sāvarni. But there is some divergence seen in the names of the next six Manus. I shall, therefore, quote relevant passages from the Purāṇas.

1. Compare उपरोक्त विवेचनसे हम इस परिणाम पर पहुंचे है कि मनु नाम कोई व्यक्तिविशेष नहीं हुआ, अपि तु यह एक उपाधिवाचक शब्द है. यह उपाधि अति प्राचीन कालमें प्रतापी तथा विजयी राजाओं अथवा नेताओं को दी जाती थी. यही कारण है कि जैन शास्त्रोमें श्री ऋषभदेवजी तथा भरतजी को मनुकी उपाधि दी गई है

भारतका आदिसम्राट, स्वामी कर्मानन्द (पृ. ४२)

Brahma Purāṇa

Two passages are quoted from this Purāṇa, for both show some divergence from each other.

(1)—(5th adhyāya)

स्वायम्भुवो मनुः पूर्वं मनुः स्वारोचिषस्तथा ।
उत्तमस्तामसश्चैव रैवताख्युयस्तथा ॥ ४ ॥
वैवस्वतश्च भो विप्राः सांप्रतं मनुरुच्यते ।
सावर्णिश्च मनुस्तद्वैभ्यो रौच्यस्तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥
तथैव मेरुसावर्ण्यश्चत्वारो मनवः स्मृताः ॥

(2)—(5th adhyāya)

सावर्णा मनवो विप्राः पञ्च तांश्च निबोधत ।
एका वैवस्वतस्तेयां चत्वारास्तु प्रजापतेः ॥ ४९ ॥
परमेष्ठिसुता विप्रा मेरुसावर्ण्यतां गताः ।
दक्षस्यैते हि दौहित्राः प्रियायाम्तनया नृपाः ॥ ५० ॥
महता तपसा युक्ता मेरुपृष्ठे महौजसः ।
रुचेः प्रजापतेः पुत्रो रौच्यो नाम मनुः स्मृतः ॥ ५१ ॥
भूत्यां चोत्पादितो देव्यां भौत्यो नाम रुचेः सुतः ।
अनागताश्च सप्तैते कल्पेऽस्मिन्मनवः स्मृताः ॥ ५२ ॥

Mārkaṇḍeya (53rd adhyāya)

प्रैते मनवोऽतीतास्तथा वैवस्वतेऽधुना ॥ ७ ॥
सावर्णाः पञ्च रौच्याश्च भौत्याश्चागामिनस्त्वमी ॥

Harivaṁśa (8th adhyāya)

वैवस्वतश्च कौरव्य साम्प्रतो मनुरुच्यते ।
सावर्णिश्च मनुस्तात भौत्यो रौच्यस्तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥
तथैव मेरुसावर्णाश्चत्वारो मनवः स्मृताः ।

Nāradīya (Pūrvārdha, 40th)

वैवस्वतो मनुश्चैव सूर्यसावर्णिरग्रजः ।
नवमो दक्षसावर्णिः सर्वदेवहिते रतः ॥ २१ ॥
दशमो मह्रसावर्णिर्मेरुसावर्णिकस्ततः ।
ततस्तु रुद्रसावर्णिः रौच्यो मनुस्ततः स्मृः ॥ २२ ॥
भौत्यश्चतुर्दशः प्रोक्त एते हि मनवः स्मृताः ।

Kalki (3, 5)

नवमो दक्षसावर्णिस्त्रिग्वसावर्णिकस्ततः ।

दशमो धर्मसावर्णि रेकादशः स उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥

रुद्रसावर्णिकस्तत्र मनुर्वैं द्वादशः स्मृतः ।

त्रयोदशो मनुर्वेंदसावर्णिलोकविश्रुतः ॥ १० ॥

चतुर्दशेन्द्रसावर्णिरिते तव विभूतयः ।

Brahmavaivarta (2, 54)

सावर्णिः सूर्यतनयो वैष्णवो मनुरुत्तमः ॥ ६१ ॥

नवमो दक्षसावर्णि विष्णुव्रतपरायणः ।

दशमो ब्रह्मसावर्णिर्ब्रह्मज्ञानविशारद ॥ ६२ ॥

तच्च धर्मसावर्णिमंनुरेकादश स्मृतः ।

यमिष्ठश्च वरिष्ठिन वैष्णवस्तत्पर स्मृतः ॥ ६३ ॥

ह.मी च रुद्रसावर्णिमंनुरेव त्रयोदशः ॥ ६४ ॥

चतुर्दशो महाज्ञानी चन्द्रसावर्णि रेव च ।

Liṅga (7th adhyāya, पूर्वार्द्ध)

It gives the following : स्वायम्भुव, स्वारोचिष, औत्तम, तामस, रैवत, चाक्षुष, वैवस्वत सावर्णि, धर्मसावर्णि, पिश्ंग, अपिश्ंगाभ, शबल, वर्णक, औकारान्त अकाराद्य ।

Moreover, वर्णतो मनव:—श्वेत, पाण्डु, रक्त, ताम्र, पीत, कपिल, कृष्ण, इयाम, धूम्र, सुधूम्र, अपिश्ंग, पिश्ंग, शबल, कालंक्षुर ।

Let us tabulate the traditions found in these passages, as also in some other Purāṇas.

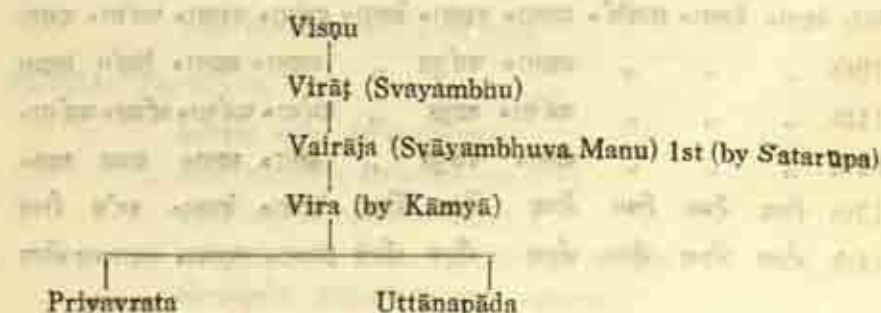| Manu	Br.	Hr.	Mk.	Nd.	Gd.	Sv.	Kl.	BrV.	Lg.	Vn.
9th	मेरुसा॰	मेरुसा॰	सावर्णि॰	दक्षसा॰	दक्षसा॰	मेरुसा॰	दक्षसा॰	दक्षसा॰	धर्मसा॰	दक्षसा॰
10th	,,	,,	,,	ब्रह्मसा॰	धर्मपुत्र	,,	ब्रह्मसा॰	ब्रह्मसा॰	पिश्ंग	ब्रह्मसा॰
11th	,,	,,	,,	धर्मसा॰	रुद्रपुत्र	,,	धर्मसा॰	धर्मसा॰	अपिश॰	धर्मसा॰
12th	,,	,,	,,	रुद्रसा॰	दक्षपुत्र	,,	रुद्रसा॰	रुद्रसा॰	शबल	रुद्रस॰
13th	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	रौच्य	वेदसा॰	देवसा॰	वर्णक	रौच्य
14th	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	भौत्य	इन्द्रसा॰	चन्द्रसा॰	अकारान्त	भौत्य
										अकाराद्य

From the above table it will be clear that *Br.*, *Mk.*, *Hr.*, *Sv.*, *Vn.* and *Nd.* represent one tradition which calls the 8th to 12th Manus as Sāvarni Manus. Out of these, 8th is called by all Sūrya Sāvarni. *Mk* calls the five merely Sāvarni, while *Br.*, *Hr.*, and *Sv.*, call the four Manus from the 9th to 12th as Meru Sāvarni. The tradition preserved by *Gd.*, *BrV.*, *Kl.*, and *Nd.* is distinct. They prefix Dakṣa etc. to Sāvarni. *BrV.* and *Kl.* are alone in calling the 13th and the 14th Manus as Deva Sāvarni and Candra Sāvarni or as Veda Sāvarni and Indra Sāvarni, while all others call them Raucya and Bhautya. Liṅga, once again, differs in naming the 10th to 14th Manus. Liṅga has also another group of Manus, whom it introduces as 'varṇato manavah'; and evidently its Piṣaṅga etc. are purely later inventions. Thus we see that this table shows a good deal of divergence in naming the last six Manus.

Moreover it will be observed that the names of the first seven Manus are quite distinct and are real proper names.

The last seven names are not of this type. Five of them are named after Sāvarni Vaivasvata Manu, each one being taken as the son of some god, such a process being carried to the furthest limit by *BrV.* and *Kl.*

If we are to draw any conclusion from this, we can say that the first seven names represent some old tradition, while the last seven are late in conception. There is some evidence to show that the first seven Manus are historical, while the last seven were added later for one reason or another.

In the Purāṇas there are various genealogies and most of them start with what the Purāṇas call Svāyambhuva Vaṃśa. This dynasty is given in *Brahma* (3rd) thus.

Viṣṇu
|
Virāṭ (Svayambhu)
|
Vairāja (Svāyambhuva Manu) 1st (by Śatarūpa)
|
Vira (by Kāmyā)
|
Priyavrata   Uttānapāda

Uttānapāda

Dhruva   Kīrtimanta   Āyuṣmanta   Vasu

Slişti

Ripu

Cakṣuṣ

Cakṣuṣ Manu 6th

Puru

Aṅga

Vena

Pṛthu

Antardhāna

Havirdhāna

Prācinabarhiṣ and others

Prācetas

Dakṣa

Dākṣāyaṇī married to Vivasvat

by Sanjñā Tvaṣṭrī   by Sajñā Sāvarṇī

7th Vaivasvata Manu Yama Yami   8th Manu (Sāvarṇi) Sanaiścara

This table clearly shows the pedigree of the 1st, 6th, 7th and 8th Manus. Most of the Purāṇas have this identical table for the Svāyambhuva dynasty. But we get information about the other Manus from two late Purāṇas viz., BrV. and Bg. Brv. has the following verse (2, 54) :

प्रियव्रतसुतावन्यौ द्वौ मनू धर्मिणां वरौ ।
तौ तृतीयचतुर्थौ च वैष्णवौ तामसोत्तमौ ॥

This verse perserves the tradition that Priyavrata, who was the son of Svāyambhuva Manu and brother of Uttānapāda, had two sons named Uttama and Tamasa, both of whom were Manus. They will then be our 3rd and 4th Manus. But *Agni* and *Bg.* state Uttama as the son of Uttānapāda and this may raise a difficulty, but fortunately *Bg.* itself comes to our rescue.

Bg V, 1, 28 says

अन्यस्यामपि जायायां त्रयः पुत्रा आसन्नुत्तमस्तमसो रेवत इति मन्वन्तराधिपाः ।

Thus, here, we find mentioned that the three sons of Priyavrata (by another wife), named Uttama, Tamas and Revata became Manus. *Bg* IV, 9 also points out that there was another Uttama, who was the son of Uttānapāda, the brother of Priyavrata, but he was killed in a hunting expedition.

Further *Bd* II, 36, 65 runs thus:

स्वरोचिषश्चोत्तमोऽपि तामसो रैवतस्तथा ।
प्रियव्रतान्वये ह्येते चत्वारो मनवः स्मृताः ॥

Here, we are clearly told that Svarociṣa, Uttama, Tamasa and Raivata were the four sons of Priyavrata or (of Priyavrata-family) and that these four had been Manus.

Thus a study of the different Purāṇas shows that Svayambhu was the first Manu, the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Manu (viz Svarociṣ Uttama, Tamas and Raivata) were the sons or descendents of Priyavrata, the son of the first Manu. Cakṣuṣ the 6th manu came under the line of Uttānapāda, another son of the first Manu. So did Vaivasvata the 7th Manu come under the line of Uttānapāda. And we find that 8th Manu viz Sāvarṇi Manu, was a step-brother of the 7th Manu. Thus we see that the first eight Manus have well-defined places in Puranic dynasties and are, therefore, likely to have been historical. It is, of course, noteworthy that all these 8 Manus belonged to Svāyambhuva vaṁśa. There is not a single authentic Manu found in the Vaivasvata line (except, of course, the 7th and the 8th).

This further shows that the last six Manus are not likely to be historical. Their names are not found in any geneaology of the Purāṇas. In fact, their names seem to have been coined on the analogy of the 8th Manu. As the 8th was Sūrya (Vaivasvata) Sāvarṇi, so other six were supposed to be the Sāvarṇa sons of different Gods.

But even if the first eight Manus were historical and others wore not, the question remains that if Manu was a generic title and if each and every king had the title of Manu, how is it that only eight are singled out as Manu? How is it that Svayambhū is called a Manu, but his sons Priyavrata and Uttānapāda are not called Manus? How is it that ten sons of Priyavrata were not called Manus and only four of his sons were so called? Why is it that amongst the descendents of Uttānapāda, only Cakṣus and Vaivasvata are called Manus?

To these questions I have to suggest an answer. My impression, from my studies of the Purāṇas, has been that though each king of the dynasty possessed the title Manu, all of them were not called the starters of Manvantara. The reason, I think, was this. Whenever a king (i, e, a Manu) founded a new dynasty, he was taken as the starter of a Manvantara. A new dynasty would be started when a king did not rule over the ancestral territory but founded a new kingdom, apart from the one which was his ancestral kingdom. In such a case the founder of the new kingdom would be called the starter of a Manvantara, for the descendents of such a founder would start their genealogy from this founder and not from the early ancestor of that founder. It is, I think, only in this context that these 7 or 8 Manus are called Manvantarādhiśa or the originators of the reckoning of a new dynasty.

Thus we can say that Svayambhū Manu founded a new kingdom and both Priyavrata and Uttānapāda ruled over the territories inherited by them. Again, 10 sons of Priyavrata also ruled over parts of their ancestral kingdom, but the four other sons went out of the ancestral regions and founded new dynasties. Similarly, in the line of Uttānapāda, Cakṣus and Vaivasvata would seem to have founded new kingdoms. Therefore a starter of a Manvantara was that Manu (or king) who was a successful leader of his clan, and who had established a fresh kingdom.

Thus, so far as I can see, Manu has two senses:— (1) a generic dynastic title held by all the kings of a dynasty, (2) a special title in the sense of the starter of a new kingdom or new dynastic line.[1]

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1. Compare: सम्भव है इन १४ मनुओं से जैनियों के १४ मनुओं का जिन्हें कुलकर अर्थात् वंशस्थापक कहते है, कुछ साम्य हो.

आर्यका आदिसम्राट पृ. ३०—स्वामी कर्मानन्द.

Prof H. R. Kapadia informs me that *Paumacaria* of Vimala suri talks of 14 kulakaras, *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa (c. 778 A.D.) calls these kulakaras as Manus.

Now, Manvantara i. e. Manu + antara would etymologically, mean distance from Manu i. e. distance in time from a Manu. It would, therefore, have two senses corresponding to the two senses of Manu (starter of a line) i. e. the period from the founder to the last of his descendents or to that descendent in whose time the computation was made.

Therefore, in the context of purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa, vaṅśa will mean a dynastic line and Manvantara will mean a dynastic period. For instance, Svāyambhuva vaṅśa will mean the whole genealogy started from Svayambhū and Svāyambhuva Manvantara will mean period of time elapsed since the days of Svayambhu to any given king in his dynasty.

I must, here, submit that whole mass of our Puranic evidence lends irrefutable support to the second sense of the Manvantara given above. In order to understand and fully realise this evidence, we shall, now, make a study of the number of years that is assigned to a Manvantara in our Purāṇas.

The usual number of years for a Manvantara is given as caturyuga × 71 i. e. 43,20,000 × 71 mānava years or 12,000 × 71 = 85,20,000 divya years. But on comparing various Puraṇic texts, we get conflicting statements about the number of years for a Manvantara. I shall note down all such texts as show unusual points of difference about the number of years for a Manvantara. *Mārkaṇḍeya* (46th):

चतुर्युंगानां संख्याता साधिका ढेकसप्तति : ।
मन्वन्तरं तस्य संख्या मानुषान्दैर्निबोधत ॥ ३४ ॥
विंशत् कोट्यस्तु संपूर्णा: संख्याता: संख्यया द्विज ।
सप्तषष्टिस्तथान्यानि नियुतानि च संख्यया ॥ ३५ ॥
विंशतिथ महस्राणि कालोऽयं साधिकं विना ।
एतन्मन्वन्तरं प्रोक्तं दिव्यैर्वर्षैर्निबोधत ॥ ३६ ॥
अष्टौ वर्षसहस्राणि दिव्यया संख्यया युतम् ।
द्विपञ्चाशत्तथान्यानि सहस्राण्यधिकानि तु ॥ ३७ ॥

This gives us the usual computation which is

(1) Manvantara = 30,67,20,000 mānava years = 8,52,000 divya years.

It should be noted that the first quarter of the 37th verse has a corrupt reading. It is not 'aṣṭau varṣasahasrāṇi' but 'aṣṭau ṡatasahasrāṇi' as is shown by Adhyāya 53, verse 5 of this very Purāṇa.

Matsya (142nd)

(१) एषा चतुर्युगख्या तु साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ।
कृतत्रेतादियुक्ता सा मनोर्न्तरमुच्यते ॥ २९ ॥
मन्वन्तरस्य संख्या तु मानुषेण निबोधत ।
एकत्रिंशत्तथा कोटयः संख्याता संख्यया द्विजैः ॥ ३० ॥
तथा शतसहस्राणि दश चान्यानि भागशः ।
सहस्राणि तु द्वात्रिंशच्छतान्यष्टाधिकानि च ॥ ३१ ॥
अशीतिश्चैव वर्षाणि मासाश्चैवाधिकास्तु षट् ।
मन्वन्तरस्य संख्यैषा मानुषेण प्रकीर्तिता ॥ ३२ ॥

(२) दिव्येन च प्रमाणेन प्रवक्ष्याम्यस्तरं मनोः ।
सहस्राणां शतान्याहुः स च वै परिसंख्यया ॥ ३३ ॥
चत्वारिंशत्सहस्राणि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥

In these verses, the Purāṇa gives 31,10,32,880 years and 6 months
by mānava computation and 1,40,000 by divya computation. That
means that both these may represent the same number. Now in
order to equate the mānava with the divya computation, let us
turn divya years into mānava years.

1,40,000×360=5,04,00,000 mānava years.

But this figure does not tally with the first mānava figure.
Therefore we have, here, two distinct views about Manvantara
computation.

(1) Manvantara=31,10,32,880—6 months (mānava)
(2)   „   =5,04,00,000 mānava years
Vāyu (7th)

(१) अष्टाविंशतिर्देवगः कोटयस्तु सुप्तात्मनाम् ।
मन्वन्तरे तथैकस्मिं श्चतुर्दशसु वै तथा ॥ १६ ॥
क्षोणि कोटिशतान्यासन्कोटयो द्विनवतिस्तथा ।
अष्टाधिकाः सप्तशता सहस्राणि स्मृता पुरा ॥ १७ ॥

(२) (21st) मन्वन्तराणां सप्तानां कालमंख्यां यथाक्रमम् ।
प्रवक्ष्यामि समासेन ब्रुवतो मे निबोधत ॥ १४ ॥
कोटीनां द्वि सहस्र वै अष्टौ कोटिशतानि च ।
द्विषष्टिश्च तथा कोटयो नियुतानि च सप्ततिः ॥ १५ ॥
कल्पार्धस्य तु संख्यायामेतत्सर्वमुदाहृतम् ।

पूर्वोक्तौ च गुणच्छेदौ वर्षाग्रे लब्धमादिशेत् ॥ १६ ॥
शतं चैव तु कोटीनां कोटीनामष्टसप्ततिः ।
द्वे च शतसहस्रे तु नवतिर्नियुतानि च ॥ १७ ॥
मानुषेण प्रमाणेन यावद्वैवस्वतान्तरम् ।
एष कल्पस्तु विज्ञेयः कल्पार्धं द्विगुणीकृतः ॥ १८ ॥
अनागतानां समानामेतदेव यथाक्रमम् ।
प्रमाणं कालसंख्याया विज्ञेयं मतमेश्वरम् ॥ १९ ॥
नियुतान्यष्टरूच्चाषट्त्था्शीतिशतानि च ।
चतुरशीतिश्चान्यानि प्रयुतानि प्रमाणतः ॥ २० ॥
एतत्कालस्य विज्ञेयं वर्षाग्रं तु प्रमाणतः ।
एष मन्वन्तरे तेषां मानुषन्ति: (?) प्रकीर्तितः ॥ २१ ॥

Here, in the first view, one manvantara is given as 28,00,00,000
years and 14 manvantaras as 3,92,07,08,000 years. But if we reduce
the latter figure by dividing it by 14 (3920708000 ÷ 14) we get
280050571 3/7 thus showing a difference of 50571 3/7 years between
the two figures. Thus we get two distinct views here.

In the second passage, which is taken from the 21st adhyāya,
there seem to be three views. According to the first view a half
kalpa i.e. 7 manvantaras have 28627000000 years. Therefore dividing
it by 7 we get, for one manvantara (2²627000000 ÷ 7) = 408957·428
4/7 years. The second view gives 1789200000 years for 7 manva-
ntaras, the words 'yāvadvaivasvatāntaram' suggesting that 7 manva-
ntaras from Svāyambhuva to Vaivasvata are meant. Reducing this
figure to one manvantara, we get (1789200000 ÷ 7) = 255600000
years. The third view professes to give 6648000 years for the seven
future manvantaras. This, if true, looks to be divya computation,
for under no account can we have only 6648000 mānava years for
the next seven manvantaras, for which the same number of years
as the past seven manvantaras is prescribed in verse number 19th
above. If we take these to be divya figures we may get for one
manvantara (6648000 ÷ 7) = 949714 2/7 divya years and again multi-
plying it by 360 (949714 2/7 × 360) = 341891029 years.

Thus here we get five different views:

(1) Manvantara = 280000000   mānava years

(2)   ,,   = 280050571·4   ,,   ,,

(3)	„	= 4089571428·5	mānava years
(4)	„	= 255600000	„ „
(5)	„	= 341897102·9	„ „

Narasiṃha (2nd)

चतुर्युगानां संख्या न साधिका ह्येकमूर्तिः ॥ १७ ॥
मन्वन्तरं मनोः कालः शकादीनामपि द्विज ।
अष्टौ वर्षसहस्राणि दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतः ॥ १८ ॥
द्विपञ्चाशत्तथान्यानि सप्त चान्यानि वै मुने ।
विंशतिथ सहस्राणि कालोऽयं साधिकं स्मृतः ॥ १९ ॥

In these verses manvantara is taken as 879000 divya years and the computation is characterised as 'sādhika'. This will give 879000 × 360 = 316440000 mānava years, for one manvantara.

Harivaṃśa (8th)

कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्चैव चतुर्युगी ।
युगं तदेकसप्तत्या गणितं नृपसत्तम ॥ १७ ॥
मन्वन्तरमिति प्रोक्तं संख्यानार्थं विशारदैः ।
अयनं चापि तत्प्रोक्तं द्वेऽयने दक्षिणोत्तरे ॥
मनुः प्रकीर्यते यत्र समाप्ते चायने प्रभो ॥ १८ ॥

Here manvantara which is taken as caturyuga × 71 is called to be the same as Manu's *ayana*. Now in *Harivaṃsa* there is a special theory about Manu's day etc., which is as under (8th adhyāya):

10 divya years	= 1 manu's ahorātra
10 Manu's ahorātras	= 1 manupakṣa
10 manupakṣas	= 1 manumāsa
12 manumāsas	= 1 manūrtu
3 manūrtus	= 1 manu-ayana
2 manu-ayanas	= 1 manu year

Taking divya year to be equal to 360 mānava years, this will mean 360 × 10 × 10 × 10 × 12 × 3 = 1,29,60,000, i. e. in one Manu-ayana we shall get 12960000 mānava years and the same will be the number of years for a manvantara.

Brahma (5th)

युगानि एकसप्ततिस्तानि साग्राणि कथितानि न ॥ ५४ ॥
कृतत्रेतादियुक्तानि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ।
चतुर्दशैते मनवः कथिताः कीर्तिवर्धनाः ॥ ५५ ॥

Here a manvantara is called to be caturyuga × 70 + sāgra (which is the same as sādhika of others) i.e. 4320000 × 70 = 302400000 years.

Brahmavaivarta (5th)

> सत्यं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्चेति चतुर्युगम् ।
> त्रिशतैश्च षष्ट्यधिकैर्युगैर्दिव्यं युगं स्मृतम् ॥ ५ ॥
> मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।

Now so far as the context of this passage warrants, the word *yuga* in त्रिशतैश्च षष्ट्यधिकैर्युगैः means one year. That yuga means one year, here, will be clear from the verse quoted below. Taking yuga to be one year we get,

360 years = 1 divya yuga; 71 divya yugas = 1 manvantara i. e. 360 × 71 = 25560 mānava years.

This computation is corroborated in clear terms in the same Purāṇa in khaṇḍa 2nd, adhyāya 7th :

> वर्षे पूर्णे नराणां च दिव्यानां च दिवानिशम् ।
> शतत्रये षष्ट्यधिके नराणां च युगे गते ॥
> देवानां हि युगे ह्येवा कालसंख्याविदां मतः ॥ १६ ॥
> मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।

Here a yuga clearly means one year. It is clear further :

> मन्वन्तरं तु दिव्यानां युगानामेकसप्ततिः ।
> एवं क्रमान्मन्वन्तरेण मनवश्च चतुर्दश ॥
> पञ्चविंशतिसहस्रं षष्टयन्तशतपञ्चकम् ॥
> नरमानयुगं चैव परं मन्वन्तरं स्मृतम् ॥

This mentions a manvantara to have 25560 nara yugas i. e. mānava years. So according to this view of *BrV.* : manvantara = 25560 mānava years.

Bṛhannāradīya (5th)

> एकसप्ततिसंख्यातैर्दिव्यैर्मन्वन्तरं युगैः ।
> चतुर्दशभिरेतैश्च ब्रह्मणो दिवसं मुने ॥ १५ ॥

Here manvantara is taken to be 71 divya yugas and not 71 caturyugas as is usual. This therefore seems to support the view expressed in *BrV.*

Āryabhaṭṭa I

काहो मनंवा ड मनुयुगाऽख गतास्ते च मनुयुग्च्छना च ।
कल्पादेर्युगपादा ग च गुरुदिवसाच्च भारतात् पूर्वम् ॥

This is usually taken to mean that there are 14 manus in one
day of Brahmā. One manu has 72 yugas i.e. caturyugas. But about
the interpretation of this quotation from Āryabhaṭṭa I have certain
doubts which I have discussed elsewhere. But according to this
view manvantara will have $4320000 \times 72 = 311040000$ mānava years.

After thus gathering these different views about manvantara
computation, let us now tabulate the results so far obtained.

No.	Purāṇa	Divya years	Mānava years	Remarks
1	*Mārkaṇḍeya* and all others	852000	306720000	*sādhikam vinā*
2	*Matsya*	140000	(1) 311032880–6	
			(2) 50400000	
3	*Vāyu*		(1) 280000000	
			(2) 280050571·4	
			(3) 4089871428·5	
			(4) 255600000	
			(5) 341897102·9	
4	*Narasiṃha*	879000	316440000	*sādhika*
5	*Harivaṃsa*		12960000	
6	*Brahma*		30240000	*sāgra*
7	*Brahmavaivarta*		25560	
8	*Āryabhaṭṭa*		311040000	

This table shows 13 different views about the number of years
in a manvantara. According to these views a manvantara has (1)
306720000 (2) 311032880–6 (3) 50400000 (4) 280000000 (5) 280050571·4
(6) 408,987,1428·5 (7) 255600000 (8) 341897102·9 (9) 316440000
(10) 12960000 (11) 30240000 (12) 25560 (13) 311040000 years.

This is a bewildering mass of figures. Let us see if there was
a system underlying it.

Generally there are two ways for computing the years for a
manvantara.

(1) Manvantara = caturyuga $\times$ 71

     „   = caturyuga $\times$ 1000 ÷ 14, i.e. caturyuga $\times$ 71·42

Both these methods will yield the following number of years for a
manvantara.

(1) Manvantara = caturyuga × 71

$$432000 \times 71 = 306720000 \text{ mānava years}$$
$$\text{or } 12000 \times 852000 \text{ divya years}$$

(2) Manvantara = caturyuga × 71·42

$$= 4320000 \times 71\cdot42 = 308571428\cdot5 \text{ mānava years}$$
$$\text{or } 12000 \times 71\cdot42 = 857142\cdot8 \text{ divya years}$$

It will be, at once, perceived that the first way yields the figure 30,67,20,000 which is found in most of the Purāṇas, while the figure yielded by the second method is not found anywhere.

It will further be seen from the passages cited above that whenever the Purāṇas give 306720000 years for a manvantara, they qualify the figure by 'sādhikaṃ vinā' or 'adhikaṃ vinā' i.e. the actual figure for a manvantara was something more than the one given. Then what is this sādhika?

At first we are tempted to say that sādhika is .42 as found in the above second method. If so, sādhikaṃ figure will always be 30,85,71,428·5. But it is not so, for *Narasiṃha Purāṇa*, which qualifies its figure expressly as sādhika, gives the figure as 31,64,00,000. It, therefore, means that sādhika as meant by the Purāṇas is not ·42. How, then, can we explain this sādhika?

I have already said that, so far as I can see, manvantara had two distinct senses (which may have been sometimes confused in later days). One of its senses is the period of the whole line of a Manu. For instance, in the line of Vaivasvata Manu the period from Vaivasvata Manu to any particular king (with whom the line may have been taken as closed or in whose reign the manvantara computation may have been made) may be called a manvantara. Therefore Manvantara will be of varying lengths.

In order to understand and substantiate the fullest implication of the above statement, let us quote the usual formula for manvantara computation, which we find in almost all the Purāṇas. The line is:

चतुर्युगानां सांख्याता साधिका एकसप्ततिः ।
मन्वन्तरं

It will be seen that this is the same as manvantara = 30,67 20,000 + sādhika. But Purāṇas do not seem to be always uniform about this formula. For instance, *Brahma* has the following statement: (5, 54)

युगानि सप्ततिस्तानि साग्राणि कथितानि च ।
कृत्स्नेतादियुक्तानि मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥

and sāgra of this statement seems to be the same as sādhika of other Purāṇas. So that according to this statement we get manvantara = caturyuga × 70 + some years.

Again Āryabhaṭṭa I and even Puliṣa are said to have taken manvantara = caturyuga × 72.

Thus we get three different formulas as under:

(1) manvanatara = caturyuga × 70 + some years
(2)   „   „   × 71 + some years
(3)   „   „   × 72

Let us find out the reason of selecting the figure 71 or, for the matter of that, the figures 70, 71 and 72 as given by different authorities.

Keeping in mind that one of the senses of manvantara is a ruling generation and the other the period from the founder to any given king in his line, we may speculate thus: Supposing the manvantara computation to have started with Vaivasvata Manu, at Ikṣvāku, the manvantara will be the period of one ruling generation, at Vikukṣi (the son of Ikṣvāku) the manvantara will be the period of two generations. Thus if some one took in his head to compute manvantara (i. e. the period lapsed since Manu Vaivasvata) in the reign of the 71st king of the line, he would say that manvantara was 70 ruling generations. Similarly in the reign of the 72nd king, manvantara will have 71 ruling generations and in the reign of the 73rd king it will have 72 ruling generations.

Now taking this possibility along with the above three formulas, viz, manvantara = caturyuga × 70 or 71 or 72, we may say that caturyuga was taken to be equal to one ruling generation or that one ruling generation was taken to be equal to one caturyuga. Thus if the computation was made in the reign of the 71st king from Manu Vaivasvata, it would be said that manvantara = 70 × caturyuga (ruling generation) + sādhika, where sādhika would mean the number of years elapsed of the rule of the 71st king when the computation was made. Similarly if the computation was made in the reign of the 72nd king from Manu Vaivasvata it would be said that manvantara = 71 × caturyuga (ruling generation) + sādhika, sādhika meaning the number of years elapsed, of the rule of the 72nd king when the computation was made.

But then the next question will be what would be the number of years for a caturyuga, if we take caturyuga to be a ruling generation and what authority we have to take it like that. Elsewhere [3] I have given all the possible caturyugas. A reference there will show that caturyuga may have 4, 40, 400, 4000, or 4800 years. Out of these, what can be the period for a ruling generation? I think that the Purāṇas have taken, whether rightly or wrongly, 40 years for one ruling generation. I know that in the modern age, this average will be seriously disputed, but at present I simply wish to suggest that Purāṇas have taken caturyuga or a ruling generation to be of 40 years.

But now taking this as correct i.e. taking 40 years for a ruling generation as well as for a caturyuga, let us see what a manvantara will be. Substituting this value we have

$$(1) \quad \text{manvantara} = \text{caturyuga} \times 70 + \text{some years}$$
$$40 \quad \times 70 = 2800 + \text{some years}$$

$$(2) \quad \text{,,} \quad = \text{caturyuga} \times 71 + \text{some years}$$
$$40 \quad \times 71 = 2840 + \text{some years}$$

$$(3) \quad \text{manvantara} = \text{caturyuga} \times 72$$
$$40 \quad \times 72 = 2880 \text{ years}$$

This, if true, will mean that manvantara computations were made between 2800 and 2880 years after Manu Vaivasvata.

Thus computations were made in the reigns of the 71st, 72nd and 73rd kings from Vaivasvata Manu. And then the manvantara was taken to be equal to 70, 71 or 72 ruling generations or caturyugas.

Thus it will be seen that sādhika figure cannot be the same always. It will be the elapsed number of the regnal years of the king in whose reign the computation was made.

If this is properly understood, one fact will emerge out of it naturally—that a manvantara may be computed in any king's reign in a dynastic Manu's line and that accordingly the number of years for the manvantara will not be the same always. It is, therefore, not surprising that we get various computations for a manvantara.

3. See Part IV of this book. 'The Yugas.'

Now let us understand what is caturyuga. In the usual formula

चतुर्युगानां म ख्याता साधिका होकसप्ततिः ।
मन्वन्तर्

it means 40 years. But the usual caturyuga has 43,20,000 years and it is according to this caturyuga that the Purāṇas calculate the years for manvantara, kalpa etc. So if we wish to turn the usual figure into our caturyuga of 40 years, we will have to divide the usual figure by 108000 (4320000 ÷ 40 = 108000). That is, if we wish to know the number of years after Manu Vaivasvata, when the computation was made, we should divide the usual figure by 1,08,000 If further, we wish to know the number of ruling generation from Manu, in whose reign the computation was made, we should divide the result obtained by dividing by 108000, by 40. Thus

(1) To get the number of years elapsed since Manu Vaivasvata, divide the usual Purāṇic figure by 108000.

(2) To get the number of ruling generation from Manu Vaivasvata, divide the result of (1) by 40 or divide the usual figure directly by (108000 × 40) 4320000.

Then taking these two keys let us examine the various figures (which are given according to the usual Purāṇic caturyuga of 43,20,000 years).

(1) The first number is 30,67,20,000, which when divided by 108000 will yield 2840, which again divided by 40 will give 71. Thus this computation was made in the 72nd king's reign, 2840 years after Vaivasvata Manu.

(2) Brahma figure is 30,24,00,000, which when divided by 10,8000 will give 2800, which again, divided by 40 will give 70. Thus this computation was made in the 71st king's reign, 2800 years after Vaivasvata Manu. (It is significant that Br. formula is Manavantara = 70 caturyugas + sāgra).

(3) Narasiṃha figure, which is sādhika, is 316440000, which when divided by 108000, will yield 2890, which again divided by 40 will yield 72 reigns + 10 years. This will mean that this computation was made in the 11th regnal year of the 73rd king, 72 kings having already passed.

(4) Now we shall examine the figures given in Matsya. Over and above the usual sādhikaṃ vinā figure of 306720000, it gives

two more figures for the manvantara which are, (1) 311032880·6 and (2) 140000 divya years or 50400000 mānava years. Out of these two figures, the first when divided by 108000, will give 2880·5 months, which again, divided by 40 will give 72·1. It will mean that the computation was made after five months i. e. in the 6th month of the 73rd king's reign.

Again dividing the above second figure (5,04,00,000) by 108000 we shall get 466·6 years, and dividing the years by 40, we shall get 11·6. This, if true, will mean that the computation was made after 26 years of the reign of the 12th king had passed.

Vāyu seems to have made the greatest confusion. Let us take the first two figures first viz., (1) 280000000 and (2) 280050571. Both these will yield:

(1) $280000000 \div 108000 = 2592·9 = 64·6$
(2) $280050571 \div 108000 = 2593·5 = 64·9$

This means that both these computations were made in the 65th king's reign i. e. the king-lists, at one time, must have closed at 64th king.

The third computation of Vāyu gives 4089571428·5. This according to our key will give $4089571428·5 \div 108000 = 37886 \div 40 = 921·6$.

I am unable to explain this in any manner. The figure is huge beyond all explanations.

Fourth computation of Vāyu has 255600000 years for a manvantara. It will give $200600000 \div 108000 = 2336·6 \div 40 = 59·1$.

That is, the computation was made in the reign of the 60th king.

Fifth computation of Vāyu, if true, gives 3418897102·9, as explained by me earlier. This will give $34189710·9 \div 108000 = 79·1$. That is, the computation was made in the 80th king's reign. But the computation is not likely to be true, as it refers to the future manvantaras.

Manvantara figures as given from Harivaṁśa and Brahma-Vaivarta in our table, do not fall in the same class as the above figures. They are not computed on the caturyuga basis.

Thus we find that manvantara computations were made in the reigns of the 60th, 65th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd and perhaps 80th and 12th kings from Manu Vaivasvata. We have no more references

at present, but it is possible that manvantara computations were made at the end of every king's reign as I shall explain later on. But let us, for clarity's sake, make a table of the results obtained so far. Manvantara computations were made:

In which king's reign	How many years after Vaivasvata Manu
12th	466·7
60th	2366·6
65th	259·9
"	2593·4
71st	2800 + ?
72nd	2840 + ?
73rd	2880 + 5 months
73rd	2890
80th	3165·4

Out of all these computations that in the reign of 72nd king after Vaivasvata Manu, is attested by most of the Purāṇas, which suggests that there was a regular campaign of reconstruction then. Hence it is that the formula चतुर्युगानां संख्याता साधिका होकसप्तति: मनवन्तरं finds place in almost all the Purāṇas.

Let us now consider why the average of a ruling generation was taken at 40 years, which no historian would think to be probable.

How can that average work out even according to the Purāṇas which take Abhimanyu as a king. Abhimanyu died long before Arjuna's death. How, then, can we take two ruling generations in such a case? Abhimanyu never ruled and yet his name is found in the genealogies. It is, therefore, wrong to talk of an average of 40 years for a ruling generation.

The caturyuga formula, as I have understood it, took 40 years for a ruling unit and not for one king's actual regnal period. This unit of 40 years may be employed in two ways thus:

The Purāṇas usually describe vaṅśa, vaṅśānucarita and manvantara. Under vaṅśa fall genealogies i. e. lists of the names of the kings. Under vaṅśānucarita fall main incidents of the reigns of prominent kings. Thus vaṅśa and vaṅśānucarita preserve the name of every king, however small his regnal period might have been. But, then, what is a manvantara? Out of the various units

of time-measure like yuga, manvantara, kalpa etc., why is manvantara taken as one of the Purāṇapancalakṣaṇa ? I think that the manvantara was the regular method of calculating regnal periods of different kings in a dynasty. Thus on the one hand the Purāṇas recorded the number of all the kings that ruled in a particular dynasty, their individual names, their individual regnal period etc., and on the other hand they also recorded the total regnal period of a dynasty. Thus the total period will go on increasing with every new king. To remember this ever-increasing total, they found out the device of computing totals of regnal periods at regular intervals. This regular interval they fixed at 40 years. Therefore over and above recording actual regnal periods of every king, they noted that the units of 40 years were over in the reigns of kings number so and so. Let us take an example. Suppose there were seven kings who ruled thus.

Kings	Individual regnal period	Caturyuga & no. of the king in whose reign that caturyuga was over
1	23	....
2	18	1. (2nd)
3	53	2. (3rd)
4	18	....
5	52	3 and 4. (5th)
6	18	....
7	18	5. (7th)

It will be thus said that 1st caturyuga was over in the 2nd king's reign, 2nd caturyuga in the 3rd king's reign, 3rd and 4th caturyugas in the 5th king's reign and the 5th caturyuga in the 7th king's reign. Thus though the kings were seven, caturyugas were five and they had to remember both these. But as time would pass it would become very complicated to remember the names and serial numbers of kings and also the numbers of kings in whose reigns caturyugas were over.

So another method of caturyuga computation came into vogue. This would try to harmonise the number of kings in the vṛñśa with the number of caturyugas in the manvantara. It may work out thus :

If they found that the first king ruled for 28 years, and 2nd king for 11 years and the 3rd king for 25 years, they would not mention the first two kings in the lists. The ruling unit of 40 years was completed in the 3rd king's reign, therefore only the 3rd king would be mentioned in the genealogy and his number thus would become 1st, though originally 3rd. Again if the 4th king ruled 24 years, he too, would be mentioned, for in his reign also a unit of 40 years was over. Thus this method of caturyuga computation was to mention in the genealogies, only those kings, in whose reigns, the units of 40 years were over, others being omitted. It may, however, sometimes happen that the unit was over in the reign of an insignificant king and just after him or just before him had ruled a very prominent king, then that prominent king's name might be mentioned and the name of the insignificant king might be dropped, computation always proceeding on the basis of units (or caturyugas) of 40 years.

Out of these two methods, I have mentioned the first as a historic probability, but the second we find in actual use. The Purāṇas expressly declare that in the solar line they have mentioned only the prominent kings, not all the kings that ruled in that line. Compare the concluding remarks of *Vāyu* (88th) :

एते ऐत्वाकुदायादा राजान: प्रायश: स्मृता: ।
वंशे प्रधाना ये तेऽस्मिन्प्राधान्येन तु कीर्तिता: ॥ २१७ ॥

Similar remark is found in almost all the Purāṇas. One remark of *Vāyu* is significant in this connection.

एतद्: कथितं सर्वं समासव्यासयोगत: ॥ ११,४६१ ॥

This samāsa and vyāsa method of *Vāyu* seems to be the above 2nd method. It was the method of condensation and amplification. Let us understand it more clearly. Suppose the seven kings ruled thus:

King	Regnal period	Caturyuga over
1	23	....
2	18	(1) [41]
3	53	(2) [53]
4	18	....
5	52	(3) & (4) [84]
6	18	....
7	18	(5)
	200	

According to this method the first king will not be mentioned but the second will be mentioned and if it is the custom of giving the years of his regnal period, they would be given as $23 + 18 = 41$ years and not 18 years. Again the third king will be mentioned and his period will be given as 53 years. At the end of the third king's reign 14 years will be left over for the next unit of 40 years. Taking these 14 years with the 18 of the fourth king, we shall get 32 years completed with the end of the 4th king's reign. So the caturyuga will not be over in his reign and therefore he too will not be mentioned in the lists. Now the 5th king has ruled for 52 years. Adding to his period, 32 years accummulated from earlier unit, his period will be of 84 years. So in his regnal period two caturyugas will be over. What should be done in such a case? In the earlier cases samāsa was resorted to by condensing two or three kings into one. In this case vyāsa (amplification) will be necessary, so that two kings will be added to the list, instead of one. Next unit of 40 years will be over at the end of the 7th king's reign, so 6th will be dropped and 7th will be mentioned.

Thus for seven kings we get a total of 200 years and five caturyugas. Therefore, according to this second method they would condense the first four kings into two by samāsa, would split up the 5th into two by vyāsa and would, once again, condense the 6th and 7th kings into one by samāsa. Thus according to this method, there will be 5 ruling units and only 5 kings will be mentioned in the lists, whereas actually there were 7 kings in 200 years. Thus the average of ruling generation, which was originally $(200 \div 7 =)$ 28·5 years would be raised up to 40 years.[1]

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1. And this is the nature of Puranic genealogies, as is seen below.

"I shall first point out the chief features of the Puranic records. Minor names are sometimes omitted. This is conveyed in the opening line of the chronicles of the Magadha sovereigns.

प्रधान्यतः प्रवक्ष्यामि गदतो मे निबोधत.

The reign-periods of the kings left out are added either to the preceding or the succeeding reign. Sometimes when figures for indivi- dual reigns differ in different Purāṇas, the aggregates of two or three neighbouring reigns agree, that is, a certain period has been redistribu- ted over several reigns."

Jayaswal: *JBORS.* I. p. 67

This is what I call Manvantara–caturyuga Method (= MCM)
employed in our Purāṇas for longer chronological calculations. It
was according to this MCM that, I think, Megasthenes was infor-
med about the method of counting total regnal period by reckon-
ing the number of kings that ruled in the intermediate period and
it is this method which he so clearly enunciates by "calculation
being made by counting the kings that ruled in the intermediate
period." The same method is, I think, hinted at by Suleman
Sodagar. That a similar method was actually used in ancient
Egypt, we have already learnt from the evidence furnished by
Herodotus. Thus the Indian Purāṇas, the Greek traveller Megas-
thenes, the Muslim traveller Suleman and the historian Herodotus
—all tell us of the same method. It is, thus, beyond any doubt
that such a method was employed by ancient Indian chronologists;
and yet if there is any doubt left, I am going to show that all
our Puranic genealogies, pre-Mbh as well as post-Mbh, solar as
well as lunar, are based entirely upon this method.

CHAPTER III

MANVANTARA—CATURYUGA—METHOD

[ITS APPLICATION—PRE—KALI CHRONOLOGY]

SUCH a method like MCM, it should be admitted, is bound to be artificial. But it is only this artificial method, which can explain the unreliable nature of the Purāṇas so often complained of by our scholars. Our scholars have found that the Purāṇas often furnish conflicting or confusing evidence. "Very often they corrupt names of persons; sometimes one dynasty is mingled or interwoven into or tacked on to another; sometimes collateral successions are described as lineal; even divergent synchronisms have been recorded." This complaint about the Puranic genealogies is perfectly true. But I, here, wish to show that these confusions and contradictions, where not caused by corrupt readings, were deliberately made with a view to follow this peculiar device which I have called MCM.

MCM is certainly a method which is artificial and arbitrary. Results of such an arbitrary method are obvious. For instance, when Vyāsa re-adjusted the genealogies of solar and lunar dynasties in the Mbh days, he had to account, as we shall see later, for 2,800 or 2,840 years. For these years at the rate of a unit of 40 he would require 70 or 71 king-names. Supposing he is following the Ayodhyā line, and if in the direct Solar Ayodhyā line from Manu Vaivasvata, names of 70 or 71 consecutive descendents or successors were not available, he would, in order to give 70 or 71 names, "merge, interweave, or tack on another dynasty or another collateral branch." This, at any rate, seems to be the usual device resorted to by the Puranic chronologists.[1]

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1. A similar device is seen followed in the Sumerian genealogies of very early date. About these genealogies of Kish chronicle and others, it is said, 'for in some cases dynasties which are listed as consecutive are in actual fact known to have been contemporary." (P. 20).

Twin Rivers, by Seton Lloyd.

Any way, let us for some time cast aside our natural prejudice for this artificial method and see how this MCM is actually employed in the Puranic genealogies. We have already seen that there is a possibility of chronological computation being made in the days of the 71st or 72nd or 73rd king. Let us follow up this line of enquiry.

In the above discussion, while explaining the nature of MCM, I have taken caturyuga to be the same as a ruling generation or a ruling unit or a king-name (in the genealogical lists). Let us see if there is any evidence to show that caturyuga is, actually, used in this sense. In most of the Purāṇas, which give full lists of Solar and Lunar dynasties, there are certain concluding remarks made after all the dynastic lists are over. They are important. I shall quote relevant portions from these remarks from *Mt*, *Vy* and *Bd*.

In *Mt*, it is said in these concluding remarks: (273rd)

एवं राजर्षयोऽतीताः यतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥ ७४

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्वर्तमानेऽन्तरे विभो ।

तेषां तु निधनोत्पन्नौ लोकसंस्थितयः स्थिताः ॥ ७५

न शक्यो विस्तरस्तेषां संतानस्य परस्परम् ।

तत्पूर्वापरयोगेन बहुं वर्षशतैरपि ॥ ७६

अष्टाविंशत्समारव्याता गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ।

एते देवगणैः सार्धं शिष्टा ये तान्निबोधत ॥ ७७

चत्वारिंशत्त्रयश्चैव भविष्यास्ते महात्मनः ।

अवशिष्टा युगाख्यास्ते ततो वैवस्वतो ह्ययम् ॥ ७८

In *Vy* (99th) similar verses are found. The last two verses read thus.

अष्टाविंशयुगाख्यास्तु गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ।

एता राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा यास्ता निबोधत ॥ ४५९

चत्वारिंशच्च ये चैव भविष्या सह राजभिः ।

युगाख्यानां विशिष्टास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षये ॥ ४६०

In *Bd* (III.74) these verses read thus.

अष्टाविंशयुगाख्यास्तु गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे ॥ ३२२

एतैः राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा यास्ता निबोधत ।

चत्वारिंशत्त्रयश्चैव भविष्या सह राजभिः ॥ २२३

युगारव्यानां शिष्टास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षयः ।

It will be seen that, in one or the other manner, the text of all these three passages is corrupt. I, therefore, reconstruct the text of these two verses as under:

अष्टाविंशद्युगारव्यास्तु गता वैवस्वतेऽन्तरे

एतैः राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा यास्ता निबोधत ॥

चत्वारिंशत्त्रयश्चैव भविष्या सह राजभिः ।

अवशिष्टा युगारव्यास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षयः ॥

Thus, these two verses say that 28 yugākhyās have elapsed in Vaivasvata Manvantara and 43 more yugākhyās are to elapse now. But what is the sense of yugākhyā here? Yugākhyā here, means caturyuga, as is clear from the following passages, in all of which yugākhyā is used in the sense of caturyuga.

(1) एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगारव्या परिकीर्तिता । (Mbh, Vana, 188, 38)

(2) एषा चतुर्युगाख्या तु साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः । (Mt, 142, 29)

(3) अनुयान्ति युगाख्यां तु यावन्मन्वन्तरक्षयः । (Bd, II, 74, 261)

(4) एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या कविभिः कृता । (Mk, 46th, 31)

(5) मन्वन्तरयुगाख्यानामव्युन्पन्नार्थ सन्चयः । (Vy, 7th, 9)

(6) एवं चतुर्युगाख्या तु साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ।

कृतत्रेतादियुक्ता सा मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥ (Vy, 57th, 33)

All these passages and particularly (1), (2) and (6) make it absolutely clear that yugākhyā is a mere abbreviation of caturyugā-khyā. Let us, therefore, discuss the above two verses, taking that yugākhyā means caturyuga. The verses, therefore, mean this: In the Vaivasvata Manvantara, along with these kings (etaih rājarṣi-bhih sārdham), 28 caturyugas have passed and 43 more caturyugas will pass with the future kings and there will be an end of Vaivas-vata Manvantara then. There are certain points to be noted in the above statements.

(1) It is said that 28 caturyugas have gone and 43 more are yet to go and then there will be the end of Manvantara. This means that a manvantara is equal to $28 + 43 = 71$ caturyugas, a formula which we have already seen.

(2) It is said that these 28 caturyugas have passed in the Vaivasvata Manvantara. Let us, in this connection, remember that there are two Vaivasvata Manvantaras according to the Purāṇas—one Manu Vaivasvata's and the other Sāvarṇi Vaivasvata's. We shall later see which one is meant here.

(3) Computation of the Manvantara is, here, divided into 28 caturyugas and 43 caturyugas. The statement takes 28 caturyugas as having passed and 43 caturyugas as yet to pass. This would naturally mean that at one time the Puranic chronological computations had stopped after the expiry of 28 caturyugas. Is there any indication of Puranic computations having been closed at the expiry of the 28th caturyuga i. e. in the 29th caturyuga of a Manvantara? I think there is.

If, as I have suggested earlier in connection with MCM, caturyuga is equivalent to a ruling generation or a king-name in the genealogical tables, we should find some genealogical lines closed in the 29th caturyuga i. e. in the reign of a king (king-name) whose number is 29th. Let us see if such is the case or not. If we find like that it will automatically mean that caturyuga or yugākhyā in the above verses is equivalent to a king-name.

In fact, these verses very clearly say that "with these (it may also be suggestsd with so many i. e. 28 kings) kings", 28 caturyugas were over and 43 caturyugas were still to pass with future kings. Here, Yugākhyā or caturyuga is definitely connected with kings i. e. king-names in the lists. But let us see who are 'these kings.' The statement is very clear and shows that with the close of 28th caturyuga i. e. in the 29th caturyuga some king-lists were closed. And we find the Purāṇas actually mentioning the fact very clearly.

There occur the following verses in the concluding remarks of Vy, Bd and Mt.

ऐल्वेश्वाकुव शब्द सहभेदे : प्रकीर्तितौ

इश्वाकोस्तु स्मृत क्षेत्र सुमित्रान्त विवस्वत: ॥ २४४

ऐल क्षेत्र क्षेमकान्त सोमवंशविदो विदु : ।

गतस्यां युगाख्यायां यत: क्षत्रे प्रयत्स्यते ।

तथा हि कथयिष्यामि मदतो मे निबोधत ॥ २४९
देवापि: पौरवो राजा ऐस्वाकुश्व बो मरु : ।
महायोगबलोपेतौ कलापग्राममास्थितौ ॥ २५०
एतौ क्षत्रप्रणेतारौ चतुर्विशे (v. 1. नवविंशे Mt) चतुर्युंगे ।
सुवर्चा नाम पुत्रस्तु ईस्वाकोस्तु भविष्यति ॥ २५१
देवापेश्च सपौलस्तु (v. 1. सत्यस्तु Mt) ऐलादि भविता नृप ॥ २५२
क्षत्रप्रवर्तकौ ह्येतौ भविष्येते चतुर्युंगे

(*Bd*, II, 74; *Vy* 37th; *Mt* 272nd)

These verses are found in all the above three Purāṇas. They record the following facts: (1) Sumitra is the last king of Aikṣvāku i. e. Solar line and Kṣemaka is the last king of Aila i. e. Lunar line. (see verse 244 above). (2) Then the Purāṇas tell us who will be the starters of new branches of these two lines 'in the present Yugākhyā' (etasyām Yugākhyāyām). They say that Devāpi in the Aila line and Maru in the Aikṣvāku line will be the starters of their lines. This only means that though Devāpi and Maru were ancient kings (they are pre-Mbh kings), their descendents viz Suvarcā of Maru and Sapaula of Devāpi will be the starters of new branches of Aila and Aikṣvāku lines, after these lines were closed with Sumitra and Kṣemaka, who are clearly called the last kings of their lines. (3) Again it is said in the above verses that these Suvarcā and Sapaula will be the starters of new branches in the 29th caturyuga (caturviṅśe in verse no 251 of *Bd* is a wrong reading as is shown by Mt reading which is navaviṅśe).[1] In verse 249 it is said that the starters of new branches 'in this Yugākhyā i. e. caturyuga will be now mentioned and in the verses which immediately follow (250, 251, 252) Suvarcā and Sapaula are said to be the starters of new branches in the 29th caturyuga. Combining these two statements, we can say that 'this yugākhyā' or caturyuga of the 249th verse is 29th caturyuga. It would thus mean that the Puranic lists were once closed in the 29th caturyuga, because on the one hand, Sumitra and Kṣemaka are called the last kings of their lines and on the other Suvarcā and Sapaula are described as future starters of the same lines In fact, past tense is used for the period before Sumitra and Kṣemaka and

1. Even caturviṅśa can be taken as correct, if we take this number to refer to the 'future' kings, of whom we shall talk presently.

future tense is used for Suvarcā and Sapaula and present tense is used for 'this Yugākhyā'; and 'this Yugākhyā", we have just seen, is the 29th caturyuga. Thus, it means that Puranic genealogical lists were closed in the 29th caturyuga. That is, what we expected above that the Puranic lists must have been closed in the 29th caturyuga is very clearly supported by the above verses.

But then Sumitra and Kṣemaka both must have flourished in the 29th caturyuga. In fact, they were the last kings of their lines 'in this Yugākhyā or caturyuga.' But if as I have said earlier, caturyuga means a king-name, the fact that Sumitra and Kṣemaka flourished in the 29th caturyuga, would mean that there names were 29th i. e. they themselves represent the 29th caturyuga or king-name in the genealogical lists. If, therefore, we can find their number to be 29th, then it would furnish a very clear proof of what I say, viz. a king-name in Puranic genealogical lists represents a unit of 40 years or a caturyuga of 40 years, or caturyuga in the formula caturyugāṇām hi saṅkhyātā etc., is equivalent to a king-name.

But if the number of Sumitra and Kṣemaka is 29th, it must be the 29th caturyuga of a Manvantara, as we have already seen that the above verses talk of a whole Manvantara of 71 caturyugas; only they divide the Manvantara into 28 (past) and 43 (future) caturyugas.

Taking caturyuga to be a king-name, it would mean that before Sumitra and Kṣemaka 28 kings had passed. But of which Manvantara 28 kings had passed? The calculation cannot be from Manu Vaivasvata (i. e. of the 7th Manvantara), for according to our Purāṇas as we find them today, Sumitra was about 120th from Manu Vaivasvata and not 29th.

My explanation is this. I suggest that when 71 caturyugas or king-units (i. e. king-names) from Manu Vaivasvata were over, new Manvantara was taken as started. If so, we can say that Sumitra's (and therefore Kṣemaka's also) should have been the 29th king-name after the 71st king-name from Manu Vaivasvata. Then, it would be said that of this new Manvantara (which would be taken as started with the 72nd king-name) 28 caturyugas or king-units had passed before Sumitra, he himself representing 29th. If so, Sumitra's number, in the genealogical lists should be 71 + 29 = 100th from Manu Vaivasvata and 29th from a 72nd king-name, it

being naturally understood that the Manvantara was closed with the 71st king-name. But from which king was Sumitra 29th? When was the new Manvantara taken as started? Who was the 71st king after whom Sumitra was 29th?

Let us examine the descent of Sumitra and Kṣemaka from the Mbh war. We shall first take the Aikṣvāku line.

Starting from the close of the Mahābhārata war, we get the following genealogy of the Solar line in different Purāṇas.

No.	Vāyu	Viṣṇu	Matsya	Bhāgavata	Bhaviṣya	Garuḍa
1	Bṛhadbala	— *	—	—		—
2	Bṛhatkṣaya	—	0	—	Bṛhadaiśāna	0
3	Kṣaya	Urukṣaya	Kṣaya	Urukriya	Maukṣepa Vatsapāla	0
4	Vatsavyūha	—	Vatsadroha	—		Kṣaya
5	Prativyūha	—	—	—	—	
6	Divākara	—	—	—	—	Bṛha aiva
7	Sahadeva	—	—	—	—	0
8	Ṛhidaśva	—	Dhṛvāśva	—	—	0
9	Bhānuratha	—	Mahābhāga	—	—	0
10	Pratitāśva	—	—	—	0	—
11	Supratita	—	—	—	—	—
12	Sahadeva	Marudeva	—	—	—	
13	Sunakṣatra	—	—	—	—	Manudeva
14	Kinnara	—	—	—	—	—
15	Antarikṣa	—	—	0	—	—
16	Suparṇa	—	Suṣeṇa	—	—	—
17	Amitrājit	—	—	—	—	—
18	Bharadvāj	—	—	—	—	—
19	Dharma	—	0	—	—	—
20	Vrāta	Kṛtañjaya	—	—	—	—
21	Raṇañjaya	—	—	—	—	—
22	Saṁjaya	—	—	—	—	—
23	Sākya	—	—	—	—	—
24	Suddhodana	—	—	0	—	—
25	Rāhula	—	Siddhārtha	—	—	—
26	Prasenajit	—	—	—	—	—
27	Kṣudraka	—	—	—	—	—
28	Kṣulika	—	—	—	—	—
29	Suratha	—	—	—	0	Sammitra
30	Sumitra	—	—	—	—	—
	30	30	29	28	29	25

* These lines show that the same name occurs in the Purāṇa.

From this table we find that according to Vāyu and Viṣṇu, Sumitra was 30th from Bṛhadbala, according to Matsya and Bhaviṣya he was 29th, according to Bhāgavata he was 28th and according to Garuḍa he was 25th from Bṛhadbala who was killed in the Mahābhārata war. Mr. Sita Nath Pradhan, who has tried to reconstruct this line, puts Sumitra as 28th from Bṛhadbala, but he admits that both Vrāta and Raṇañjaya ruled separately and thus even according to Mr Pradhan, taking the ruling generations, Sumitra was 29th from Bṛhadbala.[1] I, however, suggest that according to Purāṇas, as Vāyu and Viṣṇu have it, Sumitra was 30th from Bṛhadbala. The discussion that now follows is by itself the proof of this.

Now let us take the Lunar line from Mahābhārata war. From Abhimanyu to Kṣemaka we have 26 to 30 kings (both inclusive). I shall give the table.

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1. See his *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 250.258. Pargiter's text accepts 30 kings.

No.	Viṣṇu	Matsya	Garuḍa	Bhāgavata	Vāyu
1	Abhimanyu	—	—	—	—
2	Parikṣit	—	—	—	—
3	Janamejaya	—	—	—	—
4	S'atānīka I	—	—	—	—
5	Aśvamedhadatta	0	—	Sahasrānika	—
6	Adhisimakṛṣṇa	—	—	—	—
7	Nicaknu	Vivakṣu	Kṛṣṇa	Nemicakra	—
8	Uṣṇa	Bhuri[1]	Aniruddha	0	—
9	Vicitraratha	—	—	—	—
10	Sueiratha	—	0	Kaviratha	—
11	Vṛṣṇiman	—	—	—	Dhṛtiman
12	Suṣeṇa	—	—	—	—
13	Sunitha	—	—	—	Sutirtha
					Ruca
14	Nṛpacakṣu	—	—	—	—
15	Sukhibala	—	—	—	—
16	Pariplava	—	0	—	—
17	Sunaya	Sutapā	0	—	—
18	Medhāvi	—	—	—	—
19	Ripuñjaya	Purañjaya	Nṛpañjaya	—	
20	Mṛdu	Urva	Hari	Durvā	
21	Tigma	—	—	Timi	
22	Bṛhadratha	—	—	—	
23	Vasudāna	—	—	Sudāsa	
24	S'atānika II	—	—	Durdamana	
25	Udayana	—	—	—	
26	Ahinara	Vahinara	—	—	
27	Daṇḍapāṇi	—	—	0	—
28	Naramitra	—	—	—	—
29	Kṣemaka	—	—	—	—
	29	28	26	27	22+8=30

1. Named as Bhūmi in a Ms. of Mt. (Jmt of Pargiter.)

It will be seen from this that from Abhimanyu, who, like
Bṛhadbala, died in the Mahābhārata war, to Kṣemaka, the last of
the line, we have 29 according to *Vn*, 28 according to *Mt.*, 27
according to *Bg*, 26 according to *Gd* and 22 according to *Vy*.
But in Vāyu there is a gap of eight kings from Ripuñjaya to
Ahinara. Therefore, according to Vāyu there were 30 kings.
Moreover, Vāyu is explicit about this. It explicitly declares that
there will be 25 future kings, i. e. 25 from Adhisīma to Kṣemaka
(for Adhisīma was the sāmprata king) both inclusive.[1] Thus even
in this line, we have 30 kings from Abhimanyu, i. e. from the
close of the Mahābhārata war.

Both Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu were killed in the great war.
From them the last kings in their lines viz. Sumitra and Kṣemaka
were 30th in number. In both these lists, Divākara and Adhi-
sīmakṛṣṇa are taken as sāmprata kings, i. e. Purāṇas were, at one
time, closed in their days. From Divākara to Sumitra and from
Adhisīma to Kṣemaka there were 25 kings (both inclusive).

Thus we find that both Sumitra and Kṣemaka are 30th in
number (from Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu). But our paurāṇikas
started the post-Mbh genealogies not with Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu
but with Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit respectively. In fact, a study of
our genealogies shows that our chronologists start new lists, as it
were, from Parikṣit i. e. from after the Mbh war. We find the
purāṇas actually computing from Parikṣit to Nanda, which positively
shows that old lines and old chronological computations were
closed and new lines and new chronological computations were
started with the close of the Mbh war. In this light, we can say
that a Manvantara was closed with Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu and
a new Manvantara was started with Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit. And
we find that Sumitra and Kṣemaka are the 24th king-names from
Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit (both included). We had earlier expected
that the number of Sumitra and Kṣemaka should be 29th after the
71st king-name from Manu Vaivasvata. We here, find their number
to be 29th from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit, with whom, we have
just seen, a new Manvantara seems to have been started. If so, the
number of Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit should be 72nd from Manu
Vaivasvata and the number of Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu should
be 71st from Manu Vaivasvata. Thus, in all, the number of Sumitra

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1. See Vy. 99, पञ्चविंश नृपा ह्येते भविष्या पूर्व'वंशजा । २११

and Kṣemaka would be 29th from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit and 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. This is in perfect accordance with what we had expected earlier.

But it might be objected that though in our present Purāṇas, the number of Sumitra and Kṣemaka is 29th from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit, the number of Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit is not 72nd from Manu Vaivasvata, as it should be in order to make the number of Sumitra and Kṣemaka 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. In fact, the number of Bṛhatkṣaya, in our present Purāṇas, is 92nd and that of Parikṣit is about 50. How can we explain this discrepancy? I must, here, state that I have examined the Puranic solar and lunar lines from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra and Kṣemaka and there[1] I have shown that at one time the Puranic chronologist had put Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit as 72nd kings (i. e. king-names) from Manu Vaivasvata and Sumitra and Kṣemaka as 100th from Manu Vaivasvata[1] and it was only later that for a particular reason, their number was made 92nd and 122nd respectively. In fact, our Purāṇas explicitly call Sumitra and Kṣemaka as 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. We have earlier seen that both Sumitra and Kṣemaka are taken as the last of their lines. Read in this connection, the following verse, which is found in all the Purāṇas.

एलवंशस्य ये ख्याता_स्तथैवेक्ष्वाक्वो नृपाः । २६४

तेषामेकशतं पूर्णं कुलानामभिषेकिनाम् ॥

(*Bd*, II, 74; *Vy* 37th; *Mt* 272, 68)

This makes it absolutely clear that at one time the Purāṇas had closed both these lines with the 100th king-names. And when we connect with this the remark (found in all the three Purāṇas) that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were the last kings of their lines and the fact that these particular Aikṣavāku and Aila lines are not found continued in any of the extant Purāṇas, the conclusion becomes inevitable that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were 100th in their lines.

Thus we find that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were 100th from Manu Vaivasvata and 29th from Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit. This, therefore proves that Bṛhatkṣaya and Parikṣit were, at one time, taken to be 72nd from Manu Vaivasvata. Thus, these considerations

1. See this book Part IV, Pra-Mbh Solar Dynasty.

fully support my supposition (made earlier) that the Paurāṇikas had taken one Manvantara as closed with the 71st king-name or caturyuga. This also incidentally proves that caturyuga is used in the sense of a ruling-unit or king-name.

These considerations, therefore, show that with Sumitra and Kṣemaka, the Purāṇas had taken 28 caturyugas (of the new Manvantara) as passed and 29th caturyuga as passing. But this talk of 28 caturyugas as having passed, at once, reminds us of the fact that according to our orthodox calculations (see for instance Hemādri saṅkalpa), we are in the Vaivasvata Manvantara, of which 28 caturyugas are over and 3 pādas of the 29th caturyuga are also over. In the light of the above discussions, this would mean that this orthodox calculations refer to Sumitra's period. Sumitra, we have seen, was 29th (caturyuga or king-name) of the new Manvantara. I have said that with Abhimanyu i. e. with 71st king-name a Manvantara was taken as closed. The Manvantara, which was taken as closed was the 7th Manvantara of Manu Vaivasvata. After him, with Parikṣit would start the 8th Manvantara of Sāvarṇi Vaivasvata. It also will be called Vaivasvata Manvantara, and it was in this second Vaivasvata Manvantara (of Sāvarṇi Vaivasvata) i. e. the 8th Manvantara that Sumitra is placed.[1] But at a later date, Vaivasvata Manvantara, which, in this context, meant 8th Manvantara of Sāvarṇi Vaivasvata, seems to have been mistaken for the 7th Manvantara of Manu Vaivasvata. That is why Vaivasvata Manvantara of the Hemādri saṅkalpa is rendered as the 7th Manvantara. But it was really the 8th Manvantara which was intended. According to this traditional calculation, 28 caturyugas and 3 pādas of the 29th caturyuga were over. That means that this calculation was made in 'this caturyuga or yugākhyā' (etasyām yugākhyāyām), which we have taken to be 29th. Now, I have taken a caturyuga to have 40 years. Therefore, a pāda will mean 10 years. Thus, this traditional calculation, which is noted in the above verses and which we follow even now in Hemādri saṅkalpa, will mean 28 caturyugas or $28 \times 40 = 1,120$ years plus

1. That this is the 8th Manvantara and not the 7th is proved from the following also. The Purāṇas, while giving the names of Saptarṣis for different Manvantaras, put the names of Vyāsa Pārāśarya, Aśvatthāmā Drauṇi and Kṛpācārya under the 8th Manvantara. All these three were cirañjīvis and are likely to have lived upto the reign of Janamejaya, when the 8th Manvantara had started, the 7th eing closed with Abhimanyu or Parikṣit.

3 pādas i. e. 30 years i. e. in all 1,150 years. And as we have seen above, this calculation applies to the days of Sumitra and Kṣemaka, who are placed in the 29th caturyuga of the new Manvantara. Therefore, Sumitra and Kṣemaka flourished, according to this calculation, 1,150 years after Parikṣit, with whom the new Manvantara was taken as started.

Along with this we shall consider one other tradition also. According to Āryabhaṭṭa, not 28 but 27 Caturyugas and 3 pādas have gone. This is also true. We should remember that Āryabhaṭṭa takes a Manvantara to have 72 caturyugas and would, therefore, close the old (7th) Manvantara with Parikṣit and start the new 8th Manvantara with Janamejaya, whose number is 73rd: but we should remember that both the traditions come down to the same point i. e. to Sumitra. Thus Sumitra who is 29th from Parikṣit will be 28th from Janamejaya. Thus, according to Āryabhaṭṭa, with Sumitra, 27 (and not 28) caturyugas plus 3 pādas had elapsed. Thus both these traditions corroborate what I have said about MCM. In fact, both these traditional calculations (i.e. of Hemādri and Āryabhaṭṭa) are based upon MCM [1]

We started this discussion with the verses which divide a Manvantara into 28 + 43 caturyugas. We have, now, found that they had made such a division because in the 29th caturyuga i. e. in the days of Sumitra, the Purāṇas had closed all the Aikṣvāku and Aila branches i. e. chronological calculations were closed then. We shall soon see that there was a special reason for closing the calculations at this point. But just now let us remember that as an outcome of this discussion, we have found that (1) caturyuga does mean a ruling generation or a ruling unit or a king-name and that (2) a king-name in the Puranic king-lists stands for a yugā-khyā or caturyuga. (3) We have also found that Sumitra and Kṣemaka were taken to be 100th king-names from Manu Vaivasvata, 29th king-names from Parikṣit and 28th king-names from Janamejaya.

1. That caturyuga in '71 caturyugas' means a generation is seen by the Gujarati usage 71 कुळ or पेढी. cf. Narasinha Mehta's

<div align="center">कुळ एकोतर तायाँ ने</div>

Here 71 कुळ or generations are used in the sense of a unit or Man. vantara. Sometimes बहुतर पेढी is also used. I am told that Marathi, too, has a usage like बहत्तर पिढी. This, I think, is a very clear indication to show that a unit of 71 or 72 generations is meant in the computation Manvantara = 71 caturyuga.

We shall, now, see if this caturyuga or king-name had the value of 40 years, as is suggested by me, or not.

I have said earlier that according to one tradition, each of the mahāyugas had equal number of years and that each yuga i. e. mahāyuga had 1,000 years at first. If so, a mahā-caturyuga will have 4,000 years in all i. e. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali all together will have 4,000 years. Now if caturyuga (in MCM) or king-name has the value of 40 years, as I have said it has, then these 4,000 years would require $4,000 \div 40 = 1,00$ such caturyugas or king-names. We have found that the Purāṇas make Sumitra to be 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. This would, therefore mean that the Purāṇas take 4,000 years to have elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra, or in other words, from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra, they take four mahāyugas to have elapsed. It would, then, mean that the Purāṇas put Manu Vaivasvata at the start of Kṛtayuga and Sumitra at the close of Kaliyuga. Is there any indication to show that Manu Vaivasvata was put at the start of mahākṛta or that Sumitra was put at the end of mahākali ? If we find any of these two things corroborated by the Purāṇas, we can say that a king-name in the Puranic lists has a value of 40 years.

I must, here, declare that there is ample and clear evidence in the Purāṇas to show that Kali had ended with Sumitra and Kṣemaka. Let us, therefore, see when Kali had ended according to the Purāṇas.

Purāṇas are very clear about the end of Kali. All the Purāṇas agree in saying that Kali will end and Kṛta will start with Kalki.

(1) कल्किरूपं परित्यज्य हरि: स्वर्गं गमिष्यति ।
       तत: कृतयुगं नाम पुराबत् सम्भविष्यति ॥ *Ag*. XVI. 10

(2) यदावतीर्णो भगवान्द्धलिधर्मं तिह�ॅरि: ।
       कृतं भविष्यति तथा प्रजासूतिश्च सात्विकी ॥ *Bg*. XII. 11 23.

(3) अस्मिन्नेव युगे क्षीणे संध्याशिष्टे भविष्यति ।
       कल्किर्विष्णुयशा नाम पाराशर्य: प्रतापवान् ॥ *Vy*. 98. 103–4.

(4) पुन: कृतयुगं कृत्वा धर्मान्संस्थाप्य पूर्ववत् ।
       प्रयास्ये स्वालयं विभो ॥ *Kalki Purāṇa* I. ii. 8.

These passages, as also Kalki Purāṇa III, 14th adhyāya, show that the Purāṇa took Kali to end with Kalki. Now Kalki Purāṇa

makes Viśākhayūpa (of the Pradyota dynasty) a contemporary of Kalki. Thus Kali ended with Viskāhayūpa also.

Again, Purāṇas uniformly declare that Kali had ended with Sumitra and Kṣemaka. See:

(1) इक्ष्वाकूणामयं वंशो सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति ।
यतस्तं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलिः ॥

(2) क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलिः ।

Thus Kali had ended with Kalki, Viśākhayūpa, Sumitra and Kṣemaka. Therefore, they will all be comtemporaries. Even from an independent study, Dr. Pradhan has shown that Viśākhayūpa Sumitra and Kṣemaka were contemporaries. But let us proceed.

After the Saiśunāga dynasty, the Purāṇas add a summary of contemporary provincial dynasties, wherein it is clearly stated that Kali had ended then. See:

एतः साधं भविष्यन्ति वावत्कलिः नृपाः परे । and

एते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति कलिकाले महीक्षितः ।

This shows that with the close of the Saiśunāga line (of which we, now,[1] know that there were only two kings), Kali had ended.

Thus the evidence is conclusive to prove that Kali had ended with Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Viśākhayūpa, S śunāga and Kalki, incidentally also proving their contemporaneity and justifying Dr. Pradhan's results.

I have earlier, said[2] that each mahāyuga had at first 1000 years and then had 1200 years. This I had said by showing that Sumitra and Kṣemaka, whose present number in the Purāṇas, is about 125th from Manu Vaivasvata, were originally 100th kings from Manu Vaivasvata, and 25th from the 'samprata' kings, and by showing that each number represented a unit of 40 years. I shall show here how unequivocally do the Purāṇas support such a stand.

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1. See "Chronology of Kali Dynasties" in *Poona Orientalist* Oct. 1943.

2. See also MCM in *ABORI*, Silver Jubilee Number.

In the present Purāṇas a summary of contemporary provincial dynasties is found placed just before the Nandas and just after the Śaiśunāgas. Pargiter's text is this.[1]

एतैः सार्धं भविष्यन्ति तावत्कालं (v. l. यावत्कलिः) नृपाः परं ।
तुल्यकालं भविष्यन्ति सर्वे ह्येते महीक्षितः ॥
ऐक्ष्वाकवश्चतुर्विंशत्पाञ्चाला: समविंशति: ।
काशेयास्तु चतुर्विंशदष्टाविंशतिहैहया: ।
कलिंगाश्चैव द्वात्रिंशदश्मका: पञ्चविंशति: ॥
कुरवश्चापि षट्त्रिंशदष्टाविंशति: मैथिला: ।
शूरसेनाश्चयोविंशत् वीतिहोत्राश्च विंशति: ॥
एते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति एककालं (v. l. कलिकाले) महीक्षितः ।

This gives us the information that during the Kaliyuga, along with the Magadha kings (of the Bārhadratha, Pradyota and Śaiśunāga dynasties) the following dynasties will have the following number of kings, viz. Aikṣvākus 24, Pañcālas 27, Kāśeyas 24, Haihayas 28, Kaliṅgas 32, Aāmakas 25, Kurus 36, Maithilas 28, Śūrasenas 23 and Vītihotras 20. Here we find different numbers of kings for different dynasties for the same period. But if my theory of MCM is correct, there must be the same number of kings or king-units for all the contemporary dynasties for a given period, which, here, is the duration of the Kaliyuga. And I find that in the case of most of the above dynasties there are different readings in the *Purāṇas*, which are rejected by Pargiter, but according to which, the number is either 24 or 25. I find that according to one or the other Ms., six (Aikṣvāku, Pañcāla, Kāśeya, Haihaya, Kaliṅga and Aśmaka) out of ten dynasties, have either 24 or 25, whereas Kurus are 26, Maithilas 28, Śūrasenas 23, and Vītihotras 20 in number. But in fact, they should all be 24, if we exclude the 'sāmprata' kings, and 25 if we include them. The figure 24 or 25 is found for six out of these ten dynasties and I have no doubt that originally the same figure either 24 or 25 was to be found for all of them. This is supported by the following:

1. But Pargiter's text does not represent the original. As is shown further in this paper, all these dynasties were given 24 or 25 kings in the Kaliyuga and in most cases we do find alternative readings which give the figure 24 or 25. Pargiter has rejected these readings evidently thinking that uniform numbers for all the dynasties is an impossibility. Probably same is the genesis of these various readings. But as I shall show later in this paper uniformity of number is actually intended by the *Purāṇas*.

Just as the above summary of contemporary dynasties occurs
at the end of the Śaiśunāga dynasty, there is another summary
preserved, which occurs at the end of all the Solar and Lunar
dynasties. I shall quote the verses.[1] *Brahmāṇḍa* II, 74 has the
following verses :

ऐलबं'शस्य ये स्यातास्तथैवेक्ष्वाकवो नृपा: । 264
तेषामेकशतं पूर्णं कुलानामभिषेकिणाम् ॥
तावदेव तु भोजानां विस्तराद्द्विगुण: स्मृत: ॥
भोजानां द्विगुणं क्षेत्रं चतुर्धा तथथातथम् । [2]
तेष्वतीता: समाना ये (v. l. स नामानो) ब्रुवतस्तान्निबोध मे ॥

शतं वै प्रतिविन्ध्यानां शतं नागा: सहैहया: ।
भूलराष्ट्र(धैकशतमशीतिर्जनमेजया: ।
शतं च ब्रह्मदत्तानां शारिणां वीरिणां शतम् ।
तत: शतं तु पौलानां (v. 1. पौलोमानां, पांचालानां) शतं काशिकुशादय: ।
ततोऽपरे सहस्रं वै येऽतीता: शशबिन्दव: ॥
(v. 1. तथापरे सहस्रे द्वे येऽतीता: शशबिन्दव:).

The same text is found in *Vayu* and *Matsya* and I have noted
important readings from these above. This gives us the following
list of dynasties: 100 Ailas, 100 Aikṣvākus, 100 Bhojas, 100 Prati-
vindhyas, 100 Haihayas, 100 Nāgas, 100 Dhārtārāṣṭras, 80 Janame-ja-
yas, 100 Brahmadattas, 100 Sāris, 100 Vīris, 100 Pañcālas, or
Pulomās, 100 Kāṣis, 100 Kuṣas and 1000 or 2000 Sasabindavas.

Out of the 16 dynasties given here, 14 are given 100 kings,
each, only Janamejayas are said to be 80 and Sasabindavas to be
1000 or 2000. But even these two, in the original text, must have
been given 100 kings.

But what period do these 100 king-units cover? These verses
occur, in the present *Puraṇas* at the end of all the genealogies,
and these genealogies end with the Āndhras. Do these lists of 100

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1. Pargiter has wrongly understood these dynastic names as personal
names. See his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 130.

2. I do not quite understand the sense of this verse. It starts by saying
'*tāvadeva tu bhojānām*' which would give 100 to Bhojas. But the remaining
verse with its *dviguṇa* and *caturdhā* seems inexplicable. I, however, think that
the verse means that Bhojas have the same number, with two or four bran-
ches. And it is possible that these branches are Bhojas, Haihayas, Nāgas and
Prativindhyas. And I give 100 king-units to each of these branches.

kings come down to the end of the Āndhras? I do not think so.
They give 100 Aikṣvākus and 100 Ailas. And Aikṣvākus and Ailas
are definitely and finally closed by the *Puraṇas* at the end of the
Kaliyuga and with Sumitra and Kṣemaka. Therefore, and also
because I have shown that the numbers of Sumitra and Kṣemaka
were originally 100th, I take it that these verses cover a period
of 100 king-units from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra. If so, their
original place must have been at the end of the Saiśunāga dynasty
with which Kali ended. In fact, these verses occur in connection
with the description of Kali end and Kṛta start. I shall not quote
all the verses here, but any one who reads them (*Bḍ.*, II, 74, 225– 8;
Vy. II. XXXVII, 407ff and *Mt.* 272nd, 34–81) and particularly *Bḍ.*
II, 74, 225, 243, 254, 256; and *Mt* 272nd, 49, 56 etc., will have
hardly any doubt left about this statement of mine. The verses are
appended after the statement that Sumitra and Kṣemaka will be the
last kings of their lines. That also shows that these verses originally
occurred just after the close of the Saiśunāga dynasty, which closed
with Sumitra and Kṣemaka as shown above. Moreover, directly
appended to these verses are those verses which say that 28 yugā-
khyās have passed and 43 more are to pass still. This also, as I
have already shown, refers to the end of Sumitra and Kṣemaka,
with whom 28 yugākhyās had passed. Therefore I take that the
above verses originally occurred after the Saiśunāga dynasty. There-
fore according to the above verses Sumitra and other contem-
poraries were 100th kings.

But how can this be ? Once the *Puraṇas* say that they are 24th
or 25th, and now they say that they are 100th. But there is no
conflict between these two statements. In fact, one calculation is for
the duration of the Kaliyuga only (for which 24 or 25 kings are
given) and the other calculation is for the duration of the catur-
yuga or mahācaturyuga (for which 100 king-units are given).

Out of these two lists—one for the Kaliyuga and the other for
the mahācaturyuga—we find Aikṣvākus Pāñcalas, Kāśis, Haihayas,
Kurus (or Dhārtarāṣṭras) and Maithilas (or Janamejayas) to be
common to both. And all these (except the Janamejay s) have 100
kings in the second list of the mahācaturyuga and therefore they
should have the same number of 24 or 25 kings for the first list
of Kaliyuga also. Out of the remaining dynasties, in the Kaliyuga

list, Sūrasenas[1] and Vitihotras are to be taken as the same as one
or the other of the four branches of Bhojas as given in the mahā-
caturyuga list. And all the Bhoja branches are given 100 kings,
therefore these two Sūrasenas and Vitihotras also should have 24
kings for the Kaliyuga. Kaliṅgas and Aśmakas are already found
to have 24 or 25 kings in all the dynasties mentioned in the Kali-
yuga list. It is, therefore, almost certain that the original list for
the Kaliyuga had 24 or 25 kings or king-units for all the contem-
porary dynasties and the original list for the mahācaturyuga had
100 kings for all the contemporary dynasties.

Again see this. For the Kaliyuga they have given 24 or 25
king-units for all the dynasties and for the mahācaturyuga they
have given 100 king-units for all the dynasties. This corroborates
my theory of MCM, for otherwise how are we to explain all the
families having the same number of kings during a long period of
25 or 100 generations? In actual practice, it is impossible that
when one particular dynasty shows 25 or 100 kings for a given
interval, all the other contemporary dynasties will have, for the
same interval, exactly the same number of kings. This very unifor-
mity of numbers (25 or 100) for different contemporary dynasties,
shows that these numbers do not refer to the actual kings that
ruled in succession but to king-units or as the *Purāṇas* call them
caturyugas or yugākhyās.

And 25 kings or king-units according to MCM will give
(25 × 40 =) 1,000 years for the Kaliyuga and 100 king-units,
according to MCM, will give (100 × 40) 4,000 years for a mahā-
caturyuga. This, I think, demonstrates conclusively that the *Purāṇas*
at one time, took a yuga to have 1,000 years and mahācaturyuga
to have 4,000 years. That the Mahācaturyuga had 4,000 years is
proved by *Bhāgavata* XII, 3,34. which reads

<div align="center">

दिव्याब्दानां सहस्रान्ते चतुर्थे तु पुनः कृतम् ।
भविष्यति यदा नॄणां मन आत्मप्रकाशनम् ॥

</div>

The verse means that Kṛta will *again* start i. e. a caturyuga
will be over after 4,000 (*caturthe sahasrānte*) years. It is certain
that the word *divyābdānām* is substituted by some later writer,

1. Sūrasena, who was the son of Arjuna Kārtavīrya gives the patron-
ymic, Sūrasenas. Thus śūrasenas are Haihayas. See *Ancient Indian Historical
Tradition*, p. 266. Vitihotras also were a branch of Haihayas. See, *AIHT*, p. 267.

for words like *varṣaṇām hi* For, according to the usual computation, a caturyuga has 12,000 divyābdas (not 4,000) and 4,32,00,000 mānavābdas. In no computation and in no reference do we find 4,000 divyābdas for the caturyuga. Therefore the word divyābdānām is a clear emendation here. Thus this verse very clearly says that a caturyuga i.e. a mahācaturyuga had 4,000 years (ordinary).

Now, here we get 4,000 years for a mahācaturyuga and elsewhere we get 100 king-units for a mahācaturyuga. Therefore, the conclusion is inevitable that the *Purāṇas* had taken a unit of 40 years and had represented that unit by one king-name in the genealogical lists.

Thus we find that (1) *Purāṇas* have given 25 king-units for Kaliyuga and 100 king-units for mahācaturyuga, (2) that Kaliyuga had ended with Sumitra and other contemporary kings, (3) that each yuga had 1,000 years and mahācaturyuga had 4,000 years and (4) that each of the king-names in the Puranic genealogical lists represents a time-unit of 40 years.

Now, as our king-lists start with Manu Vaivasvata and as we find that there were 100 king-units from Manu to Sumitra, it is clear that Kṛtayuga had started with Manu Vaivasvata and Kali had ended with Sumitra. Therefore from Manu to Sumitra, there had elapsed 4,000 years. And taking 5,976 B. C. as the date of Manu Vaivasvata, we get (5,976—4000=) 1,976 B. C. as the date of Sumitra and others, and also as the date of the end of Kaliyuga.

Thus we find that the Purāṇas, at one time, took each of the mahāyugas to have 1,000 years. But I have said earlier that at a later date, a mahāyuga was taken to have 1,200 years. Let us see how this has happened.

If each of the mahāyugas had 1,000 years, Kali would start 3,000 years after Manu Vaivasvata or in terms of MCM, with the 76th king-name. 75 king-names or caturyugas from Manu Vaivasvata will bring us to the close of Dvāpara (75×40 = 3,000). We have taken Abhimanyu to be 71st from Manu Vaivasvata. Therefore, Aśvamedhadatta, in the Lunar line was the 75th king-name. Similarly, in the solar line Prativyūha was 75th from Manu Vaivasvata. Thus it was with Aśvamedhadatta (75th in the Lunar Hastināpura line), Prativyūha (75th in the solar line) and Nira-

mitra (75th in the Lunar Magadha line) that Dvāpara ended. Therefore Kali started with Adhisimakṛṣṇa (76th in the lunar Hastinā-pura line), Divākara (76th in the solar line) and Senājit (76th in the lunar Magadha line). It is, therefore, that these kings-Adhisima, Divākara and Senājit are called sāmprata kings in the Purāṇas. In fact, it seems to have been usual to close the Puranic chronological computations with the close of a yuga (or a manvantara). We find that at the close of Dvāpara (i. e. at the close of the reign of Aśvamedhadatta and others) Puranic lists were closed. That is why past tense is used upto the 75th king-names, present tense (sāmprata) is used for the 76th king-name (Adhisima and others) and future tense is used for the kings following the 76th king-names. This was because Dvāpara had ended and Kali had started then. Similarly, we find that Puranic lists were closed with Sumitra and others; and we have already found a similar use of all the three tenses there also. This was because Kali had ended and new Kṛta had started then. Thus we find that from the 76th king-names (Adhisima and others) to the 100th king-names (Sumitra and others) i. e. for 25 king-names, there had been Kaliyuga of 1,000 years $(25 \times 40 = 1,000)$.

The position, so far, is this. I have said that a manvantara was closed with the 71st (Abhimanyu and others) or 72nd (Parikṣit and others) king-names. But, if the manvantara was closed with the 71st and 72nd king-names, the Purāṇas must have been closed in the reign of Parikṣit (72nd) and Janamejaya (73rd). Again the Purāṇas must have been closed in the rigns of Adhisima and others (76th king-names), as Dvāpara ended then. Is there evidence for this closing of the Purāṇas twice? I think there is. We actually find Bg. and Vn. describing the genealogies from the standpoint of Parikṣit's and Janamejaya's reigns respectively and Vy and Mt from the standpoint of Adhisima's reign. (See Pargiter, DKA Intr.) This directly corroborates and proves all that I have said above about the Manvantara and Yugas.

But in the days of Sumitra and others i. e. at the time of the end of Kaliyuga or soon after, it seems that the Yugas, at least the Kaliyuga, over and above its historical and chronological significance, was also given religio-ethical basis. They probably thought that Kali which meant quarrel, dissension etc., should have started with the Mbh war. In fact, all the Purāṇas have a clear statement like,

यस्मिन्कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाहनि ।
प्रतिपत्रं कलियुगं   Par. *DKA* p. 62.

Now, it was in the same year as Kṛṣṇa's death that Yudhiṣ-thira also died. Therefore, it means that Kaliyuga started in the year in which both Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira died. This is clearly mentioned by *Bg.* and *Vn.* Now, Yudhiṣṭhira's number is 70th from Manu Vaivasvata. Earlier we have seen that Kaliyuga (of 4000 years) had started with the 76th king-names. Here, we find that Kaliyuga started with the end of 70th king name i. e. with 71st king-name. Thus there is a difference of five king-names, $(76-71=5)$ between these two statements. Five king-names, according to MCM, will have the value of $5 \times 40 = 200$ years. Thus there will be a difference of 200 years between these two starts of Kaliyuga. In fact, we get two durations for Kaliyuga— (1) from 71st to the 100th king-name and (2) 76th to 100th king-name. First will give, according to MCM, 1,200 years and the second will give, according to MCM, 1,000 years. Thus Kali, which had actually started with 76th king-names was pushed back by 200 years and was taken to have started with the 71st king-names. Therefore Kali of 1,000 years, we shall call the real Kali and Kali of 1,200 years, we shall call the adjusted Kali. Thus we see that Kali which had 1,000 years at first, was later, taken to have 1,200 years. This is clearly recorded in the Purāṇas. All the Purāṇas have preserved the following verse.

यदा देवर्षयः सप्त मघासु विचरन्ति हि ।
तदा प्रवृत्तस्तु कलिर्द्वादशशतात्मकः ॥ Par. *DKA* p. 62.

Here it is said that when Saptarṣis had gone to Maghā, Kali of 1,200 years (it should be noted that the years are not charac-terised as divya and are therefore mānava) had started. Purāṇas are confused in their statement about when the Saptarṣis had entered Maghā as they speak of their entry in Maghā either in Yudhiṣṭhira's time or in Parikṣit's time. I have examined the whole question of the Saptarṣi Era in Part IV of this volume. Here, it will suffice to say that by the entrance of the Saptarṣis in Maghā the Purāṇas mean the end of Yudhiṣṭhira's period. Thus this statement clearly means that Kali of 1,200 years (naturally it presupposes another Kali which was not of 1,200 years and which, as we have seen was of 1,000 years) had started from the end of Yudhiṣṭhira's period i. e. from the 71st king-names.

But at this time when they made Kali to have 1,200 years
instead of 1000 years, they do not seem to have taken all the
Yugas to have 1,200 years. The above verse also talks of Kali
(of 1,200 years) only, not of all the Yugas. That is why in order
to account for these additional 200 years, they shifted the start of
Kali from the 76th king-name to the 71st king-name i. e. by 5
king-names. Incidentally I may mention that this changing of
Kali from 1,000 to 1,200 years by the addition of 5 king-names,
proves that each king-name had the value of 40 years.

But let us understand what this change of 1,000 years to 1,200
years of Kali implies. According to the earlier calculations, each
Yuga had 1,000 years. Therefore Dvāpara had ended with the
75th king-name. Thus from the 71st to the 75th king-name i. e.
the first 200 years after the death of Yudhiṣṭhira were the last 200
years of Dvāpara. But when Kali was taken to have 1,200 years
i. e. when it was given 200 years more, they did not insert five
more king-names in between the king-names numbered 76th and
100th. Instead they included 5 king-names from 71st to 75th in
the duration of Kaliyuga. This they did because they wanted to
start Kali with the death of Kṛṣṇa. But this created a peculiar
situation. Whereas, according to the earlier calculations, 71st to
75th king-names filled up the last 200 years of Dvāpara, now,
according to this adjustment, the same 5 king-names—71st to 75th
filled up the first 200 years of (the adjusted) Kaliyuga. Thus the
same 200 years were taken by some as the last 200 years of
Dvāpara and by others as the first 200 years of Kali. Thus, the
period of these 200 years is the period of overlapping Yugas.
That is why the Purāṇas expressly declare that it is impossible
to separate Dvapara from Kali. See.

युगपत्समवेतौ तौ द्विधा वक्तुं न शक्यते । Mt. 148, 38.

This clearly says that Kali and Dvāpara occur simultaneously
and are so inseparably connected with one another that it is im-
possible to separate them. This can only mean that the period of
these two yugas was an overlapping period. And we have seen
above that such indeed is the case.

Thus each of the mahāyugas had, at first, 1,000 years. Then,
in the second stage of the adjustment of yuga-system, only Kali
i. e. mahākali was taken to have 1,200 years and other three yugas

were kept as they were i. e. were taken to have 1,000 years each. But in the third stage of yuga-adjustment, all the four yugas were taken to have 1,200 years each. At a later stage, i. e. at a time later than Sumitra and others, chronologists saw that Kali had 1,200 years. They must have, naturally, thought that if Kali had 1,200 years and if each yuga had equal number of years, as they knew it had, then each of the four yugas should have 1,200 years and the mahā-caturyuga should have 4,800 years in all.

But for 4,800 years they should have, according to MCM, (4,800 ÷ 40 =) 120 king-names from the start of Kṛta to the close of Kali i. e. from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra. But the number of Sumitra was 100th from Manu Vaivasvata. It had now to be made 120th. Therefore they should insert 20 king-names in the genealogies. But they cannot insert these 20 names in the post-Mbh lists as these lists had 30 names, which was just the number required for the 1,200 years of Kali. Their only course was to add 20 names in the lists of pre-Mbh period, which they did. It is therefore that we find in the present Purānas the number of Bṛhadbala to be 91st, and not 71st as it was earlier. How precisely this was done, I have shown in Part IV of this work.

Thus it was that each yuga came to have 1,200 years. At this time, they effected one more change also. Chronologists in the days of Sumitra and others had given 1,200 years to Kali only, but they had kept the other yugas as they were. So, now, when they gave 1,200 years uniformly to all the yugas, they had a strong tradition that each of the yugas had 1,000 years. In order to harmonise this tradition with the adjustment done by them, they said that a yuga proper had only 1,000 years, but just before and just after the yuga proper, there was a period of 100 years, which they called the period of Sandhyā and Sandhyānśa. The fact that the period between the Sandhyā and the Sandhyānśa was called the yuga proper is clearly noted in the following verse:

सन्ध्यासन्ध्यांशयोर्मध्ये य: कालो वर्तते द्विज ।
युगाख्य: स तु विज्ञेय: कृतत्रेतादिसंयुत: ॥ *Nara* II, 13.

Thus each yuga came to have 100 years (Sandhyā) + 1,000 years (yuga proper) + 100 years (Sandhyānśa) i. e. 1,200 years in all.

Before leaving this subject of yuga-adjustment, I should say that this last stage was current upto the end of the Āndhras. But

by the start of the Guptas, they seem to have changed the proportion of yuga years from 1·1·1·1 to 1·2·3·4 and thus gave 4,800, 3,600, 2,400 and 1,200 years respectively to Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali (increasing the Sandhyā and Sandhyāṅśa periods also in the same proportion): and it was later still that these years were taken to be divya years. Thus the yuga-system came to have its final form.

We entered into all this discussion to find out, if we can, the number of years that had elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to the Mbh age: and we have, now, seen that both according to the yuga-system of chronology and Manvantara-caturyuga method of chronology, the period from Manu Vaivasvata to the Mbh age, covers 2,800 years [2,000 years of Kṛta and Tretā plus 800 years of Dvāpara upto Yudhiṣthira's death) or 2,840 (71 × 40) years. If we add to this 800 years of yuga-adjustment (change from 1,000 to 1,200 years for each yuga), we get 3,600 or 3,640 years for this period. Thus we get 3,640 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Somādhi (the first king of the post-Mbh Bārhadratha dynasty). And for the post-Mbh period from Somādhi to Chandragupta I, we have found two figures (1) 2,807 years according to Bht school and (2) 2,398 years according to Vy-Mt school. Adding 3,640 to both these we get (3,640 + 2,807 =) 6,447 and (3,640 + 2,398) = 6,038 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Chandragupta I's accession. But Megasthenes gives 6,451 years and Arrian 6,042 years for this period i.e. the figures of each of these exceed by 4 years the figures of the above two Puranic schools. The reason of this difference of 4 years is this that whereas the Purāṇas stop their calculations at the accession of Chandragupta I, the Greek writers stop their calculations at the time of Alexander's arrival in India. This means that Alexander came to India in the 5th regnal year of Chandragupta I. Therefore, taking 325 B. C. to be the date of Alexander's arrival in India, we get 329 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta I's accession. In other words, Puranic calculations of both the schools had stopped at 329 B.C. and Greek calculations come down to 325 B. C.

Therefore, according to these calculations, the date of Manu Vaivasvata will be 325 + 6,451 = 6,776 B. C. or deducting 800 years of Yuga-adjustment, as we should, 5,976 B. C. Arrian's (and therefore Vy-Mt school's) calculation seems to give 325 + 6,042 = 6,367 B. C. or 6,367 − 800 = 5,567 B. C. as the date of Manu

Vaivasvata; but this difference of 409 years between the two dates (5976−5567=409) is apparent only. We shall soon find out that this difference is caused by a peculiar reason.

These considerations show that what the two Greek writers have said about the ancient Indian Chronology, is fully supported by our Purāṇas, even as they are to-day. We have found that the number 153 for the kings is actually found in the Purāṇas. Again, we have found that in the matter of number of years, the number of 6,451 given by Megasthenes is supported by the Bht school and the number of 6,042 given by Arrian is supported by the Vy—Mt school. We have also found that the method of counting years of regnal period from the number of kings as enunciated by Megasthenes is the same as MCM. Only one part of Arrian's statement still remains unexplained. Arrian has said that amongst the Indians there had been three republican periods. The number of years for the first period is lost, but the next two periods, according to Arrian, had 300 and 120 years each. We shall, now, see if this is true. But in doing so, we shall have to examine all the Kali and post-Kali dynasties, which we shall now do, showing, at the same time that MCM is definitely used in these Kali and post-Kali dynasties also.

CHAPTER FOUR

MANVANTARA—CATURYUGA—METHOD

[ITS APPLICATION—KALI CHRONOLOGY]

As every student of our ancient history knows, there are four dates very important for our Puranic chronology—*viz.* (1) the date of the commencement of Kali, (2) date of the Mahābhārata war, (3) dates of the deaths of Yudiṣthira and Kṛṣṇa, and (4) the date of Parikṣit's birth. (This last is important because he was a contemporary of Somādhi of the Magadha line, from whom all our Kali chronology starts.) I must make it clear that one of the reasons why our chronology is misunderstood and misconstructed at present, is the very complicated confusion which has arisen about these four dates, which have become the starting-points of various calculations.

Let us see what were the real dates of these events. I have taken Manu's date to be 5,976 B.C. Therefore the death of Yudhiṣṭhira, who was 70th, according to MCM, will be in 5,976 − (70 × 40) 2,800 = 3,176 B.C. Now Mahābhārata war was some 25 or 26 years earlier than Yudhiṣṭhira's death. Therefore the date of the war was 3,176 + 25 = 3201 B.C. Again Parikṣit was conceived during the days of the war, therefore the date of his birth was also 3,201 B.C. And taking 5,976 B.C. as the date of Manu with whom the Kṛta yuga started, we get 5976 − 3,000 = 2,976 B.C. as the date of the end of Dvāpara and of the beginning of Kali. Therefore the real dates of

> Kali-start was 2,976 B. C.
> Mbh war was 3,201 B. C.
> Y's death was 3,176 B. C.
> P's birth was 3201 B. C.

These are the real dates of these incidents, but later there arose a confusion about the start of Kali. It was sometimes believed that Kali started with the Mbh. war and sometimes that it started with Yudhiṣṭhira's and Kṛṣṇa's death. Again Parikṣit's birth was always associated with the Mbh. war. Therefore, any of these four dates may be mistaken for any of these four events. Thus each of these events may have four dates.

But the confusion has not ended here. As we have already seen, the beginning of Kali was pushed back by 200 years. Therefore Kali's beginning was taken from 2,976 B.C. to 3,176 B.C. Thus we get three beginnings of Kali:

The one that started in 2,976 B.C. was real.

The one that started in 3,176 B.C. was amended.

The one that started in 3,201 B.C. was misunderstood.

Now it is also possible that as there was a gap of 200 years between the starts of the real and amended Kalis, so some one may take 3,001 B. C. (3,201 − 200 = 3,001) as the start of Kali, taking a gap of 200 years from 3,201 B. C. Thus there will be so many possible Kali-starts.

B. C. 3,201)		B. C. 3,176 amended
	misunderstood	
B. C. 3,001)		B. C. 2,976 real

Again at a later age when these amended 200 years were distributed as sandhyā and sandhyāṁśa, there will be the following starts of Kali possible :

B. C. 3,201, 3101, 3001, 3,176, 3,076, 2,976.

Therefore, any of these dates may be taken as the date of any of the above four events. But the confusion worst confounded follows still.

According to MCM, Yudhiṣṭhira was 70th and Abhimanyu 71st from Manu. Therefore, according to this method, Abhimanyu's death will be put in 5,976 − 2,840 = 3,136 B. C. (But we should remember that this method is theoretical and likely to be accurate only at certain specific points and was accurate at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira's death.) Now as it was known that Abhimanyu died in the Mbh war and also that Parikṣit was born when Abhimanyu died, therefore this date (3,136) may be taken also as Parikṣit's birth's date. In fact as we shall see, it is this date 3136 B. C.

which is taken as the starting point of all our Kali chronology. Thus we get two dates for Parikṣit's birth viz. 3201 B. C. (real) and 3,136 B. C. (theoretical). Adding this date 3,136 B C. to the above six dates we get seven dates and all these may be confused with one another. Again if this 3,136 B. C. is misunderstood for the date of Mbh. war and therefore for Kali-start, there may be three more dates for Kali-start, 3,136 3,036, 2,936 B. C. Thus we get three sets for Kali :

B. C. 3,201	B. C. 3,176	B. C. 3,136
(real date for Mbh. & P's birth)	(real date of Y's death)	(theoretical date of P)
3,101	3,076	3,036
3,001	2976	2,936

And the most important point for us to remember is this that any of these may be taken for any of the above four events viz. (1) Kali-start, (2) Mbh. war, (3) Yudhiṣṭhᵣra's death, and (4) Parikisit's birth, though their real dates were 2,976, 3,201, 3,106 and 3,201 B. C. respectively.

But we should understand that though there are nine possible dates for Kali-start, there will be only three possible dates for Kali-end :

(1)	3,201	3,101	3,001	(2)	3,176	3,076	2,976	(3)	3,136	3,036	2,936
	1,200	1,100	1,000		1,200	1,100	1,000		1,200	1,100	1,000
	2,001	2,001	2,001		1,976	1,976	1,976		1,936	1,936	1,936

Thus for the close of Kali we shall get three possible dates viz. 2,001 B. C. 1,976 B. C. and 1936 B. C., out of which 1,976 B. C. was the real date of Kali-end.[1]

Now let us understand one more point. Sumitra is put in the fourth Pāda of the 29th Caturyuga of the new Manvantara; therefore of the new Manvantara (which started after Bṛhadbala and Abhimanyu), $28 \times 40 = 1120 + 30$ (three padas of 10 years each)

1. But in the latest stage of yuga-adjustment they had taken 3201 B. C. (i. e. the real date of Mbh war) to be the starting date for Kaliyuga. But they considered the period of 100 years from 3201 B. C. to 3101 B. C. as the Sandhyā period and therefore considered the Kali proper to start from 3101 B. C.; and this date has been ever since recognised as the date of Kali start and Mbh war.

= 1150 years had passed when Sumitra ruled. But the new Man-
vantara started with the beginning of the 72nd Caturyuga and our
amended Kaliyuga started with the 71st Caturyuga. Therefore,
according to this calculation, in Sumitra's day, 1150 + 40 = 1190
years had elapsed from Yudhiṣṭhira's death. Now amended Kali
started in 3,176 B. C. Therefore Sumitra's time will be 3,176−1190
= 1986. B. C. Therefore between the date of Yudhiṣṭhira and
Sumitra there will be 1,190 years, between the theoretical date of
Parikṣit's birth (or accession) and Sumitra there will be 3,136 −
1,986 = 1,150 years and between Mbh. war and Sumitra there will
be 3,201 − 1986 = 1215 years.

Now before proceeding further I shall make one point clear.
Earlier I have taken a gap of 25 or 26 years between Yudhiṣṭhira's
death and Mbh. war i. e. I have taken so many years as
Yudhiṣṭhira's regnal period. My reason for this is based upon this
verse.[1]

<div style="text-align:center">

पञ्चसप्ततिवर्षाणि प्राक्कले: सप्त ते द्विजा: ।

मघास्वासन् महाराजे शासत्यूर्वीं युधिष्ठिरे ॥

पञ्चर्विंशतिवर्षेषु गतेष्वथ कलौ युगे

समाध्ययन्त्याश्लेषां मुनयस्ते शतं समा: ।

</div>

According to these verses, Saptarṣis were in Maghā for 75
years in Yudhiṣṭhira's time and they would be for 25 years more in
Maghā, when they will change the nakṣatra and simultaneously
both Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa would die. This division of 75 and
25 years suggests that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled for 25 years, he having
been crowned when Saptarṣis had been in Maghā for 75 years.[2]

But we have a tradition that Yudhiṣṭhira ruled for 36 years.
How is this? I think that this is due to the confusion of the 10
years of the last pāda of the 29th Caturyuga. The confusion is likely

1. G. H. Ojha in Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā (p. 159.60) notes: कादिनरवाले
   इस संवत्का (सप्तर्षि) प्रारम्भ कलियुग के २५ वर्ष पूरे होने पर (२६ वें वर्ष से)
   मानते हैं. Here Kali-start is taken from Mbh. war and 25 or 26 years
   are put between Mbh. war and Saptarṣi-start (i. e. their entry in Āśleṣā)
   or Y's death. This also shows that Y ruled for 25 years. For Saptarṣi
   era see Part IV.

2. As quoted in Classical San. Lit., by Krishnamacharya p. ixxviii.

to arise thus. We have seen that Sumitra is placed in 1,986 B. C. and Kali-end (real) is in 1,976 B. C. But if some one mistook 1,986 B. C. as the Kali-end, then he would put Sumitra in 1,996 B. C. Accordingly he would put the date of the Kali-start ten years earlier i. e. in 3,211 B. C. and this would bring about a difference of 35 or 36 years between Kali-start or Mbh. war and Yudhiṣṭhira's death. And this will create fresh complications.

I shall, now, show that these confusions and complications are not of my imagination, but are actually found in some of the Purāṇas. It is true that all these dates may not have started actual confusions, but some of them have. In fact it is due to the want of understanding these possible confusions and the Manvantara-Caturyuga Method that all our ancient history and chronology are most sadly wrongly constructed. Our Purāṇas have preserved, very faithfully, the most accurate chronology even to a year. I shall substantiate these remarks, by examining all the Kali dynasties upto the rise of the Guptas, which I proceed to do now.

For each of the dynasties after the Mbh war, the Purāṇas give (1) names of individual kings (2) regnal periods of these individual kings and (3) total number of kings and total regnal period of each of the dynasties. In between, twice, they give a general computation, thus (1) from Parikṣit to the Nandas and (2) from the Nandas to the end of the Āndhras.

We shall consider these details about these dynasties here. Let us take the Bārhadratha dynasty first.[1]

According to Pargiter's texts (p. 13) only one ms of Mt (viz jmt) gives to this dynasty a total of 16 kings and 723 years. All others, with minor difference, give 22 or 32 kings and 1,000 years. Thus we get 16, 22 or 32 kings for this dynasty. When we count the kings, who are actually mentioned in the texts from Somādhi to Ripuñjaya (the last king of the dynasty) we find 22 names. So, the correct number is 22. Jmt gives 16, but it expressly calls these 16 king as future (bhavitāro) kings. (p. 17). Now future kings start from after Senājit who is called the sāmprata king. And Senājit is 6th from Somādhi. Therefore, upto the present king (included) we have 6 kings and there are 16 more future kings.

1. I have appended to this Chapter detailed genealogical tables from the Bārhadrathas to the Āndhras.

Thus what *Jmt* has done is to close the calculations at Senājit and start new calculations from after him. This is quite in conformity with what we have seen earlier. We have seen that the real Dvā-para had ended with the 75th king-names. As Senājit's number is 76th the Purāṇas were closed in his reign. Thus the tradition followed in *Jmt* divides the post-Mbh Bārhadratha dynasty thus— 5 past kings + 1 sāmprata king + 16 future kings upto Ripuñjaya. Thus even according to this calculation, we shall have 22 kings in all for this dynasty.

We have a reading which gives 32 king-names to this dynasty. Here, there are two explanations possible. (1) dvā viñśati has been mistaken and wrongly copied for dvā-triñśat. The corruption of viñśat into triñśat is so general in the Mss that Pargiter has made a general statement that we can take any of the two numbers, as is suitable, quite irrespective of the Ms evidence. I, therefore, think that this is a case of wrong reading and that the correct reading is dvā-viñśat i. e. 22. (2) But if this is not granted, we may say along with Pargiter (p. 13) that this number 32 is for kings from Bṛhadratha (who is 10th upwards from Somādhi) and not from Somādhi to Ripuñjaya. In any case, it is certain that the Purāṇas mean to say that we should take 1,000 years for 22 king-names from Somādhi to Ripuñjaya.

Thus we get for this dynasty (1) 16 king-names for 723 years and (2) 22 king-names for 1,000 years.

Now, before I explain these figures, I shall clarify one other point. Though the Purāṇas give 723 or 1,000 years as the general total, it is found that if we total up the individual regnal periods (given in *DKA*), we get a total which does not tally with 723 or 1,000. But this discrepancy is apparent only. For instance, *Bd* total of the individual regnal periods of these 22 king-names is 978, but it has omitted to give the regnal period of 22 years for Acala, which is given in *Vy*. Thus in *Bd* the total of the indivi-dual periods will tally with the general total. Similarly, in *Vy* the total of individual periods is 997 years, which is less by 3 and this is due to taking 64 instead of 67 (*Bd* figure) for the second king-name Srutaśramā. *Bg* and *Vn* give the names of the kings and the grand total of the regnal years, but not the individual periods.

Mt gives 723 as the grand total for 16 future king-names. This has given rise to much corruption in the text. We should

note that the number 16 of *Mt* is for the last 16 kings; therefore
its grand total will be 1000 minus the total of years of the first
six names. Now the regnal periods of the first six king-names
are given thus:— 58 + 64 + 36 + 46 + 56 *(Bd)* + 23, which give
277 years in all.[1] If we deduct these 277 years from 1000, we
get 723 years exactly as it is given by *Jmt*. Again this total of
723 for 16 kings tallies with the total of the individual king-names
given in *Mt*, if we take 56 instead of 50 years for Sukṣatra. As it
is, *Mt* total for 16 names is 717 years and if we add these 6
years, we get 723 years.

Thus these are the correct totals and the individual periods
also should come to these totals. They do in one or the other
Ms of each of the Purāṇas. If they do not, in certain Mss of
different Purāṇas, it only means that these Mss are corrupt, not
that the totals are corrupt.

Thus we get (1) 16 king-names for 723 years and (2) 22 king-
names for 1000 years. But these figures are doubted by Pargiter
and others because they give a very high average. Both give an
average of 45 years (723 ÷ 16 = 45.1; 1000 ÷ 22 = 45). Even,
according to MCM, the average should be 40 years and not 45
years. How is this? I shall explain.

In fact, according to MCM, 723 years will require (723÷40=)
18 + 1 = 19 king-names and 1000 years will require (1000 ÷ 40 =)
25 king-names. If so, we have 3 names less in both these versions.
Let us remember this in what follows.

Let us, now, consider the post-Mbh dynasties upto the rise of
the Nandas. We have Bārhadrathas, Pradyotas and Śaiśunāgas.
We get 22 king-names and 1000 years for the Bārhadrathas, 5
king-names and 138 years for the Pradyotas and 10 king-names
and 360 or 362 years for the Śaiśunāgas. I must, here, say that
though Pargiter has accepted 360 years for the Śaiśunāgas, the
correct number for them in the present Puranic texts should be
taken as 362, which is found in *Vy* and *Vn* (see *DKA*, p 22 p. 46).
Thus we get 1,500 years from the end of the Mbh war or to be
strict from the death of Yudhiṣṭhira to the end of the Śaiśunāgas.

1. This naturally means that the Purāṇas were closed in the days of the
Sāmprata kings (1000 — 723=) 277 years after Yudhiṣṭhira's death or in 3177—277
=2975 B. C. i e. in 2976 B. C., when we have seen the real Kali had started.

Now I have shown elsewhere[1] and I shall show below that these 1,500 years contain 350 years of a kingless period, which had occurred just from Mahananda to Mahapadma. Therefore, really speaking 1,150 years and not 1,500 years had elapsed from the death of Yudhiṣṭhira to Mahananda's accession. These 1,150 years are found in the totals of these three dynasties. If we take out 350 years of this kingless period from the total of 362 years for the Saiśunāgas (for we shall later see that these 362 years contain these 350 years), we have 12 years left for Saiśunāgas; and I suggest that, in truth, Siśunāga had ruled only for 12 years. Therefore, we get 1000 + 138 + 12 i. e. 1,150 years in all. For these 1,150 years we should have, according to MCM, (1,150÷40=) 28+1=29 king-names. And I have elsewhere[2] explained that these 1,150 years are represented by 22 Bārhadrathas, 5 Pradyotas and Siśunāga and Mahananda (who were the only two Saiśunāgas). But since, I have realised that that is the last stage of adjustment; earlier the lists stood differently. I shall explain this position here.

Pradyotas ruled at Avanti and not at Magadha; therefore they should have no place in the Magadha lists. And I think that earlier they had actually no place in the Magadha lists. Saiśunāga list also, as it is found at present, is not what it was originally.

Scholars have rightly shown[3] that out of the 10 king-names of the present Saiśunāga list, Siśunāga and Mahananda had ruled after Bimbisāra and his descendents upto Udāyi. Therefore, we should remove these two names from their present place in the Saiśunāga list and place them at the end of that list. Again, the scholars have shown[4] that the last two king-names of this list are mere synonyms or titles of the first two king-names. Thus we take out the last two names and put the first two names at the end of the list, just after Udāyi.

Along with this, we should remember the fact that Pradyota, the first king of the Pradyota list was a contemporary of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Also we should remember that Pradyota and

1. *Poona Orientalist*. 1943-44. *Chronology of Kali Dynasties*.

2. Ibid.

3. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*: Raychaudhari *Political History of Ancient India*; Jayswal in *JBORS*.

4. See Pradhan *CAI*.

his dynasty never ruled at Magadha. Even the Purāṇas introduce the Pradyota list with the remark

बृहद्रथेष्वतीतेषु वीतिहोत्रेष्ववन्तीषु

which should not be taken as 'when Bṛhadrathas, Vitihotras and Avantis had passed away' as is done by Pargiter, but as 'when Bṛahadrathas had passed away (in Magadha) and when Vitihotras had passed away at Avanti, (Pradyota came to the throne at Avanti). Therefore Pradyotas had not ruled at Magadha. The last fact which we should remember is that Śiśunāga was a contemporary of Visākhayūpa of the Pradyota list.[1] Keeping these facts in mind, let us reconstruct the post-Mbh Magadha line thus:

> 1–22 king-names:— Somādhi to Ripuñjaya
> 22–28   „   „   Kṣemadhanvā
>   Kṣetraujāā
>   Bimbisāra
>   Ajātaśatru
>   Darśaka
>   Udāyi

And putting Śiśunāga after Udāyi, we get Śiśunāga's number to be 29th from Somādhi. Now, what I think is this. At one time, the Bārhadratha list had included the names of Kṣemadhanvā and Kṣetraujāh; and from Bimbisāra had started a new list. If so, we get the following Bārhadrathas:— 1–22 Somādhi to Ripuñjaya + 2 Kṣemadhanvā and Kṣetraujāh i. e. 24 in all. Add to this Sahadeva who preceeded Somdāhi and we get 25 Bārhadrathas in all i. e. from no 71st (Sahadeva) to 95th (Kṣetraujāh). For these 25 Bārhadrathas, according to MCM, we require 25 × 40 = 1,000 years. That is why the Purāṇas give 1,000 years to the Bārhadrathas. Thus the uniform number of 1,000 years given to the Bārhadrathas in all the Purāṇas shows that there were, at one time, not 22 king-names (as we find at present) but 25 king-names in that list and that at that time the names of Kṣemadhanvā and Kṣetraujāh were included in that list. Both these kings have nothing to do with the Śaiśunāgas or Baimbisāras. No Buddhistic source mentions these two names. I, therefore, think that at one time these two names formed part of the Bārhadratha list and not of Śaiśunāga list as at present.

1. See *CAI*, Pradhan

Thus we get 25 Bārhadrathas + 4 Baimbisāras + 1 Śiśunāga. But this calculation starts with Sahadeva whose number just preceeded that of Somādhi with whom (72nd number) our Kali chronology starts. Therefore, from Somādhi's accession to Mahānanda's accession, we get 29 king-names i. e. Mahānanda's accession would be 29 × 40 = 1,160 years later than Somādhi's accession, which we have placed in 3,136 B. C. (the start of 72nd unit). Therefore, Mahānanda's accession will be put in 3136 − 1160 = 1976 B. C. But we have seen earlier that Puranic lists were closed after three pādas of the 29th caturyuga, and not after the whole of the 29th caturyuga was over. In other words, Mahānanda's accession will be placed earlier by one pāda i.e. 10 years i.e. in 1986 B.C.

Same result is obtained in another manner also. For the Pradyota dynasty Dr. Pradhan has shown that Ajaka was the son of Pālaka and therefore he had succeeded him at Ujjain and that Viśākhayūpa, who was 3rd had, after Pālaka's death, started ruling at Māhiṣmati. But Viśākhayūpa had ruled longer than Ajaka and it is not unlikely if after Ajaka's death, Viśākhayūpa also got the throne of Ujjain. In that case the succession at Ujjain will be as follows: Pradyota − Pālaka − Ajaka − Viśākhayūpa.

Now, the Purāṇas say that (DKA, p. 24) there were 20 Vitihotras. We have seen just above that Pradyota came on the throne of Avanti after the Vitihotras had passed away. These Vitihotras, according to the Purāṇas, were 20 in number, and we should remember that they were 'future' Vitihotras (as what Pargiter has called the list of the early contemporaries is really the list of the kings of other countries who were contemporaries of the Magadha 'future' kings starting after number 76 i.e. Senājit). Senājit is 5th from Somādhi, so we get 5 king-names upto the sāmprata king plus we have 20 Vitihotras and plus we get 4 Pradyotas at Avanti as given above. Thus Viśākhayūpa's number will be 29th from Parikṣit or Somādhi, who were 72nd from Manu Vaivasvata.

Let us remember that these considerations have so far brought us to the conclusion that Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Śiśunāga and Viśākhayūpa—all these four were in their own lines 29th from the 72nd king-name from Manu Vaivasvata.

Thus the condition of Magadha and Avanti lines in 1986 B.C. (Mahānanda's accession) was as under:

Magadha		Avanti	
1-22	Somādhi to Ripuñjaya	1-5	upto sāmprata king
23-29	Kṣemadhanvā	6-25	20 Vītihotras
	Kṣatraujāḥ	26-29	Pradyota
	Bimbisāra		Pālaka
	Ajātaśatrū		Ajaka
	Darśaka		Viśākhayūpa
	Udāyi		
	Śiśunāga		

This was the condition of these two lines in 1986 B. C. but an adjustment was made later. But before I proceed further I shall, here, note a very important political event that happened in 1986 B. C.

It was at this time, I think, that Kalki lived. We have, by now, seen that Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Śiśunāga and Viśākhayūpa were contemporaries, being at the same step, as the number of each one of these, in his own line. was 29th of the new Manvantara i. e. from the 72nd king-name. We have also seen that Kali had ended and Kṛta had started in the days of Sumitra, Kṣemaka and Kalki. Therefore Kalki is proved to be a contemporary of Sumitra, Kṣemaka, Śiśunāga and Viśākhayūpa. Even otherwise, we have a clear statement in Kalki Purāṇa that Kalki was a contemporary of Viśākhayūpa. It is described in Kalki Purāṇa that Viśākhayūpa had been an ally of Kalki and had fought with him against the former's enemies.[1] Thus Kalki also lived at C. 1986 B. C.

Part played by Kalki seems to have been like the one played by Cāṇakya at a later stage. If the evidence of Kalki Purāṇa is to be relied upon, (and there is no reason whatsoever for rejecting it), Kalki had gathered all the prominent rulers of the day into a confederacy and dealt a crushing defeat to the Magadhan king. But let us see the political condition of the Northern India in that century.[2]

There were four or five important states then. Magadha was, of course, the imperial seat, but in the last days of the Bārhad-rathas, the smaller states of Kāśi, Kośala, Vatsa and Vaiśāli had

1. *Kalki Purāṇa* I, 8, III; also see my paper *Kalki—the earliest check to Bud- dhism, NIA,* January, 1942.

2. The following is summarised from *FHAJ* pp. 115-140.

become independent. On the western side Avanti was a very powerful state. This was the condition when Bimbisāra came to the throne. Bimbisāra contracted marriage alliances with Madra, Kosala and Vaisāli. He annexed Aṅga and a part of Kāsi. Between Kasi and Kosala there was animosity and at this time Mahākosala of Kosala conquered Kāsi. Kāsi was under Kosala even in the days of Prasenajit, the son of Mahākosala. But Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbisāra came in direct conflict with Kāsi, Kosala and Vaisāli. " He not only humbled Kosala and permanently annexed Kāsi, but also absorbed the state of Vaisali " Out of these three he defeated Vaisāli the last and the Vaisāli chief formed a confederacy against the Magadha king. "Chetaka of Vaisāli called together the eighteen Gaṇarājas of Kāsi and Kosala, together with the Lichchhavis and Mallakis" and formed a confederacy against Ajātaśatru. It seems that this confederacy lasted for about sixteen years, at the end of which period, however, Ajātaśatru was able, to win a decisive victory over the combined states. This made these three states inimical to Magadha. Ajātaśatru then, had to face Avanti which was as powerful as Magdha itself in those days. But the struggle between Avanti and Magadha was not decided in the days of Ajātaśatru. He died and his son Udāyi also had a strong enemy in the state of Avanti which "had absorbed all the kingdoms and republics of western India." It also seems that Pālaka had annexd the state of Kausāmbi to Avanti Thus at the end of the reigns of Udāyi and Pālaka, Magadha and Avanti were left face to face with each other and the contest for the mastery of the Northern India which had started with Pradyota, now became keener.

Thus when we come to Visākhayūpa we find Avanti a very powerful state and the states of Kosala, Kausāmbi, Kāsi and Vaisāli all bearing a grudge against Magadha and biding their time for humbling the pride of the Magadha king.

This time, therefore, was most opportune for Kalki to have revived the confederacy which was, some time back, formed by Cetaka, but which had not been successful before the superior and mechanised forces of Ajātaśatru. In the days of the successors of Udāyi, Magadhan machinery seems to have been weakened. That is why the new confederacy formed by Kalki was able to retrieve its lost honour.

The confederacy must have started with the king Visākhayūpa, in whose dominions Kalki was born. Kalki Purāṇa says that the

king Viśākhayūpa came to pay his homage to Kalki as soon as he
was born.[1] After Viśākhayūpa, it seems that the then ruling prin-
ces of the Aikṣvāku and Aila families joined the confederacy. The
Kalki Purāṇa describes that the kings Maru and Devāpi came and
joined the forces of Kalki.[2] Now Maru belonged to the Solar line
and Devāpi to the Lunar line. But both of them lived some 30 to
35 ruling generations earlier than Kalki. We have earlier seen
why the names of these two kings are dragged in here. What is
meant by the Purāṇa is that the contemporary kings of the Solar
and Lunar lines came and joined hands with Kalki. And we know
that the kings of these two lines who were contemporaries of Kalki
and Viśākhayūpa were Sumitra and Kṣemaka. In fact Maru, in the
Kalki, actually calls himself Sumitra.[3] This proves that, after Viśā-
khayūpa, the next to join the confederacy started by Kalki were
Sumitra and Kṣemaka. It also seems that a king named Rucirāśva
(by whom may be meant a descendant of that king also), whom
I am unable to identify at present, also joined the confederacy.[4]

This confederacy of four or five kings, then started its opera-
tions and though the Kalki places the humbling of the Buddhists
first, I think that the allied armies first marched against a king
who is named as Śaśidhvaja in the Kalki. Now I think that this
Śaśidhvaja was none else but Śiśunāga Nandivardhana. I shall put
down my reasons for this statement.

It seems that at that time Kāśi and Kośala had been fighting
with one another. It seems that the king Brahmadatta of Kāśi
had defeated the Kośala king.[5] In return Mahākośala had defeated
the Kāśi king. It is also said that Kāśi was under Kośala even in
the days of Prasenajit, the son of Mahākośala. But in the days of
Sumitra, who was a Kośala king, though both Kośala and Kāśi
were inemical to Magadha, between themselves, the Kāśi king had
overthrown the Kośala yoke. It was, therefore, that Sumitra with
his allied armies might have thought of bringing the Kāśi king to
his senses. It is said in the Kalki[6] that the allied armies marched
against Śaśidhvaja, who had his capital at Bhallāṭa. Now Bhallāṭa
has been identified with Kāśi.[7] I, therefore, suggest that this was

1. *Kalki Purāṇa* I. 1.   2. *Kelki Purāṇa* III.IV.
3. See III. 4.
तस्मान्मां मां केऽपीह बुधं चापि सुमित्रकम् ॥ 8
4. *Kalki Purāṇa*.   5. *PHAI*, p. 61.
6. Fourth aṁśa.   7. *PHAI*, p. 62.

a march against the Kāśi king who is here called Śaśidhvaja. And this Śaśidhvaja, as far as I can see from the history of the period, was Śiśunāga. All our Purāṇas say[1] that when Śiśunāga conquered Magadha, he placed his son on the Kāśi throne and he himself went and ruled at Rājagṛha (Girivraja). There can be only one meaning of this that Śiśunāga, before he conquered Magadha, ruled at Benares or Kāśi. And as according to Dr. Pradhan's showing, Śiśunāga Nandivardhana was a contemporary of Sumitra, Kṣemaka and Viśākhayūpa, the king of Kāśi, at the time of the march of Kalki's allied forces, could not have been any one else but Śiśunāga. Śiśunāga was called in popular dialect Susu Nāga[2] and in my opinion both Śiśunāga and Śaśidhvaja are, sanskritised forms of it. I, therefore, suggest that Śaśidhvaja and Śiśunāga are identical.

It is said in the Kalki Purāṇa[3] that the allied forces marched against Śaśidhvaja, the king of Bhallāṭa city. Śaśidhvaja had a wife named Suśantā, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu and she advised her husband not to fight against Kalki, but Śaśidhvaja, like Rāvana wanted to gain cheaper mukti by becoming an enemy of Viṣṇu. So, although he knew that Kalki was Viṣṇu, he fought with the allied armies. Both the armies were strong. Allies were strong with the armies of Avanti and others. Armies of Śaśidhvaja also were strong because if Śaśidhvaja was śunāga, he is likely to have been helped by Vaiśāli.[4] The fight, according to the Kalki, was a terrible one and all the heroes of the allied armies suffered defeat and Kalki himself after a brave fight, was wounded and fell in a deep swoon; and in that condition he was carried by Śaśidhvaja to his harem so that his queen may have his *darshana*. Ultimately of course, Śaśidhvaja pledged his alliance to Kalki and married his own daughter Ramā to Kalki. This religio-devotional description shows clearly that though the federated armies were not successful against Śaśidhvaja, they were, however able to contract peace with him, whereby Śaśidhvaja agreed to lead the allied armies and join

1. Cp. *Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 21.

   हत्वा तेषां यदुः कृत्स्नं शिशुनागो भविष्यति ।
   वाराणस्यां सुतं स्थाप्य अभिष्यति गिरिव्रजम् ॥

2. *PHAI.*, p. 133.

3. *PHAI.*, p. 134.

4. *PHAI.*, p. 70.

the confederacy. Thus Kāsi and Vaisāli were added to the confederacy and we have already seen that both these states had a longstanding grudge against Magadha. Thus, now, both Visākhayūpa and Sasidhvaja jointly led the allied armies under the able generalship of Kalki, who, like Cāṇakya of later days, seems to have been a practical politician and an accomplished warrior.

The confederacy, thus strengthened marched against Magadha, whose capital is here called Kikaṭa[1] (which we know was identified with Magadha).[2] Here the names of the kings against whom the allied forces fought, are given as Jina and Saudhodani and the opponents are generally called Bauddhas. The allied armies dealt a crushing defeat to the Magadha king. Thus the cause of the allies was fully vindicated. It was both a political and a religious conquest that they made. Buddhism met with its first check then.

This, in short, is the historical background of the Kalki incarnation.

Before I resume the thread I shall put before the readers some of the implications of the above. Though it is not recorded in the Purāṇas, it seems that after this victory, they jointly agreed to Sasidhvaja (or Sisunāga as I take him to be) being the ruler of Magadha, who, therefore, shifted himself to Rājagṛha and put his son on the throne of Kāsi, his ancestral seat. It, also seems that the people of Rājagṛha generally welcomed this change of rule and Sasidhvaja or Sisunāga was duly elected as the king of Magadha, both by his allies and by the officers and people of Rājagṛha.[3] Republican traditions obtained at Kāsi, Kosala, Vaisāli and other places[4] and Sisunāga who belonged to Kāsi and also to Vaisāli, probably liked the republican idea of being elected. And after the death of Sisunāga, which seems to have occured soon, his son Mahānandi came on the throne of Magadha.

Herein lies the triumph of Kalki, Visākhayūpa, Sisunāga Sumitra and the whole group. Herein lies a link of our religio-political history which is so well preserved for us in the Kalki Purāṇa. And herein also lies the justification par excellence to bring out a new incarnation, to close the Kali Age and to declare the commencement of the Golden Age.

1. *PHAI.*, p. 130 ff.
2. Fourth aṅsa.
3. Kalki P. 1st aṅsa.
4. *PHAI.*, p. 132

I have placed S'isunāga's end and Mahananda's accession in 1946 B.C. i. e. 1150 years (3136–1980) later than Pariksit's theoretical accession. We arrive at this date in the following manner also. The Purānas give 1000 years to the Bārhadrathas and 138 years to the Pradyotas and then put Siśunāga, who, I take, had ruled for 12 years. Thus we get 1,150 years in all. But in the reconstruction of the Bārhadratha Saiśunāga and Prodyota dynasties that I have made earlier, I have taken 24 Bārhadrathas (including Kṣetraujāh and Kṣemadhanvā) from the 72nd king Somādhi, and have taken four Magadha kings from Bimbisāra to Udāyi as contemporaries of the four Pradyota kings from Pradyota to Visākhayūpa. This contemporaneity is confirmed by the following also. Pradyotas according to the Purāṇas, ruled for 138 years and then came Siśunāga, whom I give 12 years, so that Pradyotas together with S'iśunaga ruled for 150 years in all. Now the Buddhist chroniclers who do not notice the Pradyotas at all give 150 years for Bimbisāras plus Siśunāga. Mahāvañśa gives 52 years to Bimbisāra, 32 to Ajātaśatru, 16 to Udāyi 8 to his two descendents, 24 to Nāga Dāsaka and 18 to Siśunāga, thus bringing the total to 150 years upto the end of the rule of Siśunāga. Add to this, the 1,000 years of the Bārhadrathas and we get 1,150 years from Somādhi to the end of Siśunāga and putting Somādhi's accession in 3,136 B. C. we get Siśunāga and Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C.

It seems that it was in this year 1986 B. C. that the chronological calculations were made, just 10 years or one pāda of 10 years before the close of Kaliyuga. Thus we come to 1986 B. C. Now let us proceed.

Here, I must remind the reader of the passage already quoted from Arrian. According to Arrian, there were 153 kings who ruled for 6,042 years, "but among these a republic was thrice established......and another to 300 years and another to 120 years." He clearly means that there were three republican periods out of which the last two had lasted for 300 and 120 years respectively, but the number of years for the first period is lost in the present text of Arrian's *Indica*. I suggest that this first period had lasted for 350 years and that it had occurred from the accession of Mahānanda to the accession of Mahāpadma.

The Purāṇas have recognised this period of 350 years both implicitly and explicily. We have just now seen that Mahānanda's accession was in 1986 B. C. Therefore from Parikṣit's (theoretical)

accession to Mahānanda's accession (3136-1986 =) 1,150 years had elapsed. But we find our present Purāṇas giving 1,000 years for the Bārhadrathas, 138 years for the Pradyotas and 362 years for the Saiśunāgas i. e. in all 1,500 years from Parikṣit i. e. they give 350 years more: and I suggest that these 350 years are the years of Arrian's first republican period. I put this period from Mahānanda's accession to Mahāpadma's accession i. e. from 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C.

This is more explicitly recorded in the Purāṇas. We have a verse which Pargiter reads thus;

महापद्माभिषेकात् यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाघटुत्तरम् ॥

the last quarter showing variants like (see *DKA*, p 58, fn 20, 24) (1) jneyam pañcadaśottaram (*Vs*) (2) jneyam pañcaśatottaram (*c e j Mt, lnmt bl Vs*) and (3) Śatam pañcadaśottaram (*eVa, Bh*) To these I add a possible variant like Śatam pañcāśadutturam, though it is not found in Pargiter's variants. This means that the distance between Parikṣit and Mahānanda or Mahāpadma (for the first quarter of the above verse has a variant Mahānanda for Mahāpadma) was 1,015, 1,054, 1,115 1,150 or 1,500 years. I think that here has happened a confusion between two originally distinct statements. So far as I am able to see these two statements should have been as under:

(१) महानन्दाभिषेकात् यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

with three variants nos (1), (3) and (4) noted above. The second statement would originally read thus.

(२) महापद्माभिषेकात् यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥

With these readings before me, I think, that, here, we have an explicit statement that 1,150 years (or 1,015, 1,050, 1,115) had elapsed from Parikṣit to Mahānanda's accession and 1,500 years had elapsed from Parikṣit to Mahāpadma's accession. This would give 350 years between Mahānanda's accession and Mahāpadma's accession. And these are the 350 years of the first Republic; and

it was for adjusting these 350 years that the first three post-Mbh dynasties were given their present shape. [1]

My study of the Purāṇas has shown to me (and the matter will be clearer as we proceed) that with reference to these republican periods, there were two distinct schools. It is, of course, evident that what Arrian calls republic may mean kingless period; and kingless period would mean a period without a king, but in the case of an Imperial seat like Magadha, an absence of Imperial dynasty. I think it is used in this last sense in Arrian's statement. We know that our present Purāṇas follow the Imperial lines only. But what would they do, if there was a break in the empire? I think there were two schools. One school of the Purāṇas would record the actual Imperial dynasties and their actual total regnal periods. If, at any time, for any period there was a break in the empire i. e. if for any period the seat of empire had gone somewhere else, that period will not be recorded in this school of Purāṇas, because they recorded only the Imperial kings and dynasties and did not record the period of the gap nor the kings of that gap. But there was another school which recorded all the Imperial dynasties and their total periods. Besides this, this school took into account the total empireless period, though it did not record names of the kings that might have ruled during that period. This school quietly added this empireless period to the period of the preceding or following dynasty. According to this practice one school will add the years of the empireless period and the other will not. Our present Puranic texts, one and all, upto the Nandas, represent this second school. We find all of them adding 350 years to Śiśunāga's reign, which was of 12 years

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1. I shall add one more point for consideration. Bd II. 74 has following two verses:

महानन्दाभिषेकान्तं जन्म याबत्परीक्षित:
एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु हेयं पञ्चाधदुत्तरम् ॥ २२७
प्रमाणं वै तथा वक्तुं महापद्मोत्तरं च यत्
अन्तरं न शतान्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशच्च समा: स्मृता: ॥ २२८
एतत्कालान्तरं भाव्यान्द्रान्तसाधा प्रकीर्तिता: ।

This gives 1050 years from Parikṣit to Mahānanda and 836 years from Mahāpadma to Āndhra—end, but does not say how much period had elapsed between Mahānanda and Mahāpadma. This, therefore, suggests a gap between Mahānanda and Mahāpadma.

only. But it is quite possible that at one stage it was not so. At that stage they will, according to the first school, say that there had elapsed 1,150 years from Parikṣit to Mahānanda's accession. They would say nothing about the empireless psriod of 350 years and therefore would keep the dynasties thus:— 1-24 Somādhi to Kṣatraujāh + 4 Baimbisāras +1 Śiśunāga, i. e. 29 king-units just the number necessary according to MCM. After Śiśunāga came Mahānanda; and as this school would gloss over the empireless period, they would put Mahāpadma, immediately after Mahānanda. But such a stage though quite likely, is not seen in our present Purāṇas, for as I have said above, all our present Purāṇas have adjusted the empireless period of 350 years and incorporated these 350 years in the total of the Saiśunāga dynasty, which just preceeded the period of 350 years. Thus it is that we find 362 years for this dynasty. And it is to account for these 362 years that the first three post-Mbh dynasties were shaped as they are to-day. Adding these 350 to 1150 we get 1,500 years from Parikṣit to Mahāpadma's accession. For 1,500 years, according to MCM, would be required $1500 \div 40 = 37 + 1$ king-units. And we have, in the present texts, 22 Bārhadrathas, 5 Pradyotas, 10 Saisunāgas i. e. 37 king-units + 1 Mahāpadma ruling. Thus we have $37+1=38$ king-names for 1,500 years.

At this time, I think, they dove-tailed Avanti dynasty of Pradyota into the Magadha dynasty. Most probably, Avanti came under Magadha from the days of Śiśunāga. If so, the Magadha and Avanti lines would stand as under :

Magadha		Avanti	
1—22	Somādhi to Ripuñjaya	1—5	kings upto sāmprata king
23	Kṣemadharma	6—25	Vitihotras
24	Kṣatraujāh	26—30	Pradyotas
25—28	Bimbisāra	31	Śiśunāga
	Ajātaśatru	32	Kākavarṇa
	Darśaka		(also called
	Udāyi		Mahānanda)
29	Sisunāga		
	(called Nandivardhana)		
30	Mahānanda		

Now, in order to have 38 king-names in the Magadha line they wanted $7+1=8$ names more. They had 7 names in the Avanti list

viz 5 Pradyotas + S'isunāga and Kākavarṇa. These they bodily inserted after Ripuñjaya and thus made the total 37. These 37 king-names with Mahāpadma ruling gave them the necessary 38 names [1]

Thus it was that the present Bārhadratha, Pradyota and S'isunāga dynasties came into existance; and the foregoing considerations make it amply clear that these are entirely based on MCM.

But what we have in the present Puranic texts represents the latest stage of adjustment. This latest stage we shall presently consider, but just for the present it will be convenient to consider the question of the Nandas. Regarding the Nandas, we have two distinct traditions preserved. Purāṇas take the Nandas to be nine only, but mention only Mahāpadma and his son by name i. e. only two Nandas by name, who, in all, ruled for 100 years. According to Mahāvañśa " the sons of Kālaśoka were 10 brothers, 22 years did they reign. Afterwards the nine Nandas were kings in succession: they too reigned for 22 years." Thus according to the Purāṇas between S'isunāga and Chandragupta Maurya ruled 9 (or 2) Nandas for 100 years, but according to Mahāvañśa between S'isunaga and Chandragupta Maurya ruled Kālaśoka, his 10 sons and 9 Nandas i. e. in all 20 kings; and Mahavañśa gives only 44 years for these last 19 kings. Thus the two traditions Puranic and Buddhistic are at variance. We shall try to find out how this confusion has happened. Let us apply MCM.

I have put Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C. and have said that there was a kingless period of 350 years from 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C., in which year Mahāpadma came to the throne. Now according to MCM for 350 years will be required $350 \div 40 = 8 + 1 = 9$ king-names. And I suggest that for 350 years from 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C., at one time, the names of Mahānanda and his 8 descendents were retained in the Purāṇas. Thus Mahānanda and 8 of his descendents were taken as the ruler-chiefs for this period of 350 years. But the important point to be remembered in this connection is this that the Nanda dynasty had started with Mahānanda (as the Nanda-ending of his name suggests [2]) and not with Mahānadma. If so, these nine ruler-chiefs will be called nine Nandas. Let me now proceed.

1. In fact, this is the last stage of adjustment.

2. In this conncetion it is significant that Buddhist tradition called Nandas as Nandins, which is clearly nearer to the form Mahanandi. (see *Chandragupta Maurya and his Times* by R. K. Mookerji p. 22).

I suggest that Mahāpadma also belonged to the same Nanda family which was started with Mahānanda. But whereas Mahānanda and his descendents remained republican or as tributary chiefs to some other Imperial power, from 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C.,[1] it was Mahāpadma, who, in that year, once again established the Magadhan empire. This empire established by him lasted for about 100 years (in fact for 86 years as we shall later see) and was lost by his successor to Chandragupta Maurya. Thus it was in 1550 B. C. (1636-86) that the Nanda Empire fell. Therefore for 350 years (from 1986 B. C.) Nandas ruled as feudatory chiefs and for 86 years they ruled as Imperial kings. For these $350 + 86 = 436$ years, according to MCM, will be required $436 \div 40 = 10 + 1 = 11$ king-names. These are, I think, accounted for by both the traditions thus. The Purāṇas account this period by 9 Nandas (feudatory) + 2 Nandas (Imperial) i. e. by 11 Nandas in all. Whereas originally 9 feudatory Nandas and 2 Imperial Nandas were distinct, later by a confusion, the Purāṇas said there were only 9 Nandas; but even then a clue has been preserved for us when the Purāṇas say that there were 9 Nandas in all, but are able to mention by name only two. This is quite in keeping with MCM. The names of the 9 king-units of the feudatory period will not be recorded (only the number of king-units will be recorded), but the names of the 2 Imperial units will be recorded; and this is what we actually find in the Purāṇas.

The Buddhistic tradition also preserves a clue for us when it says that after Śiśunāga came Kālāsoka and his 10 sons (better descendents). These are the 11 Nandas of the period from the end of Śiśunāga's rule (i. e. 1986 B. C.) to the accession of Chandragupta Maurya (i. e. 1550 B. C.). Mahāvaṁśa, then, should not have mentioned anything about the 9 Nandas, for 9 Nandas were really included in the above 11 Nandas.

1. This suggestion of mine that they were republican chiefs is corroborated by the following. According to a Buddhist source the founder of the Nanda dynasty (who is there called Ugrasena and according to me was Mahānanda) had, in his early life fallen in the hands of robbers and later became the leader of the robbers. He followed the policy of 'pillage is preferable to tillage.' Thus he was a robber king (see *Chandragupta Maurya and his Times* p. 31). The term robbers as used by the Greeks indicated the republican peoples, the Arāṭṭas or Arāṣṭrakas, kingless peoples. (ibid p. 6). It is in this sense that the term 'republic' seems to have been used by the Greek writer Arrian, to refer to the kingless period (robber-king's period), which started with Mahānanda—Ugrasena and ended with the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda.

This reconstruction as I have proposed here satisfactorily explains the conflicting traditions recorded in the Braumanic and Buddhistic sources regarding Nandas.

But at a later date they did not wish to give any place, in their genealogies, to the 9 feudatory chiefs of the republican period. At that time they finally adjusted the first three post-Mbh dynasties as they stand now and as I have explained just before.

Let us, now, consider the Post-Mbh dynasties. We have, so far seen that the first republican period of 350 years had occurred between Mahānanda and Mahāpadma. I feel that the other two republican periods of 300 and 120 years, spoken of by Arrian had occurred somewhere between the Mauryas, Suṅgas and Kāṇvas.

Usually, our Purāṇas say that the Suṅgas come immediately after the Mauryas, but it is not so. Yuga-Purāṇa, the historical chapter of the Gārgisaṁhitā, is unequivocal in saying that there was a period of foreign rule between the Mauryas and the Suṅgas. In my edition of Yuga-purāṇa, I have dealt with this question and I reproduce the relevant portion here.

"It will be seen that according to this Purāṇa, following is the sequence of events. (1) Sāliśuka i. e. the Mauryas. (2) After the Mauryas, at Sāketa ruled seven kings in succession and at Magadha ruled, at first, the five allied governors, then anarchy, then a Saka king and then the four kings Amlāṭa and others (3) and then came Puṣyamitra Suṅga, who replaced, at Sāketa the rule of the dynasty of the seven kings and at Magadha the dynasty of Amlāṭa. (4) Then ruled 3 more Suṅga kings. (5) Then a king ruled for 10 years and (6) lastly, the Sakas overran the whole land. This can be shown as under.

Magadha	Saketa
Sāliśuka (Mauryas)	Vijaya (Mauryas)
Yavanas (the allies)	Yavanas (the allies)
Anarchy	Seven kings
4 kings (Amlāṭa etc)	
Suṅgas (4 kings named)	
one king	
The Sakas	The Sakas

This analysis means that the Suṅgas did not immediately follow the Mauryas, but between them there was a gap caused by foreign rule or anarchy. The evidence of yuga-Purāṇa makes it clear that there was a period at Magadha between the Mauryas and the Suṅgas, during which no indigenous independent native king ruled there. In other words, it was a period of foreign rule and of disorder i. e. a kingless period.

Similarly, if YP is to be believed the Kaṇvas did not follow the Suṅgas immediately, but soon after the Suṅgas, the Sakas over-ran the Nothern India."

I may only mention that YP puts between the Mauryas and the Suṅgas, at Sāketa, seven kings i. e. seven king-units, which will mean, according to MCM, 7 × 40 = 280 years. And I suggest that this is the second kingless period of 300 years spoken of by Arrian.

The following, also, proves that 420 years had been taken by the Purāṇas as kingless i. e. republican in nature. According to Pargiter, Mt generally has an aggregate of 118 years for the Suṅgas, but Jmt (i.e. J Ms of Mt) reads

अष्टात्रिंशाधिका सम्यग् वर्षाणां शतपंचकम् ।

i. e. Suṅgas are given 538 years in all. This means that 420 years of the two kingless periods are here added to the Suṅgas, just as 350 years of the first republican period have been added by all the Purāṇas to the Saiśunāgas. Therefore, 538 years given to the Suṅgas by Jmt can be accounted for thus. 118 for Suṅgas and 420 years for the two republican periods, one (of 300 years) before and another (of 120 years) after the Suṅgas.

Thus, we find that the three republican periods spoken of by Arrian, are actually found in our Puranic tradition. The dynastic totals given in our Purāṇas, to the Mauryas, the Suṅgas and the Kaṇvas exclude these 420 years: but KR is said to have preserved another tradition. We shall, therefore, consider this question now.

Pargiter has in his DKA, the following verse.

पुलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रास्तु महापद्मान्तरे पुन: ।
अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशतु समास्तथा ॥

This means that from Mahāpadma to the end of the Āndhras (Pulomā was the last Āndhra king as given in the Purāṇas), there had elapsed 836 years. Now, our Purāṇas give the following:

Nandas	100 years
Mauryas	137
Suṅgas	112
Kāṇvas	45
Āndhras	456
	850

This brings the total from Mahāpadma to the end of the Āndhras at 150 years, but it should be 836 according to the above verse. Thus there is a difference of 14 years and, I think, that the round number 100 given to the Nandas contains these 14 years. I, therefore, give 86 years to the Nandas, and thus get the total 836 from the Nandas to the Āndhra-end. This total does not include 420 years of the two republican periods. But KR has the followin ..

	Pargiter	KR	Difference
Nandas	100	100	—
Mauryas	137	316	179
Suṅgas	112	300	188
Kāṇvas	45	85	40
			407
Āndhras	456	506	50
	850	1307	457

This shows a differnce of 457 years between tne two schools. If we deduct 50 years representing the difference for the Āndhras (i. e. the difference between the main Āndhras and the Āndhra-bhṛtyas), we get 407 years as the difference between the two schools from the Nandas to the Kāṇvas. Again, we have seen that the above-quoted verse says that from Mahāpadma to the end of the Āndhras, 836 years had elapsed, but the above calculation shows that one school gave 850 and the other, [1307–50=] 1257 for this period. That is one school has 14 years more and the other has 421 years more. These 421 years, I suggest, represent 420 years of the two republican periods.

And I further suggest that the first school has 14 years more because it gives to the Nandas 100 instead of 86 years. The second school has distributed these 421 years thus; 14 more to the Nandas, 179 more to the Mauryas, 188 more to the Śuṅgas and 40 more

to the Kāṇvas. Thus both these calculations show that the Nandas were, at one time, given 86 years, but, now, both the schools show 100 years for the Nandas. That is, for the Nandas, both the schools have the adjusted figure, but for the Mauryas, the Suṅgas and the Kāṇvas, one has the actual and the other has the adjusted figures. The actual figure for the Nandas is lost. It may be 86 as we have seen above.

All these considerations show that the two periods of 420 years (300 + 120) had actually happened and though there is no direct mention in the Purāṇas of these 420 years, there are sufficient indications to prove their existence.

And finally we shall see if MCM is applied to the kings from the Mauryas to the Āndhras. As the figures stand in the Purāṇas, average rule of these kings seems to be lower than normal. From the Mauryas to the Āndhras, there are in all $9 + 10 + 4 + 30 = 53$ kings, for whom a total of 750 years is given i.e. the average works out at 14 years for one king. For the Suṅgas and the Kāṇvas, the average comes to 10 or 11 years per king. This is too low and this sets us thinking. I, therefore, consider the question here.

For the Mauryas, we get either 9 kings or 12 kings and 137 years. For the Suṅgas we get usually 10 but according to Mt 8 kings and 112 years. For the Kāṇvas we get 4 kings and 45 years. Calculations which started with Parikṣit were over with Mahānanda, with whom Kali ended. Then came a gap of 350 years and then the calculations start with Mahāpadma.

Calculating from Mahāpadma, we get 100 years for the Nandas, 137 for the Mauryas and a gap of 300 years upto the rise of the Suṅgas. Thus we get 537 years. For these 537 years, they will require $537 \div 40 = 13 + 1 = 14$ king-names. And we have 2 Nandas and 12 Mauryas according to Vy and Bht. This shows that MCM is used here.

From Nanda to the rise of the Kāṇvas, we have $100 + 137 + 112 + 420$ (of the two gaps) i. e. in all 769 years, for which at the rate of the caturyuga of 40 years, we shall require $769 \div 40 = 19 + 1$ kings. And we have 2 Nandas, 9 Mauryas and 8 Suṅgas (according to Mt) i.e. 19 kings in all. This also shows that MCM is used here.

But at a later date, it seems that MCM with a caturyuga of 20 years and not of 40 years was used. This seems to be indicated by the following.

Suṅgas have 112 years, Kāṇvas have 45 years and in between there was a gap of 120 years. Thus we have $112 + 120 + 45 = 277$ years for which at the rate of 20 years a king, we shall require $277 \div 20 = 13 + 1 = 14$ kings. And we have 10 Suṅgas and 4 Kāṇvas.

For the Āndhras they give 456 years in all. At the rate of 20 there should be $22 + 1 = 23$ Āndhras and Bg and Vn actually name only 23 kings for the Āndhras.

These considerations show that MCM with the caturyuga of 40 years and 20 years is likely to have been used for these dynasties, though we cannot be quite positive in this matter.[1]

We can now reconstruct the Kali dynasties thus.

B. C. 3201 Mbh war, P's birth, start of the misunderstood Kali,—and Y's acc.

B. C. 3176 Y's death, start of the amended Kali. start of the Laukika era.

B. C. 3136 Theoretical date of P's birth.

From 3136 B. C. to 2136 B. C. Bāhradratha dynasty.

From 2136 B. C. to 1998 B. C. (138 years) Baimbisāra dynasty at Magadha and Prodyota dynasty at Avanti.

From 1998 B. C. 1986 B. C. (12 years) Saiśunāgas at Magadha as Imperial power.

From 1986 B. C. to 1636 B. C. First Republic of 350 years.

From 1636 B. C. to 1550 B. C. (86 years) Nandas at Magadha.

From 1550 B. C. to 1413 B. C. (137 years) Mauryas at Magadha.

From 1413 B. C. to 1113 B. C. Second Republic of 300 years.

From 1113 B. C. to 1001 B. C. (112 years) Suṅgas at Magadha.

From 1001 B. C. to 880 B. C. Third Republic of 120 years.

From 880 B. C. to 835 B. C. (45 years) Kāṇvas at Magadha.

From 835 B. C. to 379 B. C. (456 years) Āndhras at Āndhra.

From 379 B. C. to 329 B. C. (50 years) Later Āndhras.

B. C. 329 Accession of Chandragupta I (contemporary of Alexander the Great.)

1. However for some details see my paper on *Chronology of Kali Dynasties* in Poona Orientalist, Vol VIII. Nos 1.2, p 1 ff.

We entered into all this discussion to find out, if we could, the number of years that had elapsed from Manu Vaivasvata to the Mbh age and then to the days of Alexander the Great. We have, now, seen that both according to the Yuga-system of Chronology and Manvantara-Caturyuga Method of Chronology, the period from Manu Vaivasvata to the Mbh age, covers 2,800 or 2840 years. If we add to this 800 years of Yuga-adjustment (the change from 1,000 to 1,200 years for each Yuga), we get 3,600 or 3,640 years for this period. Thus we get 3,640 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Somādhi (the first king of the post-Mbh Magadha dynasty). And for the post-Mbh period up to Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, we have found two figures (1) 2,807 years, according to Bht school and (2) 2,398 years according to Vy–Mt school. Adding 3,640 to both these, we get (3,640 + 2,807 =) 6,447 ard (3,640 + 2398 =)6,038 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Chandragupta I's accession. But Megasthenes gives 6,451 years and Arrian gives 6,042 years for this same period i. e. the figures of each of these two, exceed by 4 years the figures of the above two Puranic schools. The reason of this difference of 4 years is this that whereas the Purāṇas stop their calculations at the accession of Chandragupta I (i. e, at 329 B.C.), the Greek writers stop their calculations at the time of Alexander. This means that Alexander came to (or really went out of) India in the 5th regnal year of Chandragupta I. Therefore, taking 325 B. C. as the basis of Greek calculation, we get 329 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta I 's accession. Thus, in other words, Puranic calculations (of both the schools) had stopped at 329 B. C. and the Greek calculations come down to 325 B. C. Therefore according to these calculations, the date of Manu Vaivasvata will be 325+6,437=6,776 B. C. or deducting 800 years of yuga-adjustment, as we should, 5,976 B. C. Arrian's (and therefore Vy-Mt school's) calculations seem to give 325 + 6,042 = 6,367 B. C. (or 6,367 − 800 = 5567 B. C.) as the date of Manu Vaivasvata, but this defference of 409 years between the two dates (5976 − 5567) is apparent only. Shrewd reader must have already found out the reason for this, but I shall, here, mention that it is caused by Vy-Mt school and therefore by Arrian, by omitting 420 years of the last two republican gaps and by adding 13 years to the Nandas (100 for 87) and again omitting 2 years for the Saisunāgas (360 for 362), (i. e. 420 − 13 + 2 = 409).

Thus we find that the figures (both of the kings and the years)

given by the two Greek writers are fully borne out by the Puranic
evidence. We, further, find that the method which I have called
Manvantara-Caturyuga Method has been fully and conclusively
proved to have been used in the pre-Mbh Solar dynasty, in the
post-Mbh Solar and Lunar dynasties upto Sumitra and Kṣemaka
and in the post–Mbh Magadha dynasties upto the end of the Āndh-
ras. In fact, this was the method which was regularly adopted by
all the chronologists in ancient India and I have found it being
used not only in the remaining Puranic dynasties, in the Rājataraṅ-
giṇī of Kalhaṇa, in the Nepalese and Asssamese Vañśāvalis as also
in the various bardic Vañśāvalis spread over the whole of India.
I have, therefore, in the next chapter made a study (from the view-
point of MCM) of some of these various dynasties and Vañśāvalis,
which proves, beyond a shadow of doubt, that MCM, with 40
years' or 20 years' unit was the usual method adopted by the anci-
ent Indian Chronologists.

APPENDIX

Post-Mbh Magadha Genealogies

TABLE I

Consolidated Table

	No. of kings (general)		Total regnal years (general)	
	Par	Bht	Par	Bht
Bārhadrathās	22	22	1,000	1,000
Pradyotas	5	5	138	138
Saiśunāgas	10	10	360	362
Nandas	2 or 9	2 or 9	100	100
Total	39 or 40	39 or 46	1,598	1,606
Mauryas	10	12	137	316
Suṅgas	10	10	112	300
Kāṇvas	4	4	45	85
Āndhras	30	32	456	506
Total	93 or 100	97 or 104	2,348	2,807

TABLE II
Bārhadrathas

	Names acc. to Par	Par	Vy	Bḍ	Bg	Vn	Mt	Bht
	Individual Total of kings	22	22	21	20	20	17or16	22
1	Somādhi	58	58	58			58	
2	Sṛtaśravā	64	64	67			64	
3	Ayutāyu	26	26	26			36	
4	Niramitra	40	100	100			40	
5	Sukṣatra	56	56	56			50	
6	Bṛhatkarmā	23	23	23			23	
7	Senājit	50	23	23			50	
8	Sṛtañjaya	40	40	40	Does not give individual regnal periods, names 20	Does not give individual regnal periods, names 20	40	Not given in Classical Sanskrit Literature (CSL)
9	Vibhu	28	35	35				
10	Suci	58	58	58				
11	Kṣema	28	28	28			28	
12	Suvrata	64	64	64			64	
13	Sunetra	35	5	5			25	
14	Nirvṛtti	58	58	58			58	
15	Trinetra	28	38	38			28	
16	Dṛḍhasena	48	58	58			48	
17	Mahinetra	33	33	33			33	
18	Sucala	32	22				32	
19	Sunetra	40	40	40				
20	Satyajit	83	83	83				
21	Viśvajit	25	35	35				
22	Ripuñjaya	50	50	50			50	
	Individual regnal period, Total	967	997	978			717	
	General Total	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	723	1000

TABLE III
Pradyotas

	Names	Par	Vy	Bḍ	Mt	Bg, Vn	Bht
	Total kings	5	5	5	4	5	5
1	Pradyota	23	23	23	23	5 kings: no individual years	not given in CSL
2	Pālaka	24	24	24	28		
3	Visākhayūpa	50	50	50	53		
4	Ajaka	21	31	21	21		
5	Nandivardhana	20	20	20			
	Individual Total	138	148	138	125		
	General Total	138	138	138	138	138	138

TABLE IV
Saisunāgas

	Names	Par	Vy	Bḍ	Mt	Bg, Vn	Bht
	Total kings	10	10	10	12	Bg Vn 9, 10	10
1	Siśunāga	34	40	40	40	years not given	not given in CSL
2	Kākavarṇa	36	36	30	26		
3	Kṣemadharmā	40	20	20	36		
4	Kṣatraujāh	28	40	40	24		
5	Bimbisāra	25	28	38	28 /) / 14		
6	Ajātaśatru	25	25	25	27		
7	Darśaka	25	25	35	24		
8	Udāyi	33	33	33	33		
9	Nandivardhana	40	42	40	40		
10	Mahānandi	43	43	43	43		
	Individual Total	329	332	344	344		
	General Total	360	360	360	360	360	362

TABLE V
Nandas

	Names	Par	Vy	Bḍ	Mt	Bg,Vn	Bht
	Total kings	2 or 9	2 or 9	2 or 9	2 or 9	2 or 9	2 or 9
1	Mahāpadma	88	88	88	88	88	88
9	8 sons	22	22	22	22	22	22
	General Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE VI
Mauryas

	Names	Par eva	Vy (general)	Bḍ	Bg Vn	Bht	Mt
	Total kings	12	9	7/9	9	12	7/10
1	Candragupta (Bir u)	24	24	24		34	
2	Nandasāra	25	25	25		28	6 (Satadhanvā)
3	Aśoka	36	36	36		36	70 (Bṛhadratha)
4	Kuṇāla	8	8	8		8	36 (Sakra)
5	Bandhupalita	8	8	8	years not given	8	70 (Nabha)
6	Dasona	7	10 (Indrapalita)			70	
7	Daśaratha	8				8	8
8	Samprati	9				9	9
9	Śāliśuka	13				13	
10	Devadharmā	7	7	7		7	
11	Satadhanu	8	8			8	
12	Bṛhadratha	87	7	8		87	70
	Individual Total	240	133	116		316	269
	General Total	137	137	137	137	316	137

TABLE VII
Suṅgas

Names	Par	Vy	Bḍ	Bg/Vn	Bht	Mt
Total kings	10	10	10	10	10	8/10
1 Puṣyamitra	36	60	60		60	36
2 Agnimitra	8	8	8		50	
3 Vasujyeṣṭha	7	7	7		36	7
4 Vasumitra	10	10	10		17	10
5 Andhraka	2	2	2		30	2
6 Pulindaka	3	3	3	years not given	33	3
7 Yomegha	3	3	3		3	
8 Vajramitra	9	3	7		29	9
9 Bhāgavata	32	32	32		32	32
10 Devabhūmi	10	10	10		10	10
Individual Total	120	138	142		300	109
General Total	112	112	112	112	300	300

TABLE VIII
Kāṇvas

Names	Par	Vy	Bḍ	Bg/Vn	Mt	Bht
Total kings	4	4	4	4	4	4
1 Vāsudeva	9	9	5		9	39
2 Bhūmimitra	14	24	24	years not given	14	24
3 Nārāyaṇa	12	12	12		12	12
4 Suśarmā	10	10	4		10	10
Individual Total	45	55	45		45	85
General Total	45	45	45	45	45	85

TABLE IX
Āndhras

Names	Par	Vy	Bḍ	Bg, Vn	Mt	Bht
Total kings	30	17,18, 19 ²⁵/₃₀	¹⁷/₂₉	²³/₃₀²³/₃₀	²⁷/₁₉	32
Simuka	23	23	23		23	23
Kṛṣṇa	18	18	10		10	18
Sātakarni	10	56	56			10
Purṇotsanga	18				18	18
Skandastambhi	18					18
Sātakarṇi	56				56	56
Lamodara	18				18	18
Apilaka	12	12	12		12	12
Meghasvāti	18				18	18
Svāti	18				18	18
Skāndasvāti	7				7	7
Mṛgendra Svā	3				3	3
Kuntala	8				8	8
						12 (Saumya)
Svātivarṇa	1				1	1
Pulomāvi	36	30	24			36
						38 (Megha)
Ariṣṭaparṇi	25	25	25		25	25
Hāla	5	5	5 (100 ?)		5	5
Mantalaka	5				5	5
Purindrasena	21	21	21	years not given	?	21
Sundara	1	1	1		1	1
Cakora	¹/₂	¹/₂			¹/₂	¹/₂
						3 months (Mahendra)
Śivasvāti	28	28	28		28	28
						(Sakasena)
Gautamiputra	21	21	21		21	25
Pulomā	28				28	32
Sātakarṇi	19					
Śivasri Pulomā	7				7	7
Śivaskanda	3				7	3
Yajnaśri	29	19	19		29	19
Vijaya	6	6	6		6	6
Candaśri	10	3	3		10	3
Pulomavi	7	7	7		7	7
Individual Total	479¹/₂	275¹/₂	261		371	501
General Total	456	456	456	456	460	506

TABLE X
Analysis

	Purāṇa	No of kings		Total regnal period of the dynasty	
		actual no of individual names	general Total given in the Purāṇa	Total regnal years of individual kings	general total given
Bārhadrathas	Par	22	22	967	1000
	Vy	22	22	997	1000
	Bd	21	22	978	1000
	Bht		22		1000
	Vn	20	22		
	Mt	17or16	16: 32 (Jmt)	717	723 Jmt mt
	Bg				1000 genly
Pradyotas	Par	5	5	138	138
	Vy	''	''	148	138
	Bd	''	''	138	138
	Mt	4	5	125	138
	Bg Vn	5	5		138
	Bht		''	138	138
Saiśunāgas	Par	10	10	329	360
	Vy	10	10	332	''
	Bd	10	10	344	''
	Mt	12	10	344	''
	Bg	9	10	—	''
	Vn	10	10	—	''
	Bht		10		362
Nandas	all	2 or 9	2 or 9	100	100
Mauryas	Par	12	12	240	137
	Vy	9	9	133	''
	evy	12	9	—	''
	Bd	7	9	116	''
	Bg	9	10	—	''
	Vn	10	10	—	''
	Mt bfgln	7	10	—	''
	Mt	6	10	269	137
	Bht	12	12	316	316
Suṅgas	Par	10	10	120	112
	Vy	''	''	138	''
	Bd	''	''	142	''
	Bg	''	''	—	''
	Vn	''	''	—	''
	Mt	8	''	109	300
	Bht	10	''	300	300
Kāṇvas	all	''	''	45 or 55	45
	Bht	''	''	85	85
Āndhras	Par	30	30	479½	456
	Vy	17,18,19,evy25	''	275½	''
	Bd	17	''	261	''
	Bg	23	''		''
	Vn	23	''		''
	Mt	21 to 28 & 30	19 or 30	371	460
	Bht	32	32	501	506

PART TWO

PART TWO

CHAPTER ONE

KASHMIR CHRONOLOGY

I

THE history of Kashmir, as preserved in Kalhana's (Kl) *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (*Raj*), is very helpful to us in reconstructing the ancient history of India proper. Relation between the Kashmirian political history and the political history of India proper is much more intimate than is usually accepted. It is found that generally, modern scholars take the ancient period of Kl's history as unreliable and legendary. They make the real beginning of Kashmirian history from Kārkoṭa dynasty. But I do not know why the earlier history as given by Kl should be so summarily rejected. Kl is generally scrupulous in his statements. His statement that he had obtained the names of 13 out of 52 kings (whose names were lost to direct tradition) from old works, itself shows that he was an ardent historian with all the fervour of a research student. Therefore, we cannot accuse Kl himself of deliberate misstatements. What he has written was, no doubt, taken from older sources, which he evidently considered to be reliable.

It may, however, be that due to misunderstanding his sources or due to confusion in his sources or due to selecting one out of several existing sources, the earlier history as given by Kl might not become as clear to us as the later history. But on the whole it is untrue to say and wrong to believe that Kl, who is evidently very accurate, has given an unreliable history. We should, therefore, try to understand the points of confusion, if any, in his sources. And, I think, given an unbiassed mind, we can reconstruct from Kl's *Raj*, a consistent record of dates and events from the Mahābhārata (= Mbh) war to his own days. I shall, therefore, examine, here, the various problems arising out of a critical study of *Raj*.

I have already shown how Manvantara–Caturyuga–Method
(MCM), is used in the Puranic genealogies, for longer dynastic
periods. Here, I shall also examine whether or not MCM has been
used in Kashmir chronology as preserved in *Raj*.

Apparently, the method was not known to Kl, who lived in
1148 A.D.; but a study of the earlier chronology, as preserved in
Raj, shows that MCM has been employed upto the end of the rule
of the second king of the Karkota dynasty. Kl has started the
history of Kashmir from the days of the Mbh war. Gonanda I
(G I), with whom the history of Kashmir opens, was a contemporary
and an ally of Jarāsandha of Magadha. According to *Raj*, after G I,
came Dāmodara and after Dāmodara, as his son Gonanda II (G II)
was very young, his wife Yasovatı ruled for some time as regent;
and then came G II on the throne. Thus G II was a child at the
time of the Mbh war.

Now, Kl has not given the names of 35 immediate successors
of G II, as these names were lost to the tradition in his days; but
recently, Pt. Anand Kaul has published an article on History of
Kashmir (*Journal and Procceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1940,
p. 195-219). In it, he says that there is a history of Kashmir
written in Persian by one Hasan, who in his turn, had drawn his
materials from an earlier Persian translation of *Raj*. This earlier
Persian translation, according to Hasan, had incorporated materials
from *Ratnākara Purāṇa* of Pandit Ratnākara, and with the help of
that Purāṇa, the author was able to fill up the names and regnal
periods of the first 52 kings (including the 35 kings whose names
were lost to Kl). Pt Kaul, in his article, has given a list of the
first 47 kings (with their regnal periods) i.e. upto Asoka's acces-
sion. He has also noted some other interesting details. It is, here,
said that according to *Ratnākara Purāṇa*, after G II came Harṇadeva
on the throne. This Harṇadeva, according to that source, was the
second son of Parikṣit (the Pāṇḍava). Therefore, G II and Parikṣit
will be at the same step. This we must remember well in our
future inquiry.

Kl starts his history from the Mbh war, putting that war in
2448 B. C. He says:

शताब्दं शतमाच्छैर्धांत्सु चित्रशिखण्डिषु ।
तन्वारे संहिताकारैर्बं दशोऽत्र निर्णय :। I, 55
आसन्मघासु मुनय : शासति पृथिवीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षट्त्रिंशपञ्चद्वियुत: शककालस्तस्य राह : ॥ II, 56

Saṁhitākāra referred to here is Varāhamihira, the author of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, from which the above second verse is quoted. Evidently, Kl interprets the verse to mean, "Saka Era is 2526 years from that king i. e. Yudhiṣṭhira." In this interpretation, Kl or the tradition that he follows has taken 'tasya rājnah' in the Ablative case. But it is in the Genitive case; and if so taken, the second line would mean the period (kāla) of the era (saka) of that king is 2526 years.' Thus there are two interpretations. The first interpretation puts Yudhiṣṭhira's time 2526 years before Saka era of 78 A. D. i. e. it relates it with that Saka era. The second interpretation requires no relation with that Saka era. It simply means that the statement was made when 2526 years from Yudhiṣṭhira had elapsed. I think the second interpretation is the correct one, and is earlier in point of time. In fact, the statement of the verse was made by Garga in 676 B.C. And putting Yudhiṣṭhira's time 2526 years earlier than 676 B. C., we get 2526 + 676 = 3202 or 3201 B. C. as the date of Yudhiṣṭhira; and we have already seen that 3201 B. C. was the real date of the Mbh war and therefore of Yudhiṣṭhira's accession. I think that 676 B.C. is the starting point of that Kṛta era which is used in some of the historical inscriptions. Thus, I think that this verse was composed by Garga in 676 B. C.; but in later times, due to misunderstanding the word Saka (as the specific era of 78 A.D.) of the verse, someone interpreted the verse in relation with the Saka era of 78 A. D. This could have been, naturally, done at a date later than 78 A. D. And we should remember that Kl tak this later sense of the verse and bases his chronology on that sense. According to that sense, putting the start of Saka era in 78 A. D., we get (2526 — 71 =) 2448 B. C. as the date of Yudhiṣṭhira. This is clearly expressed in *Raj* in

<div align="center">

यातेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले ।
कलौ तेषु वर्षाणामभूवन्कुरुपाण्डवाः ॥ I, 51

</div>

According to this, Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas lived 653 years after the beginning of Kaliyuga. And taking 3101 B. C. as the start of Kaliyuga (as is usually done), we get 3101 – 653 = 2448 B.C. as the date of the Mbh war. Same result is obtained in another manner. His own date is given as 1148 A. D. Between himself and Gonanda III (G III) are given 2330 years and between G I and G III are given 1266 years. Thus we get 2330 + 1266 = 3596 years between G I and Kl. Deducting 1148 A.D. (Kl's date) from 3596, we get 2448 B. C. as the date of G I.

Thus it is clear that Kl starts his chronology from 653 years after the start of Kaliyuga. But, I must point out that the tradition represented in Hasan's history starts the Kashmir chronology from the start of Kaliyuga. Kl himself has noted that others did start the chronology from the start of Kaliyuga, only he takes them to have been mistaken (I. 49). Thus we should bear in mind that we have two distinct traditions — one starting from 3101 B. C. (the start of Kaliyuga) and the other 653 years later i e. from 2448 B.C.

But the question of the various beginnings of Kashmir chronology is more complicated than this. It is evident that Kashmir chronology as preserved in *Rāj* is the post-Mbh or what is usually termed Kali chronology. Now, the Purāṇas start Kali chronology with Parikṣit. Kl starts his chronology with the Mbh war, putting it in 2448 B.C. Again, according to the Puranic chronology, the Mbh war means Yudhiṣthira's accession. According to the Purāṇas, Parikṣit came two steps after Yudhiṣthira, thus: Yudhiṣthira—Abhimanyu—Parikṣit. In the Kashmir chronology as preserved in *Rāj*, we have G I. Dāmodara, Yaśovati and G II, i.e. there are four units from G I to G II. But I think that the earlier chronologists had not taken Yaśovati as a separate unit as she was only a regent. If so, there will be three steps, G I, Dāmodara and G II, and then, these three will equate with Yudhiṣthira, Abhimanyu and Parikṣit.

In this case, G II will be at the same step as Parikṣit and this is corroborated by Hasan, who calls Harṇadeva who succeeded G II, to be the second son of Parikṣit. Therefore, G I will be at the same step as Yudhiṣthira, Dāmodara at the same step as Abhimanyu and G II at the same step as Parikṣit. Now we have already seen that though Parikṣit's accession was some 25 years later than the Mbh war, yet the Purāṇas, due to confusion in the date of the start of Kaliyuga, start their post-Mbh chronology with Parikṣit. Thus some would start the post-Mbh period from Yudhiṣthira and others from Parikṣit. Similarly, in the Kashmir chronology also, the post-Mbh chronology may start with G I or with G II.

Again, we have seen that though the real date of the Mbh war was 3201 B. C , it was later on almost unanimously taken to be 3101 B. C.. Between these two dates there is a difference of 100 years (caused by the 100 years of Kali-Sandhyā). Therefore, it is not unlikely if a difference of 100 years was taken between Yudhiṣthira and Parikṣit or between G I and G II.

Thus the possible confusions in the start of the Kashmir chronology are these:— (1) It may start with G I or G II (2) G I's date may be taken to be 3201 B. C. or 3101 B. C. (3) If G I is placed in 3201 B. C., G II will be placed in 3101 B. C. and if G I is placed in 3101 B. C. G II will be placed in 3001 B. C. (4) Again some (not all) of the Kashmir chronologists started their chronology 653 years later than the usual start. Therefore G I's date may be taken to be 2548 B. C. or 2448 B. C. And if G I is placed in 2548 B. C., G II will be placed in 2448 B. C., but if G I is placed in 2448 B. C., G II will be placed in 2348 B. C.

Regarding the general time-scheme of his work Kl says that his work was composed in Saka year 1070 i. e. in 1148 A. D. He says that the Pāṇḍavas lived 653 years after the start of the Kaliyuga. He, there, gives us three general computations.

His first computation is 1266 years for the first 52 kings. He says :

वर्षाणां द्वादशशती षष्टि: षड्भिश्च संयुता ।
भूभुजां कालसंख्यायां तद्द्वापञ्चाशतो मता ॥ I, 59

But who are these 52 kings for whom the figure of 1266 years is given ? Starting with G I, Kl gives the following kings:— G I, Dāmodara, Yaśovati, G II, then a gap of 35 kings, then Lava, Kuśa, Khagendra, Surendra, Godhara, Suvarṇa, Janaka, Sacinara, Aśoka, Jalaukā, Dāmodara, Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka Abhimanyu and G II. Here we get 55 kings from G I to G III, both included. But I must say that Kl definitely makes G III to be 53rd and not 55th from G I. In the introductory verses it is said :

द्वापञ्चाशतमाम्नायश्रेशाद्याश्रासमन्नृपान् ।
तेभ्यो नीलमताद्दृष्टं गोनन्दादिचतुष्टयम् ॥ I, 16
बद्धा द्वादशभिर्मन्वसहस्रैः पार्थिवावलिः ।
प्राङ्महाव्रतिना येन हेलराज्द्विजन्मना ॥ 17
तन्मतं पूर्वमिहिरो दृष्ट्वाशोकादिपूर्वगान् ।
अशौ लवादीन्नृपतीन्स्वस्मिन्ग्रन्थे न्यदर्शयत् ॥ 18
वेयशोकादय: पञ्चदश्वाशाकरोऽब्रवीत् ।
तान्द्वापञ्चाशतो मध्याच्छ्लोकस्य तथा श्रयम् ॥ 19
अशोकादभिमन्योर्वे प्रोक्ता पञ्च महीभुज: ।
ते द्वापञ्चाशतौ मध्यादेव लब्धा पुरातनै: ॥ 20

Here it is said that due to loss of tradition, names of 52 kings were lost. But Kl had obtained four names of Gonandādi from Nilamata (Purāṇa), names of eight kings beginning with Lava and preceding Aśokāli from Pūrvamihira, (who had got these names from the work of Helarāja) and the names of Aśoka to Abhimanyu from Srīcavillākara.

Now, above I have taken Huṣka Juṣka and Kaniṣka as three distinct kings (and originally they were three distinct kings) but in the above verses Kl has taken them as one unit, Kl puts these three names in a compound as Huṣkajuṣkakaniṣkāh. Therefore, it is clear that Kl has definitely taken these three kings to represent one number. Thus we get five kings from Aśoka to Abhimanyu (as Kl has distinctly said in the above verse 19), 8 kings from Lava to Aśoka (excluded) and 4 Gonandādi, i. e. G I, Dāmodara, Yaśovati and G II. And 35 names were lost to Kl. Thus, according to Kl we have 52 kings from G I to Abhimanyu (both included), and therefore G III is 53rd from G I. Therefore, it is evident that Kl has taken the total of 1266 years for these 52 kings, i. e. 1266 years from G I bring us to G III's accession.

Kl's second computation is given thus :

अष्टषष्टयधिकाब्दशतद्वाविंशतिकं नृपा: ।

अपीपलंस्ते कश्मीरान्मोनन्दाद्या: कलौ युगे ॥ I, 48

This gives a period of 2,268 years for the kings who are described as Gonandādi. Who are these Gonandādi? I think that the term refers to the Gonanda dynasty which stops at Blind Yudhiṣṭhira (Bly). It does not necessarily refer to the end of the Gonanda dynasty, for we are expressly told by Kl (III, 527-30) that the Goranda dynasty had finally closed with Bālāditya, after whom the kingdom passed on to Kārkota dynasty. The above verse only says that the king Gonanda and others ruled for 2,268 years. Gonanda may refer to G I or G II, but upto which king does the computation bring us? We have seen above that, according to Kl, 1,266 years had elapsed from G I to G III 's accession. Now, if we count the actual regnal periods as are given in *Raj*, from G III to Bly, we find that there are 21 kings given (including both G III and Bly). But, out of these 21 kings, Kl gives no period for Bly. We have, therefore, to count from G III 's acc. to Bly's acc. Counting, we get 965 years and if we neglect the months (given in the regnal

periods of some of the kings) as is sometimes done, we get 962
years from G III to Bly's acc. If we add these 965 or 962 years
to the above 1266 years, we get 2231 or 2228 years and we want
2268 years. That means that KI has taken 38 or 40 (which is
quite in conformity with MCM) years for the reign of Bly; and
thus we find that, according to KI's *Rāj*, 2268 years are for the
period from G I to Bly's death.

KI's third computation is given thus :

लौकिकाब्दे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य संप्रतम् ।
सप्तत्याभ्यधिकं बातं सहस्रं परिवत्सरा: ॥   I, 52

प्रायस्तृतीयगोनन्दादारभ्य शरदां तदा ।
द्वे सहस्रे गते त्रिंशदधिकं शतत्रयम् ॥   I, 53

The first verse gives 1070 Saka era as KI's date. Therefore,
his date is 1148 A. D. The second verse says that from G III to
KI's days i. e. to 1148 A. D., there had elapsed 2,330 years.

Thus KI's three general computations are these:

(1) From G I to G III 's acc. (52 kings)   1,266 years
(2) From G I to Bly's death (52+21 kings)   2,268 years
(3) From G III to 1148 A. D.   2,330 years

And ther fore,

(4) From G III 's acc. to Bly's death (21 kings)   1,002 years
(5) From Bly's death to 1148 A. D.   1,328 years

And putting G I 's acc. in 2448 B. C. as KI has done, we get
(2448−1266=) 1182 B. C. as the date of G III 's acc. and (2448−
2268=) 180 B. C. as the date of Bly's death.

But there is some difficulty in accepting these dates and these
calculations given in *Rāj*, as correct. KI gives 1266 years for the
first 52 kings and 1002 years for the next 21 kings. Therefore,
the average regnal period of the first 52 kings will be 24 years
and that of the next 21 kings will be 48·8 years. Now there is too
much disparity between the average for the first 52 kings and that
of the next 21 kings. Therefore KI's figures seem doubtful. That
they are really so is proved by the following.

According to the list published by Pt. Kaul, from G I to
Asoka's acc., 1675 years had elapsed. Pt. Kaul has not published

regnal periods of the kings after Aśoka. But KI gives five kings from Aśoka's acc. to G III 's acc. So, according to Hasan, the period from G I to G III 's acc. should be of 1675 years plus the total of the regnal periods of these five kings. But, according to KI, the same period has only 1266 years. Therefore, it is clear that KI and Hasan are following two different traditions. And I think that this difference between the calculations of these two schools, is due to the fact that KI's starting point is 2448 B C. and Hasan's starting point is 3101 B. C. KI distinctly says (I, 49) that before him, some other historians had taken the end of Dvāpara i. e. 3101 B. C. as the starting point, because they put the Mbh war at the end of Dvāpara. But he or the tradition that he follows, has taken 2448 B. C. as the starting point. That is, the tradition followed by KI has brought down the date of the Mbh war by 653 years. And if so, just as 653 would be deducted from the starting point 3101 B. C., so, in order to maintain uniformity, 653 years would be deducted from all the general totals handed down and based upon 3101 B. C. as the starting point. And it is clear that at least two such general totals—one from G I to G III 's acc. and the other from G I to Bly—were handed down to them. Therefore, in order to get the totals based upon 3101 B. C. as the starting point, we should add 653 to KI's totals (which are based upon 2448 B. C. as the starting point and) which are 1266 and 2268. Adding, we get 1266 + 653 = 1219 years for the first period from G I to G III and 2268 + 653 = 2921 years for the second period from G I to Bly. Thus we get two totals for the first 52 kings viz 1266 and 1919 and two totals for the first 73 kings viz 2268 and 2921. Out of these, I think Hasan's totals represent the earlier tradition and I further think that these totals—1919 and 2921—are based upon MCM. Let us, therefore, apply MCM to these two periods of Kashmir chronology.

But in order to apply MCM, we should know the number of kings for whom we wish to calculate. We want to calculate upto G III and Bly. Therefore, let us find out their numbers, according to the different possible traditions of Kashmir chronology.

(1) We have seen that KI makes G III 's number to be 53rd from G I by taking Yaśovati as a separate unit and by taking Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka (HJK) as one unit. But I have already said, while correlating the first three units of Kashmir chronology with the first three units of the Puranic chronology, that earlier,

Yaṣovati is not likely to have been taken as a separate unit. Similarly, though Kl makes HJK to be one unit, earlier, they must have been three separate units. Keeping these two points and also the various possible beginnings as detailed by me earlier in mind, let us consider.

(2) If we start with G I, do not take Yaṣovati as a separate unit and take HJK as one unit, G III's number (from G I i. e. from the start) will be 52nd; but it will be 54th if we take HJK as three units.

(3) And, if we start with G II and take HJK as three units, G III's number (from G II i.e. from the start) will be 52nd.

Thus G III's number may be taken to be 52nd or 53rd or 54th, from the start.

Then Kl gives 21 kings from G III to Bly (both inclusive). So Bly's number will be (1) $51 + 21 = 72$nd from G II, if we take HJK as three units (2) $51 + 21 = 72$nd from G I, if we do not take Yaṣovati as a separate unit and keep HJK as one unit and 74th if we take them as separate units and (3) $52 + 21 = 73$rd from G I, if we take Yaṣovati as a separate unit and keep HJK as one unit as Kl does.

Thus Bly's number may be taken to be 72nd, 73rd or 74th from the start.

Now let us apply MCM. We shall take the second period upto Bly first. For this period we have obtained two totals above—2268 and 2921. We have just seen that from the start Bly's number may be 72nd, 73rd or 74th. And according to MCM 73 units would require $73 \times 40 = 2920$ years and this exactly tallies with 2921 years which we got by adding 653 to K'ls total of 2268. Therefore, the correct total is 2921 and it is for 73 king-units. Only we should remember that the total 2921 will bring us down to Bly's acc, if we start with G I, do not take Yaṣovati as a separate unit and take HJK as three units or to Bly's death, if we start with G I (start remaining with G I in both the cases), take Yaṣovati as a separate unit and take HJK as three units. Thus we should remember that the total 2921 (i. e. Kl's total 2268) brings us down to Bly's acc or death.

Now let us take the first period upto G III. For this period we have obtained two totals above 1919 and 1266. Again we have seen that from the start, G III's number may be 52nd, 53rd or

54th, i. e. upto G III and excluding him there will be 51 or 52 or 53 kings. These will require, according to MCM, 51 × 40 = 2040 years or 52 × 40 = 2080 years or 53 × 40 = 2140 years. But we have got 1919 years above by adding 653. Therefore the above three totals (2040, 2080, 2140) obtained according to MCM, are more by 121 or 161 or 221 years. We have just seen that the total 2921 for the second period arrived at by adding 653 to Kl's total (2268) exactly tallies with the total 2920 arrived at according to MCM. But here in the case of the first period we find this difference of 121 or 161 or 221 years between the two totals. Let us see why there is this difference. We have added 653 years to Kl's total of 1266, taking that Kl begins with G I and puts G I in 2448 B. C. But others put G I in 3101 B. C. Again, Kl takes the beginning with G I, but we have seen the possibility of the beginning being with G II. If the earlier starting point was G II and not G I, then we should add 753 and not 653 to 1266, because as we have seen earlier, between G I and G II they are likely to have taken a difference of 100 years and therefore if G I was put in 3101 B. C. G II (i. e. G II's acc.) will be taken in 3001 B. C. Therefore, if the start was from G II, we should deduct 653 from 3001 B. C. and 753 from 3101 B. C. (and then G II will be put in 2348 B. C.) If, therefore, we add 753 to Kl's total of 1266 years, we get 1266 + 753 = 2019 years from the start to G II's acc. Now this figure 2019 tallies well with the figure 2040 obtained according to MCM, for MCM can be true only roughly (within 40 years). It only means that G III started his rule 2019 years after G II's acc and if G III ruled for more than 21 years (2040 − 2019 = 21), as he is likely to have done, the 51st unit will be over and he would be 52nd unit. Thus we find that 2040 and 2019 tally well.

This means that both the totals 2019 and 2921 were based upon MCM. In other words, at one time, the calculation for the first period upto G III's acc was from G II (and not from G I) to G III's acc. and at that time 51 units were taken from G II to G III's acc. (taking HJK as three units) and there had elapsed 2019 years from GII to G III's acc. But the tradition that Kl follows has, by taking the start to be from G I, by taking Yasovati as a separate unit and by taking HJK as one unit, given 52 units from the start to G III's acc. and has given 1266 years for this period by deducting 753 from the earlier total of 2019 years. Similarly, at one time the calculation for the second period upto Bly was

from G I (not from G II) to Bly's acc. (not death) and at that time 73 units were taken between G I and Bly's acc, (taking HJK as three units and not taking Yasovati as a separate unit) and there had elapsed 2921 years from G I to Bly's acc. But the tradition that KI follows has, by taking Yasovati as a separate unit and by taking HJK as one unit, given 72 units from G I to Bly's acc. (Bly himself being 73rd) and has given 2268 years for this period by deducting 653 from the earlier total of 2921 years. They deducted 653 years for the second period and 753 years for the first period, because, the beginning of the second period was from GI in both the cases, but for the first period, the earlier beginning was from G II and the later beginning was from G I and between G I and G II they had taken a difference of 100 years.

Thus we find that the scheme of chronology as represented in KI's *Raj*, is an adjusted scheme. It is not the original scheme. We have found that KI starts with G I in both the cases and therefore his starting point for both the periods is 2448 B. C. We have also found that some other chronologists started the one period (upto GIII 's acc) from GII and one period (upto Bly's acc) from G I. Therefore they put G I in 2448 B. C and G II in 2348 B. C., (or adding 653 they took G I to have been in 3101 B. C. whereas originally G I must have been put in 3201 B. C. and G II in 3101 B. C. I) Now let us understand the position according to these three calculations.

Originally. G I was put in 3201 B. C. and G II in 3101 B. C. Then 2019 years were calculated between G II and G III 's acc. Therefore G III 's acc. will be in 3101—2019=1082 B. C. Originally 2921 years were calculated between G I and Bly's acc. Therefore Bly's acc will be in 3201—2921=280 B. C. Thus at this stage, there will be 802 years (1082—280) between G III 's acc and Bly's acc. At this stage they put 73 units from G I to Bly's acc. thus —3 units (G I to G II dropping Yasovati) + 50 units (from G II 's death to GIII' s acc. taking HJK as 3 units) + 20 (from G III 's acc to Bly's acc).

Another time, they put G I in 2448 B. C. and G II in 2348 B.C. Then they gave 1266 years between G II and G III 's acc. Therefore, G III 's acc will be in 2348—1266=1082 B. C. They gave 2268 years between G I and Bly's acc. Therefore, Bly's acc will be in 2448 — 2268 = 180 B. C. At this stage, they would require 902 years (1082 — 180) between G II's acc. and Bly's acc.

At still another time, they put G I in 2448 B. C. and gave 1266 year between G I (not G II) and G III's acc. Therefore, G III's acc. will be in 2448 − 1266 = 1182 B. C. Again they gave 2268 years between G I and Bly's acc. Therefore, Bly's acc. will be in 2448 − 2268 = 180 B. C. At this stage they would require 1002 (1082−180) years between G III's acc. and Bly's acc.

And finally, some one took 180 B. C. to refer to Bly's death and not to his acc. Thus Bly's death and not acc. came to be in 180 B. C.

Thus we get the following table.

G I's acc.	G II's acc.	1st period	2nd period	G III's acc.	Bly's acc.	Bly'sd
1st Stage 3201 B.C.	3101 B. C.	2019 yrs	2921 yrs	1082BC	280 BC	——
2nd Stage 2448 B.C.	2348 B.C.	1266 yrs	2268 yrs	,,	180 BC	——
3rd Stage 2448 B.C.	——	,,	,,	1182BC	,,	——
4th Stage 2448 B.C.	——	,,	,,	,,	——	180 BC

And I must say that the dates arrived at according to the First stage (i.e. 1082 B. C. for G III's acc. and 280 B. C. for Bly's acc) are correct and others incorrect. The mistake in the third stage was caused by taking the starting point with G I in both the cases. The mistake in the second stage was caused by taking 3101 B. C. & therefore 2448 B. C. as the date of G I.

The chronology as represented by Kl. by starting with G I in both the cases. increases the first period upto GIII's acc by 100 years and thus gets 1182 B. C. instead of 1082 B. C. as the date of G III's acc. While both these and the chronologists of the second stage get 180 B C. instead of 280 B. C. as the date of Bly's acc because they kept 3101 B. C. as the fixed point G II's date was originally taken as 3101 B C. but that of G II's as 3201 B. C. and therefore the calculation upto Bly's acc which starts with G I (not G II) should have started with 3201 B. C. and not with 3101 B. C. as these chronologists of the 2nd stage have done. And that is why they are lower by 100 years in the date of Bly's acc. It should therefore be 280 B. C.

I shall put this differently. There have been, at least, three stages in this adjustment of Kashmir chronology. The first was

based upon the real date of the Mbh war i.e. 3201 B.C. Then, the general chronological computations were made twice, once in G III 's days and once in Bly's days. In G III 's days, they counted from G II 's acc and said that from G II to G III 's acc. 2019 years had elapsed. In Bly's days, they counted from G I 's acc and said that from G I to Bly's acc, 2921 years had passed. Thus they got 3201 B.C. (G I 's date)−2019=1082 B.C. as the date for G III 's acc. At this stage there were 802 years between G III and Bly's acc. and 73 units from G I to Bly's acc.

We have seen earlier that the verse āsanmaghāsu etc must have been misunderstood sometime after 78 A.D. And it was only after its misunderstanding that 2448 B.C. was taken as the date of the Mbh war. In Kashmir such a calculation seems to have been made sometime after Ajitāpida's death. At that time, they took 3101 B.C. to be the date of Kali start and therefore as the fixed point and put the Mbh war in 2448 B.C. Therefore, they put G I in 2448 B.C. and G II in 2348 B.C., keeping up the difference of 100 years between them. Now as they brought down the date of Mbh war (which was upto that time taken as 3101 B.C.) by 653 years, they should, for the sake of consistency, bring down the number of years handed down to them for the two periods. For one period they were given 2019 years and for the other 2921 years. They deducted 753 from 2019, as the figure had G II as the starting point and as they put G II 753 years later (i.e. in 2348 B.C.) than 3101 B.C., their fixed point. Thus they got 2019−753=1266 years between G II and G III 's acc. Similarly, they deducted 653 from 2921, as that figure had G I as its starting point and as they put G I 653 years later (i.e. in 2448 B.C.) than 3101 B.C. their fixed point. Thus they got 2921 − 653 = 2268 years between G I and Bly's acc. And they got 2448−2268=180 B.C. as the date of Bly's acc. At this stage there were 902 years between G III and Bly's acc.

Then in the days of Kl or a little earlier, some one misunderstood that both the figures 1266 and 2268 (original figures of 2019 years and 2921 years were known then but discarded) were based upon G I as the starting point. Thus their date of Bly's acc. remained the same (i.e. 180 B.C.) but their date of G III 's acc. was taken higher by 100 years (i.e. to 1182 B.C.) as for that period also they took 2448 B.C. and not 2348 B.C. as their start-

ing point. Thus at this stage there came to be 1002 years between G III 's acc. and Bly's acc.

And finally it was almost at this stage that by taking Yaśovati as a separate unit, they took 180 B. C. to be the date of Bly's death and not of his accession.

Out of these dates for G III 's acc and Bly's acc., I think that the dates of the original calculations were correct as those dates tally with the entire subsequent Kashmir Chronology and as those dates are confirmed by MCM. According to those dates, there was a difference of 802 years (1082 — 280) between G III 's acc. and Bly's acc. Now 802 years, according to MCM. will require (802 ÷ 40 = 20) king-units and we actually find 20 kings between G III (included) and Bly (excluded). This also proves that the original dates were correct and that the original calculation had stopped at Bly's acc and not at his death. That these dates were, later, adjusted by some one is proved by the fact that for the same 20 king-names we have to-day in *Rāj*, a total of 1002 years as we expected it to be in the last stage.

This shows that between G III 's acc. and Bly's acc., first, there were 802 years, then 902 years and then 1002 years. But if they added first 100 years and then another 100 years for the period covered by the same 20 kings, they should have adjusted these 200 years in some manner somewhere. Let us see how they are adjusted.

We have seen that first 100 years were added by bringing down the date of Bly's acc from 280 B. C. to 180 B. C. This will naturally affect the total of the regnal periods after the days of Bly. That is, they must have deducted 100 years somewere from the period after Bly. That such a deduction had actually been made sometime after the death of Ajitāpiḍa, will be seen below. It is, therefore, that I have suggested above that the adjustment of the second stage (based on 2148 B. C.) was made sometime after Ajitāpiḍa's death.

Another 100 years were added to the period between G III's acc to Bly's acc by taking up the date of G III's acc from 1082 B. C. to 1182 B. C. This happened in the third stage, But this would affect the total of the regnal periods before the days of G III. That is, either they should deduct 100 years from the period from G II to G III's acc or they should take up the start by 100 years, and as we, now, know, they have taken the start higher by

100 years, by starting both the calculations from G I. The period upto G III's acc was always counted from the acc of G II, which was put, at the end of the second stage of adjustment, in 2348 B.C. But in the third stage they counted this period upto G III's acc also, from G I's acc and thus from 2448 B.C. Thus they got the difference of 100 years adjusted.

Now I should explain how 100 years have been deducted from the total regnal periods after the days of Bly; but that point of the deduction of 100 years as well as the point of the correctness of the dates 1082 B.C. (for G III's acc) and 280 B.C. (for Bly's acc) will be fully clarified in considering the Kashmir chronology from Bly's acc to Kl's own days, which I, now, proceed to do.

II

For the period after Bly, I shall make test cases of two dates —(1) that of Mātṛgupta's abdication and (2) that of Jayāpīḍa's accession.

Proceeding after Bly, we have six kings given in the 2nd Taraṅga. Then we have in the 3rd Taraṅga, Meghavarṇa, Pravarasena I, Toramāṇa and Mātṛgupta. Regarding this Mātṛgupta, it is said in Raj that he was at first a court-poet at Ujjain, where king Vikramāditya was ruling and he was made the king of Kashmir by this Vikramāditya. About this Vikramāditya, Kl has noted:

तत्र नेहस्युञ्जयिन्यां श्रीमान्हर्षापराभिधः ।
एकच्छत्रघकवर्ती विकमादित्य इत्यभूत ॥ III 125,
म्लेच्छोच्छेदाय वसुधां हररवतरिष्यत: ।
शकान्विनाश्य येनादौ कार्यं भारो ल्घुकृतः । 128

Thus Kl takes this king Vikramāditya, whose other name was Harṣa and who was ruling at Ujjain to be Śakāri and therefore evidently the starter of the Vikrama era of 56 B.C. Kl seems to be very sure of this, for about an earlier Vikramāditya, who was a relative of the king Pratāpāditya (who succeeded Bly), he categorically says:

शकारिर्विकमादित्य इति स भ्रममाश्रितः ।
अन्यैरत्रान्यथालेति विसंवादि कटयितम ॥ II, 6

Thus, according to Kl, this Vikramāditya who was a contemporary of Mātṛgupta was the real Sakāri and therefore his date should be 56 B. C. Let us see what is his date in *Raj*.

We have seen earlier that Kl puts Bly's death in 180 B C. Therefore the acc of Pratāpāditya, who succeeded Bly, will be in 180 B. C. Now if we total up (see table given at the end of this section) the regnal periods of kings from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta (both inclusive) we get a total of 290 years. Putting Pratāpāditya's acc in 180 B. C., we get 290 — 180 = 110 A. D. as the date of the end of Mātṛgupta's rule. And it is said in *Raj* that Mātṛgupta abdicated on learning the news of Harṣa Vikramāditya's death. Thus according to this calculation Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain whom Kl calls the Sakāri, died in 110 A.D. How, then can he be the Vikramāditya of 56 B. C. as Kl makes him to be ?

Same reslt is obtained by calculating from the other end also. Kl puts, as is generally made out from *Raj*, the death of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa in 813 A. D. Working backwards (see table) we have in *Raj*, 212 years of the Kārkoṭa dynasty from Cippaṭ ijayāpīḍa's death to the accession of Durlabhavaradhana and 491 years from Pravarasena II (who succeeded Mātṛgupta) to the start of the Karkoṭa dynasty i. e. in all 212 + 491 = 703 from the end of Mātṛgupta's rule to the death of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa. Putting the death of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa in 813 A. D, we get (813 — 703 =) 110 A. D. as the date of the end of Matṛgupta's rule. Thus from both the ends, we find the close of Mātṛgupta's rule and therfore the death of Harṣa Vikramāditya in 110 A. D.

In face of such a clear testimony how can we say that Mātṛgupta (and therefore Harṣa Vikrama) flourished in about 56 B. C.? And yet Kl is almost insistent that Vikramāditya who gave the throne of Kashmir to Mātṛgupta, was the Sakāri Vikramāditya. But if this Vikramāditya was Sakāri, Mātṛgupta's time must have been four years on either side of 56 B. C. (because he is said to have ruled for four years only). Kl is almost self-contradictory. He says that this Vikramāditya was Sakāri i. e. he lived in 56 B.C. and yet the chronology adopted in his work, definitely puts this Vikramāditya's death in 110 A. D. A difference of one and a half century is thus, created between these two dates (56 B.C. and 110 A.D.) This self-contradictory nature of Kl's book, I think, suggests that there has been some adjustment is Kashmir chronoloy. The

true Śakāri is generally understood as the founder of an era. Therefore if this Harṣa Vikramāditya was Śakāri, he must have flourished at 56 B. C. and if he did not flourish at 56 B. C. he was not Śakāri; and yet Kl calls him śakāri and does not put him in 56 B.C. Therefore, either Kl's date for this Vikramāditya is wrong or his statement that he was śakāri is wrong. I think that his statement about Vikramāditya being śakāri is correct and his date for him is incorrect, because there is been some djustment in the chronology of Kashmir. I think that at one stage, Kashmir c ronology was so arranged that Mātṛgupta and Harṣa Vikrama were actually, placed in 56 B. C., but later on, either due to some misunderstanding or due to some other reason (which we shall soon find out), the chronology was readjusted and was made what it is to-day.

I think that just as the chronology upto Bly was based upon MCM, the chronology subsequent to him also was based upon MCM, only after Bly's period the character of MCM, was slightly changed. In the first part of this book I have shown that, so far as MCM is concerned, two types of caturyugas are used—one having 40 years and another having 20 years. We have seen that chronolgy upto Bly is based upon 40 year's caturyuga. Let us apply both these types to the subsequent chronology. From Pratāpāditya (who succeeded Bly) to Toramāṇa (both included) there are given 9 king-names in Raj. For these 9 units we shall require either $(9 \times 40 =)$ 360 years or $(9 \times 20 =)$180 years. Now, Kl has put Bly's death and therefore Pratāpāditya's accession in 180 B.C., while I have, above, said that Bly's accession was in 280 B. C. If so, Bly's death will be in $280 - 40$ (Bly's own unit) $= 240$ B. C. Thus Pratāpāditya's accession would be either in 240 B. C. or in 180 B. C. Now if we put Pratāpāditya's accession in 180 B. C., as Kl does, Toramāṇa's death will be either in $(360 - 180 =)$ 180 A. D. or in $(180 - 180 =)$ I B. C. And if we put Pratāpāditya's accession in 240 B. C., as I do, Toramāṇa's death will be either in $(360 - 240 =)$ 120 A. D. or in $(240 - 180 =)$ 60 B. C. Thus Toramāṇa's death would be in 180 A. D. or 120 A. D. or in 1 B. C. or in 60 B. C. Now Mātṛgupta succeeded Toramāṇa and he is given a rule of 4 years in Raj. Therefore Mātṛgupta's abdication (and therefore Harṣa Vikrama's death) will be in 184 A. D. or in 124 A. D. or in 4 A. D. or in 56 B. C. Out of these dates 184 A. D. and 124 A. D. are impossible dates for the Vikramāditya of 56 B. C. 4 A. D. is not impossible as it can be

said that he came on the throne in 56 B. C. and died in 4 A. D., having ruled for 60 years. 56 B. C. is also possible as the date of Vikramāditya's death, because we have got two distinct traditions about the start of Vikrama era, one taking it to have started from the king's accession and the other taking it to have started from his death. Even out of these two dates, I think that 56 B. C. is the correct date of his death, because at one end it tallies with 240 B. C. as the date of Bly's death and at the other end it tallies with the date of Jayāpīḍa's accession.

Let us proceed. Mātṛgupta was succeeded by Pravarasena II. Therefore, according to my calculations, the date of Pravarasena's accession will be 56 B. C. From Pravarasena II to Durlabhaka (second king of the Kārkoṭa dynasty), there are 8 kings both included. Thus, according to MCM, we get $(8 \times 40) = 320$ years, upto the end of Durlabhaka's reign. But *Rāj* gives 300 years to Raṇāditya. I shall later show that these 300 years represent a kingless period in Kashmir. Thus, here, we should take 40 years of Raṇāditya's unit (and these 40 years are included in the above 320 years for 8 units) plus a kingless period of 300 years. Thus we shall have $320 + 300 = 620$ years from Pravarasena II's accession to Durlabhaka's end. Putting Pravarasena II's accession in 56 B. C., we get $(620 - 56 =)$ 564 A. D. as the date of Durlabhaka's death. It will be seen that in the above calculation I have given 340 years $(300 + 40$ his own unit) to Raṇāditya's unit. This is proved by the following also.

Pt Anand Kaul has said (P. 202), " According to him (Hasan) Raṇāditya's rule did not extend over 300 years as stated by Kalhaṇa, which is, on the face of it preposterous (see Dr. Stien's Intr. to Kashmir's chronicle p. 80) but over only 60 years and 3 months, and that six kings preceeded and one king followed him, the account of whose rule he gives in detail, but whom Kalhaṇa has omitted." Thus, for one unit of Raṇāditya as given in *Rāj*, Hasan gives 7 units plus 60 years. 7 units would mean $7 \times 40 = 280$ years and if we add 60 years to it, we get exactly 340 years (for Raṇāditya's unit) as I have taken above. Thus this detail preserved by Hasan proves, beyond any doubt, that MCM with 40 year's unit is used here and that 300 years given by Kl represent a kingless period. (I shall attempt a detailed reconstruction of these 300 years later).

Thus we get 564 A.D. as the date of Durlabhaka's death i.e. of the accession of Candrāpīḍa who succeeded Durlabhaka. After Durlabhaka and from Candrāpīḍa, *Raj* shows no trace of MCM. Therefore let us work up upto Jayāpīḍa according to the regnal periods given in *Raj*. If we count the regnal periods of the kings from Candrāpīḍa to Jayāpīḍa (both included) we get 92 years. Therefore Jayāpīḍa's death will be in 564+92=656 A.D. And as Jayāpīḍa ruled for 31 years, his regnal period will be from 625 A.D. to to 656 A.D.

But this date for Jayāpīḍa comes in conflict with the evidence of *Raj* itself. *Raj* IV, 703 is this:

एकोननवते वर्षे स्वस्त्रीये शान्तिमागते ।
निर्विघ्नमोगास्तेभुवन्धड्विंशाब्दात्यथावधि ॥ ७०३

Here svasrīya refers to Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, and from here Kl starts giving dates in Laukika or Saptarṣi era. It has been held on the evidence of the verse that cippaṭajayāpīḍa (Chj) died in the 89th Laukika year. And working backwards from the close of the book, which is definitely put in 1148 A.D. and therefore in 3077−1148 =4225 th Laukika era, it is found that the year 89th mentioned, here, should be 3889 th year of the Laukika era. And 3889 th year of the Laukika era is taken as equivalent to 3889 − 3077 = 812 or 813 A.D. Thus, if the death of Chj occurred in 813 A.D., the death of Jayāpīḍa, which happened, according to *Raj*, 31 years earlier, should be put in 813−31=782 A.D. But I have put, above, Jayāpīḍa's death in 656 A.D. How can this be?

Then again the modern scholars have found that, according to certain Chinese sources, Lalitādityā Muktāpīḍa and Candrāpīḍa were contemporaries of the Chinese emperor Yuan Chang, who is known to have ruled from 713 to 765 A.D. Candrāpīḍa according to *Raj*, is removed from Jayāpīḍa by 84 years. How, then, can Jayāpīḍa rule from 625 to 656 A.D. as I say?

Thus both according to the internal and external evidence, my dates for Jayāpīḍa do not seem to be correct; and I must say that inspite of this internal and external evidence, the dates suggested by me are corroborated by a number of other circumstances, which in my opinion prove my dates conclusively.

(1) "I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim speaks of Jayāditya of Kashmir as the author of a grammatical work called *Vṛtti-sūtra*, which, it

is usual to identify with the *Kasika*, a joint work of Jayāditya
and Vāmana. I-tsing tells that Jayāditya died in about A. D. 660."
(*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, by S. K. Belvalkar, p. 35). I-tsing,
here, calls the author as Jayāditya of Kashmir and the joint author
of the *Kasika* is also Jayāditya. Now, there is every reason to
believe that Jayāditya of I-tsing and Jayāditya of the *Kasika* are
one and the same person and further that they are the same as
Jayāpiḍa of Kashmir. According to the usually accepted chrono-
logy of *Raj.* in c. 660 A. D. it was Durlabhaka who was ruling
over Kashmir. How, then, did I-tsing refer to Jayāditya or
Jayāpiḍa of Kashmir as having died in c. 660 A. D.? There had
been no king named Jayāditya and Jayāpiḍa before Durlabhaka.
The difference in the ending of the name (– āditya and – piḍa)
need not come in the way, as there are many such cases of more
than one ending in proper names of kings in ancient India. More-
over, it is evident from *Raj* (IV, 488-9; 664-7) that Jayāpiḍa of
Kashmir was not only keenly interested in grammar, but was
himself an author of some grammatical works. Again, it has been
unanimously accepted by scholars that Vāmana, the rehtorician
and grammarian, lived at the court of this Jayāpiḍa. *Raj* also
mentions this Vāmana (IV, 497). Therefore, it is not at all un-
likely if Jayāpiḍa wrote some grammatical work, jointly with
Vāmana. Therefore, I think that Jayāpiḍa of Kashmir is the same
as Jayāditya of the *Kasika* and Jayāditya of I-tsing. The difference
in the name of the book (*vṛtti-sātra*) as given by I-tsing should
not come in the way, as either it was an alternative title of
Kasika itself or it was another work of Jayāditya or Jayāpiḍa.

Thus, I-tsing's evidence should be taken as unmistakable. He
himself travelled in India from 670 A. D. onwards and must have
been in Kashmir in 670 or 671 A. D. Therefore, he cannot be
wrong when he says that Jayāditya or Jayāpiḍa died in c. 660
A. D. And according to my calculation Jayāpiḍa died in 656 A. D.

(2) I put Jayāpiḍa's rule from 625 to 656 A. D. If so, it
must have been Jayāpiḍa, who was ruling in Kashmir, when the
famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir in c. 629
A. D. "*The Life*" gives a detailed description of the pilgrim's
reception by the king of Kashmir, but it is really unfortunate
that neither '*the Life*' nor the pilgrim himself gives the name of
the king who was then ruling in Kashmir. But I must say that
though '*the Life*' or the pilgrim does not mention the name of

the king, Kl actually mentions the name of Hiuen Tsang as a pilgrim who visited Kashmir in the days of Jayāpiḍa. While describing the reign of Jayāpiḍa, Kl says:

<div align="center">
स स्वप्ने पश्चिमाशायां लक्ष्यसूदय रवेः ।
देशे धर्मोत्तराचार्य प्रविष्ट साध्वमन्वत ॥ IV, 498
</div>

This has been translated by Mr. R. S. Pandit thus:

"When he saw in a dream the rising of the Sun in the Western direction, he believed that a distinguished Master of the Law had entered the country. (IV, 498)"

And in a note to this verse Mr. Pandit says: ' May it be that this verse refers to an event similar to the arrival of the great Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang, which literally means Master of the Law ?"

I think that Mr. Pandit has unknowingly caught the right sense here. But Mr. Pandit has not translated the word 'sādhu' in the verse. I would, therefore, translate the verse thus:

"Seeing in a dream the rising of the Sun in the Western direction, he considered it good that Dharmottarācārya (i. e. Hiuen-Tsang i. e. Master of the Law) had entered the country."

I take Dharmottarācārya as a mere translation of the name Hiuen-Tsang. Hiuen-Tsang was not the personal name of the pilgrim. It was his dikṣā-name and it literally means master (ācārya) of the Law (dharma), i. e. dharmācārya. Kl has translated it by dharmottarācārya, meaning distinguished Master of the Law. I, therefore, take dharmottarācārya to mean Hiuen-Tsang and I would explain the verse thus: Jayāpiḍa himself was not a Buddhist. Therefore, when he heard, probably through his spies, that a great Buddhist monk was about to enter or had entered his country, he probably, at first, thought of not encouraging the visit. He might have even doubted him to be a spy. Therefore, when he had a dream as above, he must have narrated the same to the astrologers and interpreters, for interpretation : and on their advice, the king must have considered the arrival of the pilgrim to be good (sādhu) i. e. harmless. The verse should be properly understood. At the place where it occurs, Kl is describing the general condition of the reign of Jayāpiḍa. In the 497th verse, he has enumerated the names of the poets and learned men of his court and then follows

this verse. Thus the verse has no particular context, except that
after giving a list of the poets and learned men, Kl, in this verse,
gives some information about a religious man. But it is quite
clear that it has been mentioned as a separate and independent
incident in the life of Jayāpīḍa. As such, it must have been an
important event in his reign, so as to deserve a separate mention.
It is, therefore, evident that the arrival of a dharmottarācārya was
an important event in the reign of Jayāpīḍa. According to the
chronology of *Rāj*, Jayāpīḍa's rule will be from A. D. 750 to 781,
and according to the modern scholars from c. 780–811 A.D. i.e. the
last quarter of the eighth century. Now, no Chinese pilgrim, who
could be called dharmottarācārya is known to have visited Kashmir
during the last quarter of the eighth century. I-tsing was an im-
portant person, but he had died in 713 A.D. Therefore, if we
accept the chronology as it is found in *Rāj*, or as it is modified
by the modern scholars, this important event of the reign of Jayā-
pīḍa will remain unexplained. But according to my chronology,
Jayāpīḍa ruled from 625 to 656 A.D. And as Hiuen-Tsang had
entered Kashmir in c. 629 A. D., it was he, whose visit is noted
in this verse. He was actually called Master of the Law and that
is what Kl means by dharmottarācārya. Thus, in my opinion, this
verse supplies a very important synchronism. I, therefore, take
this verse to actually record the visit of Hiuen-Tsang in Kashmir,
and as the pilgrim had entered Kashmir in c. 629 A. D., my dates
for Jayāpīḍa's reign–period (625-656 A. D.) are fully supported
by it.

(3) *Subhāṣitāvali* has a verse durvārā smaramārgaṇa etc. It is
given there under the signature of Mayurasutasya Śaṅkukasya.
That means that Śaṅkuka was the son of Mayūra. Mayūra was a
contemporary of the emperor Harṣa of Kanauj, and Śaṅkuka,
according to *Rāj* (IV, 705) was a contemporary of Ajitāpīḍa.
Harṣa is put from c. 604 to 643 A. D. and Ajitāpīḍa, according to
Rāj is to be put from 813 A. D. to 839 A. D. In that case, we
shall have to say that either the remark in Subhāṣitāvali is not
correct or if it is correct then Śaṅkuka of the verse is not the
same as Śaṅkuka of *Rāj* or Mayura of the remark is not the
Mayūra, the contemporary of Harṣa. And yet we do not know of
any other Śaṅkuka or Mayūra, apart from those connected with
Ajitāpīḍa and Harṣa respectively. But according to my chronology
Ajitāpīḍa will be placed from 687 to 713 A. D. Harṣa ruled upto

643 A. D. Thus Mayūra, who was a junior contemporary of Bāṇa could have been the father of Śaṅkuka. If we put Mayūra's life from c 615 to 680 A D. then we can put Śaṅkuka's life from c. 645 to 725 A. D. Thus, if we accept my dates of Jayāpīḍa and of Ajitāpīḍa, the remark, that the above verse was composed by Śaṅkuka, the son of Mayūra can be satisfactorily explained, without being driven to the necessity of postulating another Mayūra or another Śaṅkuka.

(4) Elsewhere, [1] I have shown that Chach, the founder of the Brāhmaṇa dynasty in Sind, was the same person as Jajja, the brother-in-law of Jayāpīḍa (mentioned in *Rāj*). A Ms spells the name Chach as Jaj also and even otherwise, phonetically also, Chach and Jaj can easily interchange. It is said in *Chachnamāh* that when Chach went to Multan, one king of kashmir had just recently died and another king had come to the throne. This new king, it is said in *Chachnāmāh*, was a child and as he had newly come on the throne, there were internal mutiny and dissensions. Again, in the days of i. e. soon after the accession of Chandār, the brother and successor of Chach, it is known from *Chachnamāh* that, this child king had died and another king had come to the throne of Kashmir, who is described in *Chachnāmāh* as the grandson (by daughter) of the great Chach. Now Chach is said to have ruled for 40 years, Chandār for 7 years and Ḍāhar who succeeded Chandār seems to have ruled for about 15 years. It is very well known that this Ḍāhar was put to death in 712 A. D. by Mir Kasam, who conquered Sind in that year. Therefore Ḍāhar ruled from 697 to 712 A. D., Chandār from 690 to 697 A. D. and Chach from 650 to 690 A. D. Therefore, fromāabout 650 A. D. to 692 A. D. there must have happened in Kashmir (1) the death of one king, (2) accession of another king, who was a child and in whose reign there had been internal troubles, (3) death of this child king and accession of another king who was the grandson of Chach. Now, according to the chronology as given by Kl, between the years 650 and 692 A. D., there ruled in Kashmir, Durlabhaka (637-687 A. D.) and Candrāpīḍa (687-695 A. D.). But none of these two, satisfies any of the above conditions, Neither of them was a child king, in the reign of neither of them was there internal trouble and neither of them is known to have been or could have been the grandson of Chach. According to the

1. *Journal of Sind Historical Society* Vol, VII, Part 1 & 2 pp, 1 ff

modern historians who pull down the dates by 25 or 30 years, from 650 to 692 A. D., there will be ruling in Kashmir, Durlabhavardhana (last 12 years of his reign) and Durlabhaka (692-712 A. D). But this also will not satisfy any of the details given in *Chachnāmah*. According to my scheme, Jayāpiḍa ruled from 625-656 A. D., Lalitāpiḍa from 656 to 668 A. D., Saṅgramāpiḍa II from 668 to 675 A. D., Cippaṭajayāpiḍa from 675 to 687 A. D. and Ajitāpiḍa from 687-713 A. D. And I have shown that the first reference to the Kashmir king in *Chachnāmah* is to Cippaṭajayāpiḍa who is clearly described in *Rāj*, as a child king (Śiśudeśya) and in whose days, it is said in *Rāj*, his maternal uncles had created internal troubles and had actually started enjoying the kingdom themselves. The second reference, I have shown, is to Ajitāpiḍa. Ajitāpiḍa was the son of Tribhuvanāpiḍa, who, though was the eldest son of Jayāpiḍa, was not given the throne after the death of Jayāpiḍa. Now this Tribhuvanāpiḍa, I have shown, was the nephew (sister's son) of Jajja (whom I identify with Chach) whose sister, according to *Rāj*, was married to Jayāpiḍa. Therefore, Ajitāpiḍa would be Jajja's or Chach's grand-nephew. Only, either the original Arabic writer of *Chachnāmah* or its persian translator has confounded grand-nephew with grand-son i. e. sister's son with daughter's son. Thus the details of the contemporary Kashmir history, as given in *Chachnāmah*, are satisfied only if we adopt my dates for Jayāpiḍa and Ajitāpiḍa.

(4) Another somewhat indirect but very suggestive evidence also supports my dates for Jayāpiḍa. I would, here, draw attention to the names Candrāpiḍa and Tārāpiḍa that occur in *Rāj*. We are already familiar with these names. Candrāpiḍa is the hero of *Kādambari* and Tārāpiḍa is his father's name. Now, these names are peculiar. They are not the usual names that we meet with in ordinary Sanskrit literary works. Why did Bāṇa select such peculiar names? Names are so peculiar that one would doubt a borrowing either on the part of Bāṇa or on the part of Durlabhaka, the father of Candrāpiḍa and Tārāpiḍa. If we put the death of Chj in 89th year and therefore in 813 A. D., as is usually done, then Durlabhaka's rule will be from 616 to 676 A. D. And if we accept the emendation proposed by the scholars then his dates will be from 653-713. In these cases, Durlabhaka will be either a contemporary of ŚriHarṣa of Kannuj or his immediate follower. In that case it may be said that Bāṇa had coined these names in

his story, and that story was read by Durlabhaka and he having liked the names, gave these names to his sons. It is not altogether imposible. But if we accept my date of Jayāpiḍa, Durlabhaka's rule will be placed from 522 to 582 A. D., which will mean that Bāṇa had borrowed the names. This also is not impossible, as Bāṇa had travelled widely and *Kādambari* bears every trace of his being familiar with Kashmir and Hemakūṭa regions. He might have gone to Kashmir, according to my chronology, in the days of Jayāpiḍa and these names ending in piḍa or āpiḍa might have struck him as peculiar and he might have selected these names for his romantic story.

Out of these two alternatives of borrowing the names by Durlabhaka or by Bāṇa, I think that the borrowing by Bāṇa is more natural. In favour of Durlabhaka borrowing the names, this can be said. The names are peculiar and the first two names of the dynasty do not end in piḍa or āpiḍa and these piḍa-ending names suddenly start from the sons of Durlabhaka, and he might have selected them after reading Kādambari. But I must say that though, so far as Sanskrit literature is concerned these piḍa-ending names are certainly peculiar and unusual, to the Kashmirian region they are not new. In fact these names which end in piḍa can very well be compared with the names like Euripides, which also end in pid (i. e. pida). This shows that names ending in 'pid' were 'foreign' and, I think that they were possibly current in Bactria, and such other regions. These names, when sanskritised will naturally take the āpiḍa-ending. (Indeed names like Ajitāpiḍa would hardly yield any sense in Sanskrit). Thus these piḍa and āpiḍa-ending names were not invented by Bāṇa but were current in those localities. Therefore, there was no necessity for Durlabhaka to have borrowed the names from Bāṇa. On the contrary, as we know that such names are natural to the northern regions, it becomes easier for us to believe that Bāṇa had borrowed these names. In fact, in Sanskrit fiction, it is usual to name the heroes after some ancient kings. Bāṇa has actually named S'ūdraka after the famous king S'ūdraka and it is very likely that he named Candrāpiḍa and Tārāpiḍa after the two kings of Kashmir. Another slight circumstance may be adduced in support of Bāṇa's borrowing the names from Kashmir history. According to *Rāj*, Tārāpiḍa was pleasure-loving and not an altogether good king, while Candrāpiḍa was an ideal king. That is why Bāṇa has made Tārāpiḍa

the father (a comparatively minor character) and lightly described
him as putting all the administrative burden on the shoulders of
his ministers and he himself plunging into sensual pleasures. As
against that Bāṇa has made Candrāpīḍa his hero, who is filled
with all the good qualities. Thus it is likely that Bāṇa borrowed
the names from Kashmir history and if so, it would support my
dates for Jayāpīḍa.

(6) There is another line of argument, which almost conclusi-
vely supports this correction of 126 years advocated by me. I find
that Dr. P. C. Bagchi has felt a need of similar correction, though
he is hesitant about it. I shall quote from his writing fully: (IHQ.
VII 1941, 224 ff.).

"There is some difficulty in believing that the Aṣṭamahāśrī-
caitya-stotra (IV) restored into Sanskrit by Prof. Lèvi, was the
work of king Harṣa Śilāditya. The Chinese transcription is due
to Fat'ien (Dharmadeva) of Nālanda who was in China from 973
to 1001. According to the Chinese tradition it is the work of
king Kie-je. Kie-je is the regular Chinese translation of the name
of Śilāditya. The Tibetan translation in its colophon however says
that it is the work of king Harṣadeva of Kasmir *(Kha che i rgyal)*
po = Śrī Ha-ri-ṣa-deva who composed it in order to please her
mother *(Yum gyi ched du mrdsad pa),*

In fact king Harṣa of Kasmir is known to have possessed
great literary talents and composed poems and songs. King Harṣa,
the son of Kalaśa, whose later career as a king was vitiated by
many acts of oppression, was an ideal prince in his younger days.
He was a patron of talents, and himself a great musician and com-
poser *(Rājataraṅgiṣi,* VII, 611-615). Harṣa knew many languages,
was able to compose poem in those languages and his fame as a
composer spread even to other kingdoms *(ibid.,* VII, 610). The
court musicians used to sing his beautiful compositions *(ibid.,* VII,
717). "He excelled even Bṛhaspati in talents. When anybody sang
one of his many compositions even the musicians could not resist
their tears" *(ibid.,* VII, 941-942). There is also proof to show that
the oppressive king Harṣa had a tender corner in his heart
for Buddhism. In the latter part of his reign when he was burning
the temples all through his kingdom he spared only the famous
Mārtaṇḍa temple and two famous Buddhist temples at the request
of a Buddhist singer named Kuśalaśri *(ibid.,* VII, 1097-98). This

clearly shows that king Harṣa was a good composer of songs and that he also took delight in Buddhist songs. It is therefore quite possible that he composed the *Aṣṭamahāsthāna caitya vandanā stotra* at the request of his mother in his younger days.

The internal evidence contained in the poem tends to give an additional proof. In the first two verses the author mentions the caityas in the famous places of Buddhist pilgrimage like Vaiśāli, Srāvasti, Kuśinagara, Lumbini, Kauśāmbi and Mathurā Then follows a list of places and countries far and wide beginning with Kāśmira Cina, Khaśa, Yamunā, etc. This shows that the author belonged to Kāśmira. There is also mention of a city called Kalaśavarapura in this list. The name is translated into Tibetan as *Bum b'ui kloñ mchog* "the great city of Kalaśa (water pot)." Where was this city of Kalaśa ? We know from the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* that Harṣa's father Kalaśa, like his predecessors built a new city in the valley of Kāśmira after his name *(ibid.,* VII, 607, 608, 646). Harṣa, while mentioning many other unimportant places in his poem, probably thought it fit to include a city founded by his father. He had the best relation with his father in his young days. Then again the name *Marvāra* mentioned in the 4th stanza does not seem to be very old.

It therefore seems that king Harṣa of Kaśmir was the author of this poem. It is through mistake that the Chinese chroniclers have identified him with king Sʼilāditya. The accepted chronology of the kings of Kashmir however stands in the way. Fa t'ien transcribed the work in Chinese between 973 and 1001 A. D. But Harṣa is said to have reigned about a century later between 1089 and 1101 A.D. At the time of his death he was only 42 years old (H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of India,* I, p. 182.) It is not possible to go into the intricate problem of chronology in this article but attention of scholars may be drawn to certain inconsistencies in this chronology. Kalaśa died in the Laukika era4 165 (*Rājataraṅgiṇi* VII, 723) which according to current calculation corresponds to 1064 A.D. and not 1085 A.D. Then again according to the Tibetan accounts, (*Pag Sam Jon Zang,* pp. liv-lv) king Gopāla (i. e. Gopāla III) of the Pāla dynasty was a contemporary of king Harṣa of Kashmir. But Dr. Ray (*ibid.,* I, p. 385) places him in *circa* 1130 A.D. This shows the uncertain character of the accepted chronology of Kashmir kings. It therefore may not be impossible that Fa t'ien got a poem of king Harṣa before 1001 A.D. and transcribed it into Chinese. It is not impossible, though improbable, that

the transcription of Harṣa's poem was done later by some other scholar and attributed to Fa t'ien by mistake."

I shall only say that all the difficulty felt by Dr. Bagchi will disappear if we put the date of Harṣa earlier by 126 years. In that case his dates will be from 963 A. D. to 975 A. D. With these dates of Harṣa we can easily explain how Fa T'ien translated this poem into Chinese between 973 and 1001 A. D. In this case Harṣa will be a contemporary of Gopal II and not of Gopal III of Bengal. Gopal II's dates have been shown to be 923 — 980 A. D. (IHQ. VI, p, 168).

(7) I shall, now, show that the question of Lalitāditya's date does not come in the way of these dates of Jayāditya proposed by me. Kl gives his dates as 700 A. D. to 736 A. D. The modern scholars, on Chinese evidence propose to correct these dates by 25 years i. e. they give his dates as 725-760 A. D. My dates for him are 574 to 600 A. D. It has been sought to support the dates arrived at according to the Chinese evidence, from the life of a Jain monk named Bappa Bhaṭṭi, preserved in Jain literature. S. P. Pandit, in his edition of *Gauḍavaho* (Intro p. CXXV ff) has, first, examined this question at length. He examined the following sources.

1. *Bappabhaṭṭasuricarita*, a short tract in Sanskrit intermixed freely with Prakrit quotations.

2. The *Prabandhakosa* of Rājasekhara written in A. D. 1349.

3. The *Prabhāvaka Carita* by Prabhācandrasuri.

4. *Tirthakalpa* by Jinaprabhasuri c. 1308 A. D.

5. *Gāthāsahasrī* of Samayasundara.

6. *Vicārasaraprakaraṇa* by Pradyumnasuri c. 1278 A. D.

7. A *Paṭṭavali* by Ravivardhana Gani, 1683.

I shall take down relevant points from Pandit's discussion here.

(1) Bappabhaṭṭi was born (a) according to the first three and the last of the above sources in 800 V. S. i. e. in 744 A. D., (b) according to the fourth source above in 830 V. S. i. e. in 774 A. D. and (c) according to 5 and 6 above after 830 V. S. i. e. after 774 A. D.

(2) The date of B's death is given by 1, 2, 3, and 6 and all of them give the date as V. S. 895 or 839 A. D.

(3) B, according to 2 and 3 was taken as a student in 807 V. S. i. e. in 751 A. D. and became a sûri in 811 V. S. i. e. in 755 A. D.

(4) This B was a co-student and a contemporary of a king named Āma. This Āma is also called Nāgāvaloka and is described as the son of Yosovarmā of Kanauj, in 2 and 3.

(5) According to 2 and 3 above Yasovarmā, the father of Āma died in V. S. 811 i. e. in 735 A. D.

(6) According to 1, 2 and 3. at this time. king Dharma was the ruler of Bengal.

(7) B lived at the court of Āma for all his life, but for sometime in between, he also lived at Dharma's court.

(8) At this Dharma's court lived a poet named Vākpati.

(9) Yosovarmā killed Dharma and captured Vākpati.

(10) Vākpati composed *Gauḍavaho* in prison and king Yaso-varmā being pleased, released him.

(11) Then Vākpati lived at the court of Āma and later retired to Mathurā. In the last stage of his life he became a Jain by the preaching of B.

Taking their stand on the information contained in (2) and (3) that Yasovarmā died in 755 A. D. some scholars, identify this Yasovarmā with the king of that name who was defeated by Lalitāditya of Kashmir and then say that this date of Yasovarmā's death confirms the corrected dates of Lalitāditya which are 725–760 A. D. The dates given by Kl (which are 700-736 A. D.), they say, are too much earlier for Yasovarmā's death to be put in 788 A. D. They say that this Yasovarmā was the same as one defeated by Lalitāditya because, both in *Raj* and in the above Jain sources 1, 2 and 3, he is described as a patron of Vākpati, who composed *Gauḍavaho*.

The king Āma of this story, who is also called Nāgāvaloka, is identified by these scholars, particularly by Aiyangar[1] with Nāga-bhaṭṭa II of the Pratihāra dynasty. Āma's death is put in 890 V. S. i. e. in 833 A. D. and that is exactly the time of the death

1 See *Ancient India* Vol. I by S. K. Aiyangar.

of Nāgabhaṭṭa II, as arrived at from inscriptional evidence.
Dharmapāla is identified by them with Dharmapāla of Bengal, the
successor of Gopāl, the founder of the Pāla dynasty.

Now, I must point out that it is very risky to base any con-
clusion from these Jain stories, many of the details of which are
self-contradictory. Many scholars are not inclined to trust the
story. Pandit has very ably shown why we should not put reliance
in this story. I shall, in what follows, without entering into de-
tailed discussion, note down the discrepancies noted by Pandit, to
which I add some more which I have found.

(1) The date of B's birth is given by some sources as 800 V. S.
and by others as 830 V. S. or a little later. Now I think that 830
V. S. is more likely to be correct. The sources 2 and 3 which put
B's birth in 800 V. S., say that he got his dikṣā in 807 V. S. and
sūripada in 811 V. S. and it was in 811 V. S. that Yaśovarmā died,
and Āma came to the throne.

Let us consider these dates. It is extremely unlikely that B
had acquired all the vidyās described in the story before he became
11 years old and also unlikely that the status of sūri was confer-
red on him when he was only 11 years old. It simply does not
stand to reason. Then again if Āma came to the throne in 811 V. S.
and died in 890 V. S. (as is said in 2 and 3), his rule will last for
79 years and taking that, at his accession he was 20 or 25 years
old (as is shown by Pandit), he must have died at the age of
more than 100 years. Now, it is certainly very improbable that
Āma should have ruled for 79 years.

Instead, if we take 830 V. S. as the date of B's birth as is
given by 4, 5 and 6, it will give a life of 65 years to B (his death
being put in 895 V S.) In that case, we may say that Āma, who
might have been little older than B, came to the throne in, say, 850
V. S. i. e. in 794 A. D. In this case, he would rule for 40 years,
which is likely.

Thus, if we put Āma's accession in c. 850 V. S. i. e. in c. 794
A. D., we shall have to put the death of Yaśovarmā, the father of
Āma in the same year i. e. in 794 A. D. But in that case, Yaśovarmā,
the father of Āma, could not have been a contemporary of Lalitā-
ditya, who died at the latest in 760 A. D. Thus on this point the
evidence of this story is not at all conclusive.

(2) Then, again, we should note that above source 1, as is summarised by Pandit, does not name Yaśovarmā as the father of Āma.

(3) Again Āma-Nāgāvaloka is identified with Nāgabhatta II. I think that this identification is correct and to that extent the date of his death is 890 V. S. and his contemporaneity with Dharmapāla may also be taken as correct. Now in the inscriptions, the father of Nāgabhaṭṭa II is named as Vatsarāja and not as Yaśovarmā. How shall we explain this discrepancy? Shall we say that Yaśovarmā was another name of Vatsarāja? But for that there is not the least evidence. To his contemporaries and successors Vatsarāja is known as Vatsarāja, not as Yaśovarmā. He is named as Vatsarāja by Jinasenasuri, Udyotanasuri and in the inscriptions. If Vatsarāja was the real name of Yaśovarmā, how is it that, whereas all others call him Vatsarāja, his own court-poet Vākpati and Kl call him Yaśovarmā and not Vatsarāja? This only means that Vatsarāja and Yaśovarmā are not the same and therefore these Jain sources are incorrect, when they say that Yaśovarmā of Kanauj was Āma's father.

There is another consideration also. Taking that Vatsarāja was another name of Yaśovarmā what result do we get? Vatsarāja is said to be the ruling king by Jinasena in 783 A. D. and by Udyotana in 788 A. D. If, therefore, Vatsarāja and Yaśovarmā are identical, we shall have to take Yaśovarmā, the contemporary of Lalitāditya as ruling in 788 A. D. But the latest date assignable to Lalitaditya is 760 A. D. This only means that Vatsarāja and Yaśovarmā are not identical and that therefore the Jain sources are incorrect in calling Yaśovarmā as the father of Āma.

(4) The Jain story says that Dharmapāla of Bengal was killed by Yaśovarmā. To me this seems to be an outright fabrication. How can Dharmapāla, who was a contemporary of B and Āma, be killed by Yaśovarmā, the father of Āma, who is said to have died at the accession of Āma? In order to escape from this difficulty two answers are given. (a) It is said that the king who killed Dharma was another Yaśovarmā or Yaśodharmā. For this there is no guarantee in the sources. It is true that in the Ms that Pandit consulted the name of the king is given as Yaśodhparmā, but in the printed copy of both *Prabhāvakacarita* and *Prabandhakosa*, which are now published by Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan and which are

based on the collation of several Mss, the name is given as Yaśovarmā. However if it was another Yaśovarmā or Yaśodharmā who killed Dharmapāla, Vākpati, after he composed *Gauḍavaho* and after he was released, should have become this Yaśodharmā's court poet. But *the Life* describes him as living at Āma's court throughout. (b) It is suggested by Aiyangar that Dharmapāla killed by Yaśovarmā was another Dharmapāla. This is a mere assumption. This Dharmapāla, if he was another Dharmapāla should have been earlier than Dharmapāla, the successor of Gpāla. No such Dharmapāla is known to the Pāla dynasty.

Again, this detail of the Jain story is positively incorrect. The Jain story says that Vākpati composed his *Gauḍavaho* in prison, when he was arrested and imprisoned by Yaśovarmā and Yaśovarmā released him on hearing the recital of *Gauḍavaho*. This is directly contradicted by *Gauḍavaho* itself. It is said in *Gauḍavaho* by Vākpati himself that he composed it at the request of an assembly of men and what is more, Pandit has shown from a study of the text itself that *Gauḍavaho* was actually composed after the death of Yaśovarmā. So the Jain story is positively incorrect in this respect. Again the story says that Vākpati composed his poem named *Mahumahana* after *Gauḍavaho*, but in *Gauḍavaho*, Vākpati himself says that he had already composed the poem named *Mahumahanavijaya*. Thus here also the story is incorrect.

To me it seems that the details about Yaśovarmā and Vākpati found in this story have been put in it through imagination helped by ignorance and that they should have no place in the actual lives of B and Āma.

The capital of Āma is called as Gopagiri or Gwalior by the sources 1 and 2 but as Kanauj by 3. Evidently Āma or Nāgabhaṭṭa II's capital was Gwalior and not Kanauj. But to a writer, who was writing after the days of Mihira Bhoja, Kanauj will be known as the Capital of the Pratihāras. This is why, I think, Āma is described as the ruler of Kanauj in 3. And I think that it is this confusion, which is responsible for bringing in the names of Yaśovarmā and Vākpati in this story, none of whom was a contemporary of B or Āma.

It may, however, be that Nāgabhaṭṭa I may have been known to have been a descendent, a son, a grandson or a great grandson of

king Yaśovarmā of Kanauj. I would put Yaśovarmās death in c. 650 or 660 A. D. Vatsarāja, who was fourth from Nāgabhaṭṭa I, stopped ruling anywhere between 792 A. D. and 804 A. D. If Vatsarāja came to the throne in c. 760 A. D., it is not impossible to put Nāgabhaṭṭa I's accession in c. 650 or 660 A. D. In that case, Nāgabhaṭṭa I might have even been the son of Yāśovarmā. If so, the confusion is likely. Yaśovarmā, the father of Nāgabhṭṭa I was mistaken as the father of Nāgabhaṭṭa II, and along with Yaśovarmā, Vākpati is also brought in in the story. This last also serves the purpose of enhancing the greatness of the Jain monk Bappabhaṭṭasuri, as he is described to have converted Vākpati to Jainism.

I, therefore, think that the story of Bappa does not go against placing Yaśovarmā and therefore Lalitāditya in c. 620 A. D. I put Llitāditya from 574 A. D. to 600 A. D. and Yaśovarmā's rule from c. 605 to 650 or 660 A. D.

But it may be said that not Yaśovarmā but Harṣavardhana was the king of Kanauj from 605 to 643 A. D. I shall, therefore, explain my standpoint.

I think that this story of B is an intermixture of the life-incidents of Nāgabhaṭṭa I and Nāgabhaṭṭa II. It may be that Nāgabhaṭṭa I, not Nāgabhaṭṭ II was a descendent of Yaśovarmā, even a son of Yaśovarmā's daughter as is taken by Munshi, (cf. His mother Sundaridevi was a princess of the family of Yaśovarmā–quoted from *Prabhāvakacarita* 81, ix, 46 by Munshi.) I put Lalitāditya's death in c. 620 A. D. and Yaśovarmā's death in c. 650 A. D. Vatsarāja, the father of Nāgabhaṭṭa II is fourth from Nāgabhaṭṭa I and is taken by the historians as ruling upto 792 A. D. or 804 A. D. From Nāgabhaṭṭa I to Vatsrarāja, both including, are four kings. It Nāgabhaṭṭa I came to the throne in c. 650 A. D. after Yaśovarmā and if Vatsarāja died in 795 A. D., these four kings ruled in all for 145 or 150 years. This is not impossible. The first four Guptas in all ruled for 136 years.

Thus, it is not impossible if Nāgabhaṭṭa I was the son or grandson of Yaśovarmā. If so, the confusion (in the story is likely). Nāgabhaṭṭa I was related to Yaśovarmā, whom he succeeded[1]. Yaśovarmā had

1. May it not be that Nāgabhaṭṭa I was the same as Nāgabhaṭṭa, the Pratihāra king mentioned in Jodhapur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka? The line reprensened by Nāgabhaṭṭa II and others started from the brother (unnamed) of Nāgabhaṭṭa I. Ii so, Nāgabhaṭṭa I could not have been the son of Yaśovarmā, but could still be his daughter's son.

killed a Gauḍa king. Vākpati was a poet at Yaśovarmā's court and
very likely at his successor's i. e. Nāgabhaṭṭa I's court. Vākpati,
in Prakrit, becomes Bappaī. Thus Bappaī would be a contemporary
of a Nāgabhaṭṭa and Yaśovarmā and also of a Gauḍa king. Nāgabhaṭṭa
II was a contemporary of Bappabhatti and the Gauḍa king
Dharmapāla; and, I think, that a confusion between the two
Nāgabhaṭṭas has led to the jumble that we find in this Jain story.

Historians tell us that Prabhākaravardhana and therefore
Grahavarmā died in 605 A. D., but Harṣa occupied the throne of
Kanauj some years later, say 10 years later. What happened to
Kanauj throne during these ten years i. e. from 605 to c. 615
A. D. ? Historians generally believe that Kanauj, even during this
period, was under Harṣa's authority, though he did not actually
occupy the throne at Kanauj, till about 615 A. D. But there is
no positive evidence to say so. It may be that some one else
ruled at Kanauj during these years.

It is known that Grahavarmā had no issue when he died, but
he had one or more younger brothers. I suggest that Yaśovarmā
was a younger brother of Grahavarmā and occupied the throne of
Kanauj, as soon as conditions permitted, after the death of
Grahavarmā.[1] If so, he must have come to the throne in 605 or
606 A. D. If so, Harṣa might have considered Yaśovarmā to be
an enemy, who usurped the throne which belonged to his sister.
As such he might have desired to put him down. But the life-
incidents of Yaśovarmā which we know, would show that Yaśo-
varmā soon became very powerful and was actually able to kill
the Gauḍa king and also to undertake a digvijaya. As Sasāṅka
is known to have ruled upto 619 A. D. Yaśovarmā might have
ruled upto 620 A. D. During these years Harṣa could not occupy
the Kanauj throne. But later in about 620 A. D. he was able to
oust Yaśovarmā from Kanauj. Then Yaśovarmā or his sucessor
seemes to have settled at Gopagiri or Gwalior, as is suggested by
Jain sources. I am, on the whole inclined to take Nāgabhaṭṭa I to

1. cp. Tripathi says (*History of Kanauj* p. 193): "Cunningham thought that
he was a descendent of the Maukharīs, and the common termination.varman.
of their names even lends some colour to this view. Besides, they had ruled
over Kanauj before the epoch of Harṣa. and if it is possible that after the
suppression of the usurper the kingdom was restored to some unrecorded
member of the house, from whom it devolved on Yaśovarmā—"

be a descendent of Yasovarmā from his daughter's side. Yaso-varmā might have ruled at Gopagiri for some time more and then the throne seems to have passed on to Nāgabhaṭṭa I or his father.

If such a reconstruction is permissible, my dates for Lalitā-ditya and Yasovarmā will be proved to be correct,

I have not examined the Chinese evidence relied upon by the scholars, as I have no first hand knowledge of the Chinese chrono-logical sources.

Thus it comes to this. *Raj's* dates for Jayāpīda are 751 to 782 A. D., my dates for him are from 625 to 656 A. D. Between these two dates there is a difference of 126 years. Question would naturally arise that even if we believe in all the arguments advanced by me in support of my dates, how are we to explain the dates given in *Raj?* In other words, how did Kl come to give those dates (751–782) for Jayāpīda ? I shall explain.

I think that here there has been a manipulation of 100 years plus 26 years. I shall first explain 100 years. Laukika era or Saptarṣi era has two beginnings. According to one school, it started 25 years after the Mbh war or Kali start and according to another school, it started 75 years before the war or Kali start. Thus its beginning is put either in 3177 B. C. or 3077 B. C.[1] And it is due to these two beginnings that there has been a confusion of 100 years in the Kashmir chronology at this stage.

From the death of Chj, which is placed, according to the usual chronology in 3889 S. E. (Saptarṣi era), to the close of the book which took place in 4225 S. E., there had elapsed 336 years. But if, as I say, there has been a deduction of 100 years somewhere in this priod, there must have actually elapsed 436 years between Chj's death and the close of the book. I think that this has indeed been the case. I think that at the end of Diddā's reign, there had elapsed 300 years from Chj's death, but instead through some mistake, 200 years were taken as elapsed for the same period. The mistake is likely to have occurred thus.

All of a sudden, from the reign of Ajītāpīda, we start getting those dates in S. E. The date 89th is the first mentioned in the

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1. See, Cunningham, *Book of Eras*; also 'The Saptarṣi Era' in Part IV of this book.

usual fashion, without writing the centuries (89 instead of 3889).
Suppose, in order to explain to which millenium of S. E. the date
89 belonged, some one had noted 3889 in the margin of the originl
Ms, taking 3177 B. C. (and not 3077 B. C.) as the start of S. E.
Later on say at the close of Diddā's reign, some one who followed
the other start of S. E. i. e. 3077 B. C., read it. When he will
actually work up the chronology from Chj's death to his own day,
he will find 300 years given, as they must have been given if
3889th year was based upon 3177 B. C. as the start of S E.
Therefore, working from 3889 S. E. he will find that his own
date will be 4189 S. E. But as he followed 3077 B. C. as the start
of S. E., he would himself be in 4089 S. E. and not in 4189 S. E.
How can this be? His own date cannot be wrong. He would naturally
take that marginally noted date 3889 as based upon 3077 B. C. and
say that only 200 years and not 300 years had elapsed from the
death of Chj to his own date or to the death of Diddā. This, I think,
has actually happened in the Kashmir chronology at this period.

Some one has actually misunderstood 3889th year to have been
based on S. E. of 3077 and not of 3177 and therefore has taken
200 and not 300 years as elapsed between Chj. and Diddā, and
in order to adjust this loss of 100 years has diminished the regnal
periods of certain kings in the Utpala and Yaśaskara dynasties. He
does not seem to have deducted 100 years all at once but seems
to have deducted some years from the regnal periods of various
kings. The average of these two dynasties, as they are found today
in *Rāj*, is very low. In one case the average is 8·2 and in the other
it is 6·5 years. This is abnormally low. If we add 100 years to
this period we get an average of 12·2 years, which looking to the
disturbed conditions of the time is possible. This doubtful circum-
stance shows that a deduction of 100 years is likely to have happened.
And if this has happened CHJ's death will be brought down from
712 A. D. (3889-3177) to 812 A. D. (3889-3077).

Now I must explain the 26 years. I feel that the year 89th
mentioned in IV, 703 does not refer to the end of Chj's rule but
to the end of Ajitāpida's rule. The verse which occurs after
Ajitāpida's rule is already described fully. Now it is rather
strange that a writer who wants to give the year in which Chj
died, should not give it while closing the description of his
period and while giving the number of years for which he ruled.
IV, 687 closes the rule of Chj in the following clear terms:

मुखक्षितौ द्वादशाब्दांस्तस्मिन्व्यापादिते तथा etc.

Now it is at this place that we should expect to learn the year in which he died. But Kl, though he says that he was killed after 12 years' rule, does not mention the year in which he died. Instead Kl goes on describing the rule of Ajitāpīḍa and it is at the end of the description of his rule that the following verse occurs, which mentions the 89th year:

एकोननवते बर्षे स्वक्षीये शान्तिमागते ।
निर्विघ्नभोगास्तेभूवन्यड्विंशाब्दात्ययावधि ॥ IV, 703.

To say the least, the whole verse is an example of very clumsy expression. Literally translated it would mean, "when the nephew (sister's son) had died in the 89th year, they had uninterrupted enjoyments upto the 26th year." This has been taken in two senses (1) Chj died in the 89th year and his maternal uncles enjoyed well upto the 26th year of S. E. Thus according to this interpretation, Ajitapīḍa died in the 26th S. E. i. e. he ruled from the 89th to the 26th year i. e. for 37 years. This is how Pandit has taken the verse. Stien also has taken it that way. (2) Dr. Triveda, on the other hand, gives 26 years for Ajitāpīḍa's rule.[1] That would mean that they (i. e. maternal uncles) enjoyed well for 26 years (not upto 26th year) after Chj's death. I think that the original sense must have been like this: "After the nephew died, they had uninterrupted enjoyments ending after 26 years, in the year 89th." That would mean that Ajitāpīḍa ruled for 26 years and died in the year 89th S. E.

That the date of Chj's death and the date of Ajitāpīḍa's acc. are doubtful is admitted by Stien and others also. (see Stien, Rāj Trans I. Intr. p. 95-6). If Ratnākara was a contemporary of Chj and also of Avantivarman, the dates given to these kings by Kl cannot stand. The solution given by Stien is of a different type. I would say that after Chj's death, Ajitāpīḍa ruled for 26 years as explained above and then after 5 years (as is stated in Rāj) Avantivarman came to the throne. Rāj puts five years between the death of Ajitāpīḍa and Avantivarman's acc. I refer the 89th year S. E. to Ajitāpīḍa's death and yet put five years between his death

1. See Journal of Indian History. Dr. Triveda has relied upon Rājataraṅgini. sārasangraha appended to the Calcutta edition of Rāj, where also 26 years are given to Ajitāpīḍa.

and Avantivarman's acc. Thus, according to my scheme, there
will be (26+5=) 31 years between Chj's death and Avantivarman's
acc. If Ratnākara had written Harivijaya in his young age, say in
his 23rd or 24th year and if he wrote it in the last one or two
years of Chj's rule, he could have lived on till Avantivarman's
reign. If he had lived for about 75 years, he could have lived,
according to my scheme, for the first 20 years of Avantivarman's
reign. Thus also my suggestion about Ajitāpiḍa ruling for 26
years (i. e. upto the 89th year) seems possible.

I put Jayāpiḍa's dates earlier by 126 years and these 126 years
I explain thus:— 100 years due to misunderstanding in the begin-
ing of S. E. and 26 years due to 89th year S. E. being taken to
refer to Chj's death, instead of Ajitāpiḍa's death.

Let us, now, sum up the whole position and finally clarify
certain points. I have differed from Kl on the following points.
(1) Kl puts G III's acc. in 1182 B. C., I put it in 1082 B. C. (2)
Kl puts Bly's *death* in 180 B. C., I put his *acc* in 280 B C. While
discussing this I have shown that originally there were 802 years,
then 902 years and then 1002 years between G III's acc and Bly's
acc, (not his death). But Kl has taken the same period of 1002
to include Bly's period. In other words, it can be said that Kl
does not count Bly's period of 40 years. (3) Kl puts Mātṛgupta's
abdication in 110 A. D., I put it in 56 B. C. (4) Kl gives 300
years to Raṇāditya, I give 340 years i. e. Kl omits to count 40
years of Raṇāditya's unit and gives 300 years of the kingless
period only. (5) Kl puts Jayāpiḍa's acc in 751 A. D., I put it in
525 A. D. and finally (6) Kl takes 89th year S. E. to refer to
Chj's death, I take it to refer to Ajitāpiḍa's death, and thus while
Kl gives 37 years to Ajitāpiḍa's rule, I give 26 years to his rule.

I shall, here, explain how precisely these changes came to be
introduced in Kl's chronology. The Table at the end of this section
will show that, according to *Rāj*, there is a total of 991 years and
4 months or roughly 992 years from Pratāpāditya's acc to Chj's
death. Now if we put Chj's death in 813 A. D. as is done in *Rāj*,
we shall require from his death to the close of the book i. e. to
1148 A. D., (1148—813=) 336 years. Adding these 336 to 992 we
get a total of 1328 years from Prtāpāditya's acc (i. e. from after
Bly's death) to 1148 A. D.

Now, as we have seen earlier Kl gives a period of 2330 years from G III's acc. to his own days. We, here, get 1328 years from Kl's days to Bly's death and we have seen that from Bly's death to G III's acc, Kl has taken a period of 1002 years. Adding 1002 to 1328 we get exactly 2330 years from G III's acc to Kl's days. Of course, as pointed out above, by taking 1002 years to come down to Bly's death, Kl has simply ignored i. e. omitted to count Bly's unit of 40 years. Why is this period of 40 years omitted? Kl also omits to count 40 years of Raṇāditya's unit. Why does he do so? Thus Kl has omitted 40 + 40 = 80 years. Again, Kl takes 89 S. E. to refer to Chj's death and I take the same year to refer to Ajitāpiḍa's death, by giving 26 years to his rule. Thus Kl has omitted to count these 26 years also. Thus in all he has omitted to count 106 years. But it is really the mistake of 100 years and not of 106 years. I shall explain soon these 6 years.

Earlier I had said that by putting Bly's acc in 180 B. C. and not in 280 B. C., the period following Bly's acc will be affected by 100 years. And here we find how these 100 years are quietly ommitted by the chronology which Kl follows.

Again, as seen above, there has been a deduction of 100 years owing to misunderstanding the start of S. E. These 100 years, I have said, have been deducted from the period from 89 S. E. (Ajitā-piḍa's death) to Diddā's death. If so between 89 S. E. and the close of the book i. e. 1148 A D., there must have originally been 446 years and not 336 years. I maintain that due to a misunder-standing in the initial point of S. E., some one has deducted 100 years from the period after 89 S. E. and in order to maintain the same total (of 1328 years from Bly's death to 1148 A. D.), has added these 100 years and distributed them in the regnal periods of kings from Pratāpāditya to Toramāṇa. I have shown earlier that, according to MGM of 20 years' unit, we get 180 years from Pratāpāditya to Toramāṇa (both included), but counting the actual regnal periods, we get 286 years for the same 9 kings. This shows a difference of 106 years. I shall explain 6 years just below, but I suggest, that it is here that they have added 100 years taken from the period between 89 S. E. and 1148 A. D. Therefore, let us count the years from Bly's death to 1148 A. D.

	Acc. to KI	Acc. to me	
Pratāpa to Mā's acc	286	186	
Mātrguptas' rule	4	4	
Pravara II's acc to Chj's death	702	702	(upto Ajita's
(89 S.E.)			death in 89 S.E)
89 S. E. to 1148 S. E.	336	436	
	1328	1328	

This table shows clearly how these 100 years have been shifted from one period to another, without affecting the general total.

Now let us understand the whole position from another point of view. Original calculations, as I suggest, were as under. Bly's acc was-in 280 B. C. Then, 40 years for Bly's unit, 180 years for 9 units (from Pratāpā's acc to Mā's acc, 4 years for Mātrgupta, 40 years of Raṇāditya's unit, 702 years from Pravarasena II to Chj's death, 26 years of Ajitāpiḍ's rule upto 89 S. E., and 436 years from 89 S. E. to 1148 A. D. i. e. in all 1428 years, which will give 1428 − 280 = 1148 A. D. as the date of the close of the book.

But later on they had to adjust 100 years for misunderstanding the initial point of S. E. and 100 years for the start in 2448 i. e. with GI for both the periods (upto G III's acc and Bly's acc) i. e. 200 years in all. What they did was this. They added 100 years to the 9 units from Pratāpā to Tormāṇa, and thus maintained the total of 1428 years. But they had to deduct 100 years from the period after Bly's acc. For this they omitted 40 years of Bly's unit, 40 years of Raṇāditya's unit and thus deducted 80 years. And they deducted 26 years more by refering 89 S. E. to Chj's death instead of to Ajitāpiḍa's death. But in so doing they deducted 40 + 40 + 26 = 106 years instead of 100 years. So they added 6 years to the period of 280 years (from Pratāpā to Toramāṇa). That is why we have found the difference of 6 years above, which is thus explained.

This discussion, thus, brings out that (1) original date of Bly's acc was 280 B. C and not 180 B. C., (2) original total of 9 units after Bly was 180 years and not 280 as we find it to-day, (3) Raṇāditya's period should have been 300 + 40 = 340 years and not 300 years as we find to-day, (4) the year 89 S. E. referred to Ajitāpiḍa's death and not to Chj's death and (5) there had elapsed 436 years and not 336 years from 89 S. E. to 1148 A. D.

This is how the whole chronology of Kl has been disturbed, and is to be explained. Therefore, the correct dates are as under:

G III's acc.	in	1082 B. C.
Bly's acc.	in	280 B C.
Mātrgupta's abdication	in	56 B. C.
Harṣa Vikrama's death	in	56 B. C.
Pravarasena II's acc.	in	56 B. C.
Candrāpiḍa's acc.	in	564 A. D.
Jayāpiḍa's rule		625 to 656 A. D.
Chj's rule		675 to 687 A. D.
Ajitāpiḍa's rule		687 to 713 A. D.

And, I claim that these adjustments proposed by me in Kl's chronology, are faithful to the original calculation and fit in with every known detail of history.

NOTE

On p. 128 I have said that Tribhuvanāpiḍa was the son of Jayāpiḍa, but according to some, *Raj* seems to say that Tribhuvanā-piḍa was the eldest son of Vajrāditya and therefore a brother of Jayāpiḍa In calling Tribhuvanāpiḍa a son of Jayāpiḍa, I also rely upon Rājataraṅgiṇisārasaṅgraha printed at the end of the Calcutta edition of *Raj*. There Ajitāpiḍa is called the son of Jayāpiḍa's son, thus:—

भ्रातुः पुत्रोऽजितापीडो जयापीडसुतात्मजः

This expressly says that Ajitāpiḍa was the grandson of Jaya-piḍa. Therefore Tribhuvanāpiḍa who is called the father of Ajitā-piḍa in *Raj*, must have been Jayāpiḍa's son.

Genealogical Tables
TABLE I
Kings of Kashmir

			Names	Regnal Period				Names	Regnal Period
		1	Gonanda I		53	54	56	Vibhiṣaṇa I	53-6
		2	Dāmodara		54	55	57	Indrajit	35-6
	1	3	Yaśomati		55	56	58	Rāvaṇa	30
1	2	4	¹Gonanda II		56	57	59	Vibhiṣaṇa II	35
			gap of		57	58	60	Nara I	39-9
36	37	39	35 kings		58	59	61	Siddha	60
37	38	40	Lava		59	60	62	Utpalākṣa	30-6
38	39	41	Kuśa		60	61	63	Hiraṇyākṣa	37-7
39	40	42	Khagendra		61	62	64	Hiraṇyakula	60
40	41	43	Surendra		62	63	65	Vasukula	60
41	42	44	Godhara		63	64	66	Mihirakula	70
42	43	45	Suvarṇa		64	65	67	Baka	63-0-13
43	44	46	Janaka		65	66	68	Kṣitinanda	30-0
44	45	47	Sacinara		66	67	69	Vasunanda	52-2
45	46	48	Aśoka		67	68	70	Nara II	60-0
46	47	49	Jalauka		68	69	71	Akṣa	60-0
47	48	50	Damodara		69	70	72	Gopāditya	60-0
48	49	51	Huṣka		70	71	73	Gokarṇa	57-11
49	50	52	Juṣka		71	72	74	Narendrāditya	36-3-10
50	51	53	Kaniṣka		72	73	75	Yudhiṣṭhira I (Blind)³	no period given
51	52	54	Abhimanyu²						
52	53	55	Gonanda III	35-6					

(Left half, Regnal Period column: *years not given*)

1. Start has been taken either from G I or Yasomati or G II.

2. Abhimanyu's number is 51, 52 or 54, but if we take Huṣk, Juṣka and Kaniṣka as one number than 49, 50, 52.

3. Bly's number is 72, 73 or 75, but taking H/K as one number it is 70, 71 or 73. Dutt's Calcutta edition of *Rāj* gives 79-5-10 years to Bly.

No.	Names	Regnal period	Names	Regnal period
1	Pratāpāditya	32	Pṛthvyāpida	4-1
2	Jalauka	32	Sangrāmāpida I	0-0-7
3	Tuñjina	36	Jayāpiḍa	31
4	Vijaya	8	Jajja	3
5	Jayendra	37	Lalitāpida	12
	[gap of some days]		Sangrāmāpida II	7
6	Sandhimali	47	Chippaṭa Jayāpiḍa	12
	●		Ajitāpiḍa	26
7	Meghavāhana	34	Anaṅgāpiḍa	3
8	Pravarasena I	30	Utpalāpiḍa	12 ?
9	Hiraṇya	30-2	●	
10	Mātṛgupta	4-9-1	Avantivarma	27-4-18
	[Put on the throne by Harṣa Vikramā- ditya of Ujjain]		Sankaravarma	18-7-19
			Gopalavarma	2
			Sankaṭa	0-0-10
11	Pravarasena II	60	Sugandhā	2
12	Yudhisthira[1] II	36-6	Nirjitavarma	8
13	Narendrāditya II	13	Pārtha	15
14	Raṇāditya	300	Nirjitavarm, again	1-1
15	Vikramaditya	42	Chakravarma	11
16	Bālāditya	37-4	Suravarma	1
	●		Pārtha, again	0-5-0
17	Durlabhavardhana	36	Chakravarmā, agian	1-11-23
18	Durlabhaka	50	Unmattāvanti	2-0-7
	Chandrāpiḍa	8-8	●	
	Tārāpiḍa	4-0-24	Yaśaskara	
	Lalitāditya	36-7-11	Varṇata	9
	Kuvalayāpiḍa	1-0-15		
	Vajrāditya	7	Saṅgrāmadeva	0-6-8

1. Pandit gives to this king 21—3 years. Stein gives 39—3 or 23—3 years.

Names	Regnal period	Names	Regnal period
Parvagupta	1- 4- 4	Kalaśa	26-1-0
Kṣemagupta	8- 6- 3	Utkarsa or Harṣa	11-8-29
Abhimanyu	13-10- 3	⊛	
Nandigupta	1- 1- 9	Ucchala	10-4-1
Tribhuvana	1-11-23	Raḍḍa or Saṅkha	0-0-1
Bhimagupta	5	Salhana	0-3-26
Diddā	22- 9- 3	Sussala	
⊛		Bhikṣācāra }	15-9-27
Sangrāmarāja	24- 9- 8	Vijayasiñha	
Harirāja	0- 0-22	or Jayasiñha	22-0-0
Ananta	36- 3-28	upto 1148 A.D.	

TABLE II

	Regnal period acc. to Kl	Acc. to Kl	Acc. to the modern scholars		
Pratāpāditya	32	BC 180-148		280-248	
Jalaukā	32	148-116		248-216	
Tuñjina	36	116- 80		216-180	
Vijaya	8	80- 72		180-172	
Jayendra	37	72- 35		172-135	
Sandhiman	47	35-12 AD		135- 88	
	192				
Meghavāhana	34	12- 46		88- 54	
Pravarasena I	30	46- 76		54- 24	
Hiraṇya	30	76-106		24-6 AD BC	
Mātṛgupta	4	106-110		6- 10	60- 56 AD
	290				
Pravarasena II	60	110-170		10- 70	56- 4
Yudhiṣṭhira	39	170-209		70-109	4- 43
Narendrāditya	13	209-222		109-122	43- 56
Raṇāditya	300	222-522		122-422	56-396
Vikramāditya	42	522-564		422-464	396-438
Balāditya	37	564-601		464-501	438-475
	491				
Durlabhavardhana	36	601-637	626-662	501-537	475-511
Durlabhaka	50	637-687	662-712	537-587	571-561
Chandrāpida	8	687-696	712-721	587-596	561-570
Tarāpida	4	696-700	721-725	596-600	570 574
Lalitāditya	36	700-736	725-761	600-636	574-610
Kuvalayāpida	1	736-737	761-762	636-637	610-611
Vajrāditya	7	737-744	762-769	637-644	611-618
Prthivyapila	4	744-748	769-773	644-648	618-622
Sangrāmāpida	-	748-748	773-773	648-648	622-622
Jajja	3	748-751	773-776	648-651	622-625
Jayāpida	31	751-782	776-807	651-652	625-656
Lalitāpida	12	782-794	807-819	652-694	656-668
Sangrāmāpida	7	794-801	819-826	694-701	668-675
Cuippatajayāpida	12	801-813	826-838	701-713	675-687
	211				
Ajitāpida	26				687-713

(Side notes in right margin: 180, 60-56)

1. First column has the dates acc. to Kl's Raj, putting the end of Chj's reign in 89 S. E. (812 A. D.), taking the initial point of S. E. to be 3076 B. C.

2. Modern Scholars, on a Chinese synchronism say that Kl has antedated by 25 years. Second column has the dates acc. to this view.

3. Third Column has the dates based upon Kl's Chronology, but putting the end of Chj's reign in 89 S. E. (712 A. D.), taking the initial point of S. E. to be 3176 B. C.

4. Fourth Column has the dates based upon the same principles as those in the third column, but putting the end of Ajitāpida's (not Chj's) reign in 89 S. E., taking the initial point of S. E. to be 3176 B. C., and adding 40 of the regnal period of Raṇāditya; 300 years given by Kl represent a kingless period, between Narendrātitya and Raṇāditya.

5. In the fifth column are given dates taking 240 B. C. as the date of the death of Bly and acc. of Pratāpāditya. That calculation gives for Mātṛgupta dates from 45—50 A. D. But 106 years are to be deducted from the total regnal period from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta (100 for the adjustment of change in the initial point of S.E. and 6 years left out from Ajitāpida's regnal period.) Deducting those 106 years we get for Mātṛgupta 60 B. C. to 56 B. C.

TABLE III

Showing various adjustments

I Stage: Original: putting B.C. fixed. GI in 3201 B.C., GII in 3101 B.C., GI in 2448 B.C., GII in 2348 B.C. & calculating (1) GI to GIII's acc. (2) GIII's acc. to Bly's acc. referring GI to Bly's acc. ∴ omitting units of Bly & R and also 26 years of Aj, by referring 89 S.E. to Aj's death in 713 A.D. & putting Chj's death in 687 A.D. — *This calculation was current upto Aj's end*

II Stage: Keeping 3101 B.C. fixed, GI in 2448 B.C., GII in 2348 B.C. & calculating (1) GI to Bly's acc. (2) GI to Bly's acc. omitting units of Bly & R and also 26 years of Aj, by referring 89 S.E. to Chj's end in 713 A.D., to Chj's end in 713 A.D. adding 6 to 180. — *This stage was sometime after Aj's death and before Kl*

III Stage (a): 3101 B.C. fixed. Start with GI in 2448 B.C. In both cases ∴ omitting units of Bly & R & also 26 years of Aj, by referring 89 S.E. to Chj's end in 713 A.D. adding 6 to 180.

III Stage (b): Same as III Stage (a) but misunderstanding start of S.E. & standing start of S. E. & omitting 100 years from after Aj, and adding 100 years to 186 (from Pratāp to Toramāṇa)

Date	king	I Stage G II	I Stage G I	II Stage G II	II Stage G I	III Stage (a) G I	III Stage (a) G I	III Stage (b) G I	III Stage (b) G I
3201 B.C.	GI	—	—	—	—				
3101 "	GII	—	—	—	—				
2448 "	GI	—	—	—	—				
2348 "	GII	—	—	—	—				
1182 "	GIII's acc.			1266	—	1266	—	1266	—
1082 "	GIII's acc.	2019 years	2921	902	2268	1002	2268	1002	2268
280 "	Bly's acc.	802	40						
240 "	Bly's unit over	40							
180 "	Bly's acc.	180	180	186	186	186	186	286	286
140 "	Bly's unit over	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
60 "	Mat's acc.	40	40						
56 "	PraII's acc	702 (less R's unit)	702	702	702	702	702	702	702
356–96 A.D.	Ran's unit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
687 A.D.	Chj's end	26	26						
713 A.D.	Chj's end	—	—						
713 A.D.	Aj's end								
813 "	Chj's end	[436]	[436]	[436]	[436]	436	436	336	336
836 "	Aj's end	4249	4349	3496	3596	3596	3596	3596	3596
				+ 753	+ 653	+ 653	+ 653	+ 653	+ 653
		−3101	−3201	4249	4249	4249	4249	4249	4249
				−3101	−3101	−3101	−3101	−3101	−3101
1148 "	Kl's date	1148 A.D.	1148 A.D.	1148 A.D.	1148 A.D.	1148 A.D.	1148 A.D.	1148 A.D.	1148 A.D.

N. B: Figures refer to totals of years between the dates of the preceding total and the following total, e. q. in column 3rd, total 40 refers to 240 B. C.; and the total 180 to 60 B. C.; ∴ 180 is the total arrived at as the period between these two dates 240 − 60 = 180. Raṇāditya's (R's) unit has 40 years by itself.

III

I shall, now, discuss certain questions of a historical nature, connected with ancient Kashmirian period. In fact, I want to discuss such questions regarding which a doubt has been raised.

I. There is no reason why we should doubt the statement that G I was a contemporary of Jarāsandha and that G II was a child at the time of the Mbh war. All our history of Kali age starts with the Mbh war. In Magadha line, it starts with Somādhi, the grandson of Jarāsandha, in Hastināpura line, it starts with Parikṣit the grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira, and in Aikṣvāku line it starts with Bṛhadratha. All these three—Somādhi, Parikṣit and Bṛhadratha were the sons and immediate successors of the kings who were killed in the Mbh war. Therefore, there is nothing wrong if Kashmir history starts with G I or more properly with G II who was the grandson of G I (at the same step as Jarāsandha and Yudhiṣṭhira) and the son of Dāmodara who was killed in the Mbh war. These two kings at least, do not seem to belong to the realm of legend.

II. After G II, we are told by Kl that 35 names were lost to him and that he was able to restore 8 names from Lava to Sacinara and 5 more from Aśoka to Abhimanyu. Now objection has been taken that Kl has misplaced Aśoka and also the trio of Huṣka-Juṣka and Kaniṣka. Modern scholars take this Aśoka to be the same as Aśoka Maurya and as they put Aśoka Maurya in the 3rd century B. C. this Aśoka, who according to Kl's chronology flourished in 14th century B. C., is according to them, misplaced. Again Kl puts HJK who came after Aśoka, 150 years after Buddha while, according to Buddhist traditions Aśoka Maurya came 218 years after Buddha. So all this seems to them legendary, confused and unreliable. But they have never examined the possibility of this Aśoka being quite distinct from Aśoka Maurya.

This Aśoka, whose number in Kl's chronology is 45th from
G II is not and cannot be the same as Aśoka Maurya. My reasons
for saying so are these. (1) Aśoka is, here, described as the son of
the grand uncle (prapitṛvyaja) of Sacinara and great grandson of
Sakuni. But Aśoka Maurya was the grandson of Candragupta and
the son of Bindusāra. Was Bindusāra the prapitṛvya of Sacinara
and was Sakuni the name of Candragupta Maurya's father as they
should be according to Raj? The modern scholars accuse Kl of giving
a fanciful genealogy of Aśoka, but this difference in the genealogies
of the two Aśokas, should make us to say that they were distinct.
(2) The modern scholars seem to say that Aśoka Maurya's name is
inserted in the Kashmirian genealogy because Aśoka had conquered
Kashmir. Now I must declare that the ancient Indian genealogists,
were not in the habit of doing so. After the Mbh war Kashmir
came under Pāṇḍava rule and yet they have mentioned G II
separatley. After G II, Harṇadeva, the second son of Parikṣit is
described as coming to the throne of Kashmir, not because he was
the overlord of Kashmir, but because he actually ruled at Kashmir.
We know that Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain has not been given
any place in direct genealogy of Kashmir because though he had
conquered Kashmir, he did not rule at Kashmir. Therefore it is
wrong to say that Aśoka mentioned in Kashmir genealogy is
Aśoka Maurya. In fact, the practice, was to ignore the outside
conquerors altogether and to add the period of such outside rule
to the period of some local king, as we have already seen in the
case of Raṇāditya Tuñjina. (3) Again, this Aśoka is described as
following jinaśāsana, which term has been taken to mean Buddhism,
but which can also mean Jainism. But the more significant fact
is this that this Aśoka is described as propitiating god Śiva for
getting a son (I, 107). This we can never expect in the case of
Aśoka Maurya. Even Dr. Ghosal has remarked "We, however,
think that the chronicler's account of Aśoka's propitiation of Śiva
Bhateśa for obtaining a son for exterminating the mlecchas, is
inconsistent with the spirit of the Dharma inculcated in the Edicts"
(IHQ, Sept. 1942, p. 207). But inspite of this, he does not hesitate
in considering this Aśoka as the same as Aśoka Maurya. Is it not
a little pre-conceived? Why should we not believe in the words
of Kl and say that this Aśoka was quite distinct from Aśoka
Maurya? (4) Aśoka is, here, described as propitiating god Śiva for
extirpating the mlecchas, who had overpowered the country. Was
Aśoka Maurya, the great Maurya Emperor, who had conquered

practically the whole India and whose sphere of influence reached the Hellenistic countries on the border of India, so much reduced in power that the mlecchas actually overran and overpowered (sañcchādita) the whole country? This fact alone should be enough to stop us from identifying this Aśoka with Aśoka Maurya. (5) My dates for this Aśoka are somewhat later than Aśoka Maurya's and thus also the two Aśokas are distinct. For all these reasons, I strongly believe that Aśoka described in Kl's *Rāj*, is not the same as Aśoka Maurya and therefore Kl has not misrepresented history by misplacing him.

II. Then it is said that Kl has misplaced Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka. This statement is based on the belief that the Kaniṣka of this trio is the same as Kaniṣka Kushana. Now, I must say that there is no ground on which we can identify these two Kaniṣkas. My reasons for saying so are these. (1) Kl describes these three as Turuṣkānvayodbhūta (I, 170) i. e. as belonging to the family or dynasty of Turuṣka. Turuṣka could well have been the name of the founder of the family, as the suffix ṣka, which is common to all these names, suggests. This suffix ṣka, which is seen here and which is found widely used in the names of many a town situated in Asian Russia, could have been a contracted form (i. e. nil ablaut) of Saka. In that case these could have been Sakas also. But they are not called Kushanas by Kl. Therefore, they are distinct from Kushanas. (2) According to the chronology of *Rāj*, these kings lived several centuries before the beginning of Christian era, as will be seen from the Table I. Again Kl puts them 150 years after Buddha's nirvāṇa, while Kaniṣka Kushana is placed 400 or 700 years after Buddha's nirvāṇa. But this question of the date of Buddha's death and the traditional dates based on that date is a complicated one, and I have examined the same later. I have, there, shown that Buddha's death had occurred in 2066 B. C. Now, when Kl says that these three kings flourished 150 years after Buddha's death, he says so after deducting 753 years from the original figure handed down to him. Therefore, originally they must have put this Kaniṣka 753+150= 903 years after Buddha's death. Therefore, according to my calculations this Kaniṣka's date will be 2066 — 903 = 1163 B. C. And, it will be seen that the Table I justifies this date of Kaniṣka. Therefore, this Kaniṣka, who lived in c. 1163 B. C., was quite distinct from that Kaniṣka who lived in c. 150 A. D.

(3) These two Kaniṣkas are distinct because Kaniṣka of *Rāj* was a contemporary of the Buddhist monk Nāgārjuna and Kaniṣka Kushana was a contemporary of the Buddhist monks Vasubandhu and Aśvaghoṣa. (4) Moreover, I have to state that these kings have a definite place, at this period, in the ancient Indian history. I have shown earlier that according to the Purāṇas, there had been a break i. e. an empireless period of 300 years (the II kingless period of the Kali chronology), in India proper, between the end of the Mauryan Empire and the beginning of the Śuṅga empire. This kingless period, I think, was caused by outsiders during the period represented by these seven kings (Aśoka, Jalaukā, Dāmodara, Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka and Abhimanyu) of *Rāj*. At this period India proper i. e. the northern India seems to have been under the sway of the outsiders.

Let us see the chronological position of these seven kings as compared with the history of India proper. I have shown that the Mauryan Empire came to an end in 1413 B. C. and Puṣyamitra Śuṅga came to the throne in 1113 B. C. Therefore, this II kingless period had lasted from 1413 B. C. to 1113 B. C. Now I have put G III's acc., that is, the end of Abhimanyu's rule in 1082 B. C. Therefore Aśoka's accession, according to MCM, will be in $1082 + (7 \times 40) - 280 = c. 1362$ B C. Now Kl says that Aśoka was harassed by the Mlecchas and he had propitiated Śiva to get a son, who extirpated these Mlecchas. Therefore, it is evident that some Mlecchas had become very powerful at this period. They had harassed the country of Kashmir. It is not impossible if they had overrun a large part of northern India. The fact that Jalaukā,[1] the son of Aśoka had conquered the country upto Kānyakubja, may suggest that, that much portion of India, till then, was under the sway of these Mlecchas. If so, it would seem that soon after the breakdown of the Mauryan Empire in c. 1413 B. C., the Mlecchas had overrun and held sway over the Northern India, till Jalaukā extirpated them and himself became the master of all the land upto Kanauj. Jalaukā is described, in *Rāj*, as a great emperor and he ruled at least upto Kanauj in the Northern India.

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1. This Jalaukā is taken to be the son of Aśoka Maurya, but there is not a single ground for this assumption in the Buddhist literature. In fact Aśoka of Rāj, was not Aśoka Maurya and therefore Jalaukā was not Aśoka Maurya's son.

But the empire thus built up by Jalaukā seems to have passed away from the hands of his descendents, for we are told that Huṣka, a Turuṣka, succeeded Dāmodara the son of Jalaukā. Probably, Huṣka belonged to one of the Mleccha tribes which overran the Northern India and which were extirpated by Jalaukā. At any rate, the Kashmir throne passed away to the family of Turuṣka. And the three kings (Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka) seem to have ruled over the entire portion of the Northern India ruled over by Jalaukā and his son. For, Kl gives them a very peaceful time and that may suggest absence of conflicts. This sway over Northern India seems to have been finally lost in the last days of Abhimanyu (51st) or in the early days of G III, (52nd) for we know that Puṣyamitra Suṅga, whose number in Puranic post-Mbh chronology is 51st had built up an empire himself.

Thus it seems that during the period represented by these seven kings $(7 \times 40 = 280)$ of Kashmir, a major portion of Northern India was under the dominence of outsiders. That is why this period from c. 1413 to c. 1113 B. C. (of 300 years) was taken by the Puranic chronologists as a kingless period.

Not only were these disturbances in India caused by these outsiders, but there seems to have been a considerable ascendancy of the Bauddhas during this period, both in India proper and in Kashmir. And thus the Brahmanas, having neither the political ascendancy nor the religious supremacy, seem to have considered this period of 300 years as a gap in the political history of India proper.

This religious condition is clearly recorded in Raj. Aśoka is described as a Buddhist, though he is described to have believed in Śaivism also. Then came Jalaukā the successor of Aśoka. He was a staunch Śaivite, but Buddhists had harassed him and forced him to build at least one vihāra in Kashmir. (I, 131-48). Thus, during the reigns of Aśoka and Jalaukā, Buddhists seem to be trying to get royal patronage. After Jalaukā came Dāmodara. We are not informed anything clearly about the religious condition in his days. But it is clear (I, 153-67) that Dāmodara himself was not a Buddhist and yet the Buddhists who had started spreading themselves in Kashmir, must have gone on becoming stronger and stronger. For, we are, next, told that during the days of Huṣka,

Juṣka and Kaniṣka, who followed Dāmodara, Kashmir had positively become Buddhist. Buddhism, then, became state-religion. Kl clearly says:

प्राज्ये राज्यक्षणे तेषां प्रायः कार्ष्मीग्मण्डलम् ।
भोज्यमास्ते स्म बौद्धानां प्रवज्र्योर्जिततेजसाम् ॥ I, 171

Then came Abhimanyu, who himself was a Saiva, but Kl distinctly says that Buddhists were highly in power in his days.

तस्मिन्नवसरे बौद्धा देशे प्रबलतां ययुः ।
नागार्जुनेन धुधिया बोधिसत्त्वेन पालिता ॥ I, 177

Therefore, from Aśoka to Abhimanyu i. e. for a period of about 300 years, Kashmir had not enjoyed Brahmanical faith without opposition. Every king from Aśoka to Abhimanyu was, more or less, forced to acknowledge the power of Buddhism. But we must see this also. It was recognised as a state religion by Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, who were Turuṣkas and therefore outsiders. The other kings Aśoka, Jalaukā, Dāmodara and Abhimanyu were themselves Saiva, but were forced to acknowledge the growing power of Buddhism in more or less varying degrees.

But after Abhimanyu came GIII, who, for a time, at least, made Brahmanism supreme in Kashmir. That is why Kl eulogises him in the highest terms:

राजा तृतीयो गोनन्दः प्राप्तो राज्ये तदन्तरे ।
यात्रायागादि नागानां प्रावर्तयत् पूर्ववत् ॥ I, 185
राज्ञा प्रवर्तिते तेन पुनर्नीलोदिते विधौ ।
भिक्षवो हिमदोषाच्च सर्वतः प्रशमं ययुः ॥ 186
काले काले प्रजापुण्यैः संभवन्ति महीभुजः ।
धर्ममण्डलस्य क्रियते दशैतसम्बस्य योजनम् ॥ 187
ये प्रजापीनयन्ति ते विनश्रन्ति सान्वयाः ।
नष्टं तु ये योजयेयुस्तेषां वंशानुगाः श्रियः ॥ 188
ह्येतन्लिङ्गिता तं दशेऽस्मिन्नवीस्थ लक्षणं ।
भाविनो भूमिगोलानां प्राहिहैयं शुभाशुनम् ॥ 189
नवीकृतवतो देशं तस्य वंशेरियं मही ।
सिद्धेः प्रवरसेनाद्यैश्चिरं भुक्ता स्वकर्ममभिः ॥ 190
गोनन्दान्वश्चिनामाद्यः सः रघूणां रघुर्यथा ।
नृपतिः कश्यपीं सर्वान्पञ्चाश्रिंशतिमन्वशात् ॥ 191

This king G III, is, here, described as spreading Yātrāyāgādi as before. He came as a saviour of Brahmanism. That is why he is compared to Raghu. Kl very clearly says that, in his days, bhikṣus (i. e. Buddhists) and himadoṣas disappeared altogether. After a long period of about 300 years, Kashmir, once again, enjoyed unadulterated and unhampered Brahmanism.

And this is quite in keeping with the history of India proper of that peroid. We know that Puṣyamitra Suṅga was 51 st in Puranic Chronology and Abhimanyu was 51st in Kashmir Chronology. I have put Puṣyamitra's rule from 113 B. C. to 1053 B. C., and Abhimanyu's rule from 1122 B. C. to 1082 B. C. Thus Abhimanyu was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, and this contemporaenity is corroborated indirectly from the internal evidence of Raj itself. Kl says that Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali came to be studied in Kashmir in Abhimanyu's days (I, 176). If, as is generally believed Patañjali was a contemporary, of Puṣyamitra, this is not unlikely, on the contrary, it would suggest the contemporaenity of Abhimanyu and Puṣyamitra.

Then came G III, whose unit I put from 1082 B. C. to 1042 B. C. He might have been a junior contemporary of Puṣyamitra, or might have just followed him. Puṣyamitra himself was a staunch follower and upholder of Brahmanism. He is said to have extirpated the Buddhists and the Jainas. The Buddhist power, therefore, definitely deteriorated in India proper in the days of Puṣyamitra. And, therefore, it was easier, for G III to send away the Buddhists from Kashmir also.

All this shows clearly that these seven kings from Aśoka to Abhimanyu, including Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka, fit in very well in the period of 300 years, which had been taken as a kingless period in India proper.

For all these reasons, I do not take Kaniṣka of Raj to be the same as Kaniṣka Kushan. And, Kl's record, not only turns out to be very reliable, but provides us with much valuable information and fills up most satisfactorily the II kingless period of 300 years in the Imperial history of Magadha.

IV. Thus we have come upto G III. After G III, so far as I can see, the other period important from the point of view of

Indian history, is the period represented by the six king-names—Utpalākṣa, Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakula, Vasukula, Mihirakula and Baka, whose numbers are 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64 respectively. I think that these six kings are the units which represent the III kingless period of 120 years, in the Imperial history of Magadha. I have placed this gap after the Kāṇvas and before the Āndhras i. e. from 1001 B. C. to 880 B. C. Let us see what are the dates of the above six kings.

Let us see their dates, according MCM. In MCM, the individual regnal periods now found against the name of each of the kings are not to be considered. Let us, then apply MCM to these kings.

But I should point out that MCM is likely to have changed in one respect, from the days of G III. I have shown that in the Puranic chronology, from the unit of Puṣyamitra or even from Nandas, a king-unit was taken to have 20 years and not 40 years. Accordingly, I have shown that for the period of 277 years, comprising 112 years of the Suṅgas, 45 years of the Kāṇvas and 120 years of the III kingless period, the Purāṇas give 14 units (10 Suṅgas and 4 Kāṇvas) of 20 years each. I, therefore, say that in Kashmir chronology also, the caturyuga (i. e. the king-unit) of 20 years was used from G III onwards. I have put G III's acc in 1082 B. C. From G III to Baka (both included) there are 13 king-names. That is, at the rate of 20 years per king-name, there had been 13×20=260 years from G III's acc to Baka's end. Therefore Baka's end will be in 1082 − 260 = 822 B. C., and the 14 units (10 Suṅgas + 4 Kāṇvas) of Puranic chronology starting with Puṣyamitra bring us down to 1113−280=833 B. C. Thus these periods tally fairly well.

Now I wish to point out that the four kings — Hiraṇyakula, Mukula, Vasukula and Mihirakula — are, as their names suggest, Huṇas and they seem to have held sway over large portions of Northern India. About Mihirakula, we are told that he had conquered the whole of India, including Pāṇḍya, Cola, Lāṭa and even Ceylon. So that there is some evidence to say that the Kashmirian Huṇa kings of this period had ruled over Northern India. That will show an absence of Imperial power in Northern India and I have already shown that for 120 years from 1001 B. C. to 880 B. C. there was a kingless period in the history of Magadha. Therefore, the rule of these Huṇa kings fills up this gap of 120 years.

This discussion implies that (1) this Mihirakula is not the same as the later Mihirakula, the son of Toramāṇa of the Eran Inscription, and (2) that a unit of 20 years has been followed in Kashmir chronology at this stage.

But, here a likely objection might be raised. Before, in discussing the period 2921 years upto Bly I have taken resort to a unit of 40 years upto Bly. How, then, can both the units—one of 40 years and one of 20 years—be used for the same king-names? The doubt is valid, and an answer may be attempted here. It seems that from Puṣyamitra and Abhimanyu onwards both the units were followed. Unit of 20 years was used for the sub-periods of a yuga or a Manvantara. Whenever a yuga of 1000 years or 1200 years was over or a Manvantara of 71 units of 40 years each, was over, it seems that they used to make longer chronological computations, but within that period of 1000 or 1200 or 2840 years, chronological computations seem to have been made on important occasions of change of dynasties etc. And for such sub-periods, they seem to have used the unit of 20 years and for the Manvantara computation or yuga computation they seem to have used the unit of 40 years. Therefore, when the longer computation of a yuga or a Manvantara was made, the number of kings which was already adjusted for the sub-periods (on the basis of a unit of 20 years), would be readjusted once again; and out of the list (made on the basis of a unit of 20 years), some (half the number of king-names) would be dropped. But in so doing, the kings who were well marked out in history or who were too near their own times, would not be dropped by the chronologists.

Such a thing seems to have actually happened in Kashmir chronology. It seems that after Abhimanyu, they had calculated some sub-periods according to the unit of 20 years each and at least upto Baka, we have names preserved which are adjusted on the basis of 20 years' unit. Then, when they adjusted in the days of Bly, they readjusted the whole chronology on the basis of 40 years' unit, because, as we shall see soon, a Manvantara was over. At this time, they must have dropped some names after Baka, and some probably before G III. Thus, the double system of the units seems to have been used in Kashmir chronology. We shall soon see that such a double system has been used upto Balāditya, but just now I wish to point out that there is a parallel in Puranic chronology also, of such a double system being used.

I have shown above how 14 king-names (10 Śuṅgas and 4 Kāṇvas) represent 14 units of 20 years each. After the Kāṇvas, we have Āndhras. Now for the Āndhras, Purāṇas give 456 years. 456 years at the rate of 20 years' unit will require $456 \div 20 = 23$ king-names. And there is every evidence to show that the Purāṇas had once closed with the 23rd or 24th Āndhra king-name. Therefore, I say that the unit of 20 years was used upto the end of the Āndhras. And yet we know that these same king-names (10 Śuṅgas, 4 Kāṇvas and all the Āndhras) are taken as units of 40 years also. In the longer computation from Manu Vaivasvata to Sandrocottus, we are told that Indians had counted 6451 years or 6042 years for 153 kings. This works out at 40 years' unit. This shows that for the longer computation (upto Sandrocottus i. e. Samudragupta in whose days, as in the days of Bly, a Manvantara had been over) the same king-names, which were once taken as units of 20 years each, have been taken as units of 40 years each. This would of course, mean that the longer computation has dropped some names somewhere. We shall not enter into that detail here, but this provides us with a parallel. Therefore, what I have said about the double system in Kashmir chronology is not an isolated phenomenon, but is a part of a regularly organised method.

I shall, now, show how the same double method is used upto Bālāditya. We have seen earlier how kings from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta represent units of 20 years each. But the individual regnal periods for these kings show number of years which are, almost in every case, greater than 20 years. Why is this? I think that for one reason or other[1], they had made a longer computation for the period from Pratāpāditya upto Durlabhaka on the basis of 40 years' unit. I put Pratāpāditya's acc in 240 B. C. and Darlabhaka's end in 558 A. D. Therefore, from Pratāpāditya to Durlabhaka had passed $240 + 558 = 798$ years. For these 798 years are given $6 + 11 + 2 = 19$ king-names. And we can see that 19th unit (of 40

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1. I think that this longer computation was made on the occasion of the completion of a yuga of 1200 years. I have shown that one yuga had been over in 776 A. D. Therefore another yuga will be over in $1200-776=424$ A. D. And I think that this date fell just before Bālāditya's acc. Therefore they had calculated upto him on the basis of 40 years and some one has brought it down to Durlabhak's end, couning 1200 years from 676 B. C. (which is the start of yuga proper) i. e. $1200-676 = 524$ A. D. a date which falls during Durlabhak's rule.

years) was over but not the 20th in the days of Durlabhaka. Thus even here we find this double system used.

V. We shall, now, discuss the period of 300 years given to Raṇāditya Tuñjina.

About this rule of Raṇāditya, Hasan, as is already noted by me, gives six kings after Narendrāditya, then Raṇāditya, who is given a rule of 60 years, then one more king and then Vikramāditya. This means that according to Hasan's version, after Narendrāditya there were six king-names i. e. 6×40=240 years and then came Raṇāditya on the throne. Putting the end of Narendrāditya's rule in 54 A. D. (See Table), we can put Raṇāditya's acc. in 54+ 240=294 A. D. Then, according to Hasan, Raṇāditya ruled for 60 years i. e. from 294 A. D. to 354 A. D. Then, one more unit is given by Hasan and two more by Kl. till the rise of Kārkṭa dynasty. Therefore the rule of Kārkoṭa dynasty started in 354 A. D. + 120 = 474 A. D.

Thus the real gap between Narendrāditya and Raṇāditya will be of 240 years from 54 A. D. to 294 A. D. (the date of Raṇāditya's acc.). I suggest that this gap of 240 years was filled up by the Kadpheses and the Kushanas.

Now I find that there is enough scope for outside domination in Kashmir in the first two and a half centuries of Christian era. We have seen that Vikramāditya (of Ujjain) died and Mātṛgupta abdicated in 56 B. C. Thus Pravarasena II came to the throne in 56 B. C. According to Kl, Pravarasena II seems to have been a really great king. He seems to have ruled from Bihar to Surāṣṭra and from Kashmir to Malava (Raj, III, 324–31). This was truly an empire. At this period therefore Kushanas could not be in power. Pravarasena II is given a rule of 60 years. After Pravarasena II came Yudhiṣṭhira and then Narendrāditya, whose rule thus would come to an end in 54 A.D. Kl says that these three kings were very powerful. That means that the empire established by Pravarasena II, lasted upto 54 A. D. But by 54 A. D., i. e. by the time of Narendrāditya's death, Kadpheses I had been powerful and started being felt in India proper also. Soon after, Vima conquered India upto Benares and Mathura. That means that Kashmir kings lost their hold over India and soon after the death of Narendrāditya, Kashmir fell under the sway of the Kadpheseses.

I believe that Kaniṣka Kushana came to power in c. 150 A. D. and Kushana empire in India lasted upto c. 250 A. D. Therefore from 54 A. D. to c 250 A. D. Kashmir was under the sway of Kadpheseses and Kushanas. It seems that Kushan power lingered on in Kashmir upto 294 A. D., in which year rose Raṇāditya who once again established an empire. That even during this period of 240 years, the local Kashmir princes were trying to get their power back is shown by the following. According to Hieun Tsang (Watters I. p. 278-9) "we are told that after Kaniska's death, a native dynasty had arisen in Kashmir and its sovereign had become a persecutor of Buddhism. Hereupon the king of Himatala, who was Sakya by descent and a zealous Buddhist, determined to drive the cruel Kritya king from his throne and restore Buddhism. By a strategem, he succeeded in killing the king of Kashmir. He then banished the chief minister of the court and reinstated sovereignty and at Yuvan-chwang's time the country had no faith in Buddhism and gave itself up to other sects."

This shows that (1) Kaniṣka did hold sway over Kashmir, (2) Some time after Kaniṣka's death, i. e. after the end of Kaniṣka's dynasty a native prince regained Kashmir. (3) This native prince was killed by another Buddhist king (king of Himatala) and finally, (4) once again Kashmir came under the sway of kings following Brahmanism. I think that these stages preserve the details of the vicissitudes of the history of Kashmir from c. 54 A. D. to c. 400 A. D. I put the downfall of the Kushan dynasty in c. 248 A. D. Sometime after this i. e. in c. 294 A. D. Raṇāditya freed the country of Kashmir from the Kushan rule. But this Raṇāditya in his turn seems to have been defeated by the king of Himatala. According to Hieun Tsang Himatala, the king of Tokhara assassinated the native Kritya king in the 600th year after Buddha's death (see Watters I. p. 278). In the next Chapter, I have given the latest date of Buddha's death as 243 B. C. According to that date Himatala's victory over Kashmir would be placed in 600—243= 327 A. D. I have placed Raṇāditya's acc. in c. 294 A. D., so that it is not impossible if Raṇāditya was defeated by the king of Himatala in c. 327 B. C. But this victory of the king of Himatala was short-lived, for soon the successor of Raṇāditya, whose name seems to have been Vinayāditya, sent the foreigners out of the country. Thus the empire built up by Raṇāditya was continued, after a short break by Vinayāditya.

Both Raṇāditya and Vinayāditya are considered to have been great kings and great protectors of Brahmanism. Foreign domination in Kashmir had started from 54 A. D. and continued till 294 A. D. i. e. for about two and a half centuries. It was at the end of this long period of foreign domination that Raṇāditya, like G III, came and delivered the native country from outside rule. That is why Kl describes Raṇāditya as a great emperor and saviour of Kashmir. He says:

राजवंशेष्वनेकेषु राहोर्वं शद्रये पगम् ।
द्वयोरिबात्र निर्व्यूढिं प्रजाबात्सल्यमागतम् ॥ III, 472
रणादित्यस्य गोनन्दवंशे रामस्य राघवे ।
लोकान्तरमुखस्यापि यथोरंशमुज: प्रजा: ॥ 473

This praise is couched in the same language as the one in which G III is praised. Raṇāditya seems to have fought many a battle (III, 386-9). He seems to have married the daughter (named Raṇarambhā) of a Cola king named Ratisena (III, 432-6). This would show that the sphere of his influence reached far and wide, and we can easily assume that he had put down the final vestiges of the Kushan power and had been a regular emperor of Northern India. The empire thus built up had prospered upto the days of Bālāditya, for he is said to have added Bengal to his empire (III, 479-80). Raṇāditya was a great king. He, like G III and Puṣyamitra came at the end of a long-period of outside domination and ousted these outsiders from his land and re-established the empire founded by Pravarasena II. The very fact that he is described in superlative terms shows that he must have liberated his people from the yoke of foreigners. Thus we can successfully account for the abnormal period of 300 years given to Raṇāditya. What has happened is this that, as in Puranic chronology, so in Kashmir chronology, chronologists have refused to recognise the foreign rule and added the whole period of foreign domination to Raṇāditya's unit.

Of course, if we are to believe in Hieun Tsang, Raṇāditya seems to have been defeated and even murdered by the king of Himatala in 327 A. D. But, as I have said above, soon his successor Vinayāditya defeated the king of Himatala and continued the empire re-established by Raṇāditya. That is why, as Pt. Kaul informs us (same, p. 202), "even upto now his name is a household word among the Kashmiris and is remembered as to have been a most virtuous and noble king of Kashmir."

Thus can we explain the period of 300 years given to Raṇā-ditya.

VI. I have said in the beginning of this Chapter that MCM has been used in Kashmir chronology. We have found ample evidence of this in considering the various details of Kashmir chronology. I shall however, sum up this evidence here.

(1) We have found that original figures of 2019 years and 2921 years for the two periods had been based upon MCM, first (upto G III's acc.) on the basis of 51 king-names and the second (upto Bly's acc.) on the basis of 73 king-names.

(2) We have seen that the calculation made according to MCM, which puts Abhimanyu in 1122-1082 B. C. and G III in 1082-1042 B. C. is corroborated by the synchronism of Abhimanyu and G III with Puṣyamitra. This synchronism is also proved by the Mahābhāṣya being first introduced in Kashmir in the days of Abhimanyu, who was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra.

(3) We find 20 king-names from G III to Bly (excluded). These 20 king-names will give a period of 800 years, and we have seen that in the original calculation, 802 years had been taken as elapsed from the acc. of G III to the acc. of Bly.

(4) We find that Kashmir chronologists had computed the long periods twice, once in the days of G III, and then in the days of Bly. Why did they select these two king's rules for computing general periods (of 2019 years and 2921 years) ? I shall explain. (i) The first general period was computed in the days of G III and this king was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. In their days there had been a general reconstruction and revision of all the questions. It is quite likely that they made a general computation to mark the beginning of a period of resuciated Brahmanism. (ii) The second computation was made in the days of Bly. His number in Kashmir chronology is 72nd from G II (thus:— 51 kings from G II to G III's acc + 21 kings from G III to Bly). Now as I have said earlier G II was at the same step as Parikṣit. Therefore G II's number like that of Parikṣit, was 72nd from Manu Vaisvasvata. And, as in the case of Puranic chronology, so in the case of Kashmir chronology, a new Manvantara was taken as started with the 72nd unit i. e. with Parikṣit and G II. A Manvantara was taken to have 71 units. So, the new Msnavantara started with G II came to an end with the acc. of Bly, whose number,

as we have seen, was 72nd from G II. It was for this reason of closing a Manvantara that the Kashmir chronologists marked off the chronological period upto Bly's acc. as distinct and made a general computation upto Bly's acc.

(5) We have seen how MCM with 40 years' unit has been used in the case of 20 kings from G III to Bly's acc. We have also seen that MCM with 20 years' unit has been used for these same king-names, at least for the 14 king-names beginning with Abhimanyu and ending with Baka. We have also seen how this employment of 20 years' unit at this period in Kashmir is seen corroborated by a similar employment of 20 years' unit in the Puranic chronology from Puṣyamitra to the end of the Āndhras.

(6) We have seen how MCM with 20 years' unit has been used from Pratāpāditya to Mātṛgupta. Taking Pratāpāditya's acc. in 240 B. C., we get Mātṛgupta's acc. in 6o B. C., by taking 180 years for the 9 king-names from Pratāpāditya to Toramāṇa. And 4 years' rule of Matṛgupta puts his abdication and Harṣa Vikrama's death in 56 B C. And we have seen that this date is corroborated from both the ends.

(7) We have seen how MCM with 40 years' unit has been used from Pravarasena II to Durlabhaka. For these 8 king-names, we have taken 320 years. Adding to these 320 years, the 300 years of the interregnum caused by the Kadphesses and Kushans, we get 620 years. And we have seen that this period of 620 years worked out according to MCM and corroborated by Hasan's version) gives us a date of Jayāditya, which is supported by an almost over-whelming evidence.

(8) We have also seen that 340 years for Raṇāditya as taken by us, are accounted for by Hasan's version in accordance with MCM. Hasan gives 7 king-names + 60 years for Raṇāditya's rule i. e. 280 + 60 = 340 years in all.

All these points definitely and conclusively prove that Kashmir chronology, upto Durlabhaka, has been based upon MCM.

CHAPTER TWO

VARIOUS CHRONOLOGICAL COMPUTATIONS

I

THERE is one aspect of the Ancient Indian Chronological system, which is very important and therefore worth properly understanding. While considering the post-Mbh Magadha chronology, I have shown, on the authority of Arrian and the Purāṇas that the Purāṇic Chronologists have considered three periods as Republican or Kingless periods. These three periods, I have shown, had occurred thus: (1) First kingless period of 350 years had occurred after the Saiśunāgas and before the Nandas. In fact from the accession of Mahānanda (Saiśunāga) to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, 350 years had elapsed and the whole of that period had been taken as a kingless period. (2) Second kingless period of 300 years had occurred after the Mauryas and before the Suṅgas. (3) Third kingless period of 120 years had occurred after the Suṅgas and before the Kāṇvas.

Now, with regard to these kingless periods, the important point to be remembered is this that in one school of Purāṇas (represented by Vāyu-Brahmāṇḍa) these years of the kingless periods were altogether ignored i. e. total dynastic periods showed so many years less, while in the other school (most probably represented by the Bhaviṣya) these years were either distributed in the total dynastic periods of the preceding or following dynasty, or were added to the total of one single dynasty. Thus, we find that the Purāṇs give 1150 years or 1500 years between Parikṣit and Mahāpadma's accession. These two figures represent the two above-noted schools. Those that give 1500 years, give 360 or 362 years to the Saiśunāgas and thus adjust the 350 years of the first king-less period, which occurred before Mahāpadma's accession. Others

who give 1150 years, simply ignore the 350 years of the first kingless period, and give or originally gave 10 or 12 years to the Śaiśunāgas. Thus, here, we find two schools of the Purāṇas, one which includes and adjusts the 350 years of the kingless period in the scheme of its chronology, and the other which ignores and omits to include the years of the kingless period.

This practice is continued later also. We have also found that one Purāṇic school omits the other two periods of 420 years and the other school includes and adjusts the two periods of 420 years.

Thus in the days of the Āndhras and later there will exist these two schools; and the result will be that one school, by omitting to include 770 (350 + 300 + 120) years of these three periods, will bring down the date of any given incident, say of the Mbh war by 770 years. This is a point worth grasping fully. I shall explain what I mean. In the days of Mahāpadma Nanda, one school placed Mbh war 1500 years before Mahāpadma's accession and the other school by omitting to include 350 years the First Kingless period, placed it 1150 years before Mahāpadma's accession. This difference, as I have explained, was caused by inclusion or non-inclusion of the 350 years of the First Kingless Period. In the days of the S'uṅgas, besides these 350 years, 300 years of the Second Kingless period (which occurred between the Mauryas and the S'uṅgas) will be included by one school and will not be included by the other school. The position, then, will be this. In the days of the S'uṅgas, the chronologists had to add (86 my figure for the Nandas + 137 years for the Mauryas + 300 years of the Second Kingless period =) 523 years to the earlier totals upto the accession of Mahāpadma. They had two such totals viz., 1150 and 1500 years. Again, even out of these 523 years, one school will add all the 523 years and the other only 223 years, omitting the 300 years (of the second gap). Both these—223 or 553—may be added either to 1150 or to 1500. Thus there would be so many possibilities

1150	1150	1500	1500
523	223	523	223
1673	1373	2023	1723

Thus in the days of the S'uṅgas according to different calculations, the Mbh war may be taken as earlier to the accession of Puṣyamitra by 1673 or 1373 or 2023 years.

Again in the days of the Āndhras they will have to adjust the 112 years of the Sungas, 120 years of the Third Kingless Period and 45 years of the Kāṇvas i. e. in all 277 years. But, to the four totals given above (which all may be separately current in their days), one school will add all these 277 years and the other school will add only 157 years omitting 120 years of the Third Kignless Period. Thus we may have:

2023	2023	1723	1723	1673	1673	1373	1373
277	257	277	157	277	157	277	157
2300	2280	2000	1880	1950	1830	1650	1530

Thus in the days of the first Āndhra, Mbh war may be taken to have happened before 2300, 2280, 2000, 1880, 1950, 1830, 1650, or 1530 years.

Thus the Mbh war or any other incident will be brought down by 350 years or 300 years or 120 years or (350 + 300) = 650 years or (350 + 120) = 470 years or (300 + 120) = 420 years or by (350 + 300 + 120) = 770 years. This omission is a very peculiar but a very important point to bear in mind, while considering the question of Ancient Indian Chronology.

Along with this there is one other point to be understood. Kalhaṇa, in his Rājataraṅgiṇī (I. 51 ff) has noted that there were two views current about the date of the Mbh war-one school placed the Mbh war in 3101 B. C. and the other in 2448 B. C., thus showing a difference of 653 years. While examining the ancient Kashmir Chronology I have shown that the difference sometimes was taken to be of 653 years and sometimes of 753 years. This difference of 100 years was due to the 100 years of Kali-Sandhyā. This difference of 653 or 753 years in the date of the Mbh war was not due to the omission or non-omission of one of the above Kingless Periods. It was entirely due to a misunderstanding of the verse āsanmaghāsu etc. But this difference having arisen, the date of the Mbh war and of any other incident may be brought down by 653 or 753 years. But it may also be lowered by 653 or 753 years plus any number of years from the above list viz; 350, 300, 120, 650, 470 420 or 770. Thus the date may be lowered by 653 or 753 or by 350+653— or 753, 300 + 653 or 753, 120+653 or 753, 650+653 or 753, 470+653 or 753, 420+653 or 753 or 770+653 or 753. These are all possibilities, though all of them are not seen as actually occurring in chronological calculations. But

I have found that lowering the date by 350 years or by 420 years or by 770 years or by 653 years or by 753 years or by 770+653 =1423 years or by 770+753 = 1523 years is actually seen in certain chronological computations.

Before proceeding further, I must say that the Puranic calculations, show omissions of only (one or more) the Kingless periods (as we have seen above), the Kashmir calculations of only 653 or 753 years, but the Buddhistic and Jain calculations show omissions of the three periods or of 653 or 753 years or of the combinations of both. I shall show this by examining some Buddhistic and Jain chronological computations.

Let us first consider the question of the date of Buddha's death. The modern scholars, consistent with the modern scheme of ancient Indian chronology, put this date in c. 525 B. C. But Buddhist tradition as prevalent in various parts of Asia, has noted a number of dates for Buddha's death. I shall first note down all such dates, as have, so far, come to my knowledge.

(1) Fa Hein says that at the time when he wrote, 1497 years had elapsed since the death of Buddha. Fa Hein was in India from 405-411 A. D. So he must have made this statement some time after 411 A. D. Thus, according to his calculations the period of Buddha's death will be somewhere nearer 1497−411 = 1086 B. C.

(2) Hiuen Tsang notes that in his days (c. 640 A.D.) there were various views held about the date of Buddha's death. "There are also," the pilgrim adds, "differences of statement as to the time which had elapsed since the Buddha's death, some authorities giving above 1200 years, some 1300, some 1500 and some only 900 and under 1000". (Watters, ii, P. 28). Thus according to these different views, the date of Buddha's death will be approximately either (1500−640=) 860 B. C. or (1300−640=) 660 B. C. or (1200 −640=) 560 B. C. or (900−640=) 260 B. C. We should remember that the pilgrim gives round numbers only and therefore these dates are approximate and not exact.

(3) It is said that Chinese tradition in general, puts Buddha's death in 638 or 639 B. C.

(4) Traditions in Ceylon, Burma, Siam. Assam etc. generally put Buddha's death in 544 or 543 B. C.

(5) Max Muller has given[1] as many as 14 dates current in Tibetan chronology. They are 2422 B.C., 2148 B.C., 2139 B.C., 2135 B.C., 1310 B.C., 1060 B.C., 884 B.C., 882 B.C., 880 B.C., 837 B.C., 752 B.C., 653 B.C., 576 B.C. and 646 B.C.

In the vast Buddhistic literature scattered over vaster area, it is likely that there are preserved some more dates, but they have not come to my knowledge. I shall therefore arrange these dates in proper order.

2422 B.C., 2148 B.C., 2139 B.C., 2135 B.C., 1310 B.C., 1086 B.C., 1060 B.C., 884 B.C., 882 B.C., 880 B.C., 860 B.C., 857 B.C., 752 B.C., 660 B.C., 653 B.C., 639 B.C., 638 B.C., 576 B.C., 560 B.C., 546 B.C., 544 B.C., 543 B.C., and 260 B.C.

Thus we get more than 20 dates for Buddha's death. Add to this the date (487 B.C.) arrived at from the Cantonese evidence. Out of all these dates the modern scholars accept 487 B C. or 543 B.C., or any date (of their own creation) somewhere nearer these dates. They summarily reject all the other dates. They do not even condescend to consider and note most of these dates. It has never occurred to them to explain, even while rejecting them, why and how these different dates had become current. Their attitude in this respect has been one of grossest negligence. But I think that in any scientific inquiry, we should not brush aside any traditions or traditional calculations so unceremoniously. It is true that when there is so much confusion and conflict, it becomes not only our right but our duty to select any one as correct; but I think that it is not enough to select and support the tradition which we consider to be correct, but it is also necessary to explain how and why the other traditions came into existence. Traditions however wild and fantastic, never come into existence without sufficient reasons: and it is the duty of a student to find out these reasons. For want of material or knowledge it may, sometimes, happen that we are not able to find out the reasons; but then our inquiry so far should be taken as incomplete.

In the present instance, I think all these different dates can be satisfactorily explained. I have already said that a great amount of chronological confusion is likely to have ensued on account of

1. A *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 139. He has noted these dates in a foot-note and has said that they are given in a Tibetan Grammar by Csoma. I have not seen the Tibetan Grammar. One can be more definite only after seeing the original.

the inclusion or non-inclusion of the various number of years noted above. I shall now explain these dates on that basis. But before that I shall state the correct date of Buddha's death according to my views.

I have put Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C. and that of Chandragupta Maurya in 1550 B. C. Then according to Buddhist tradition, Chandragupta ruled for 24 years and Bindusāra for 28 years. Thus Aśoka's coronation happened in 1550-52=1498 B. C. Now the Buddhist tradition says that Aśoka was coronated 218 years after Buddha's death. This will put Buddha's death in 1498+218=1716 B. C. But Buddha flourished earlier than Mahānanda, whose accession I put in 1986 B C. Therefore, I think that the figure 218 does not include 350 years of the First Kingless Period. If we add these 350 years, we get 1716 + 350=2066 B. C. as the the date of Buddha's death. And I submit that this is the correct date of Buddha's death.

But this date seems to come in conflict with one calculation. Mahāvaṁsa records that Ājātaśatru ruled for 24 years after the death of Buddha. Then Udāyibhadda ruled for 16 years, then the sons of Udāyi ruled for 8 years, then Nāga Dāsaka ruled for 24 years and then Susunāga was elected who ruled for 18 years. Then Mahānanda came to the throne. This gives us 24+16+8+24+18 =90 years from Buddha's death to the accession of Mahānanda. I have put Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C. Therefore, according to this calculation, Buddha's death will be in 1986+90=2076 B.C. and I have put it in 2066 B. C. Thus here there is a difference of 10 years. I think that the error is caused by taking 18 instead of 8 years for Susu(Sisu)nāga. But I suggest that let us take 2066 B. C. as the real date of Buddha's death and see how it fits in with the subsequent adjustments in the date of Buddha's death.

Now let us examine the various dates of Buddhanirvāṇa given above. (1) Fa Hein's date is c. 1086 B. C. I suggest that the tradition that Fa Hein had followed omitted 653 years plus 350 years of the First Kingless Period. If so the date of Buddha's death which originally was 2066 B. C., will be brought down to 2066−(653+350 = 1003)=1063 B. C. Fa Hein's date is somewhere nearer 1086 B.C. There is a difference of 23 years between the two dates. It can be explained if we suppose that Fa Hein made his statement not in 411 A. D. but in 434 A.D., which is not unlikely.

(2) Hiuen Tsang has given four dates—860 B. C., 660 B. C., 560 B. C., and 260 B. C. These are, as we have seen, approximate dates. Now let us see how these four different dates have come into existence. One who omits 420 years (of the Second and the Third Kingless Periods) + 753 years i. e. 1173 years in all, will get 2066 −1173=893 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death and this is approximately the same as 860 B C. Again, one who omits 770 years (of the three gaps) + 653 years i. e. 1423 years in all, will get 2066−1423=643 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death and it is approximately the same as 660 B. C. Similarly, one who omits, 770+753 i. e. 1523 years in all, will get 543 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death, which is approximately the same as 560 B. C. Thus we can explain three out of the four dates current in the days of the pilgrim. We can also explain the last date i. e. c. 260 B. C. Though the Puranic traditions after the Āndhras are at present almost lost to us, we find that in the Kashmir chronology, there had been a period of 300 years which was taken as Kingless. This period, as I have shown, had occurred from 56 A. D. to 356 A. D. It is represented in the chronology of Kalhaṇa, by the 300 years given to the rule of Raṇāditya. It seems that at a later date some one omitted these 300 years also and thus the date of Buddha's death came down by further 300 years. That is, in this latest stage, they will omit 770+753+300=1823 years in all and thus the date will be 2066 −1823=243 B. C., which is approximately the same as 260 B. C.

(3) General date for Buddha's death in Chinese tradition is 638 or 639 B. C. Now, by omitting 770 + 653 = 1323 years, we get 2066 − 1323 = 643 B. C. This shows a difference of 4 years. This difference of 4 years is caused by a further omission of the first 4 years of Aśoka's rule, during which he was not coronated. That is, someone took these four years as a kingless period and, therefore, deducted them from the general computation and thus got 638 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death.

(4) Traditions in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Assam etc. generally put Buddha's death in 543 B. C. It is now clear that this calculation omits 770 + 753 = 1523 years and thus gets 2066 − 1523 = 543 B. C.

Considerations so far made bring out the following facts:

(1) The original date of Buddha's death was 2066 B. C. and not 2076 B. C., as it is 2066 B. C., which by the various omissions, yields the various current dates, particularly the dates 643 B. C. and 543 B. C. If the original date had been 2076 B. C., the current date would have been 553 B. C. and not 543 B. C. Thus the difference of 10 years was caused by taking 90 instead of 80 years between Buddha's death and Mahānanda's accession.

(2) Buddhist chronologists have based their calculations after omitting 653 or 753 years and /or by omitting one or more or all the Kingless Periods.

(3) We also find that a difference of 4 years was caused by the Kingless Period of 4 years that had elapsed between the accession and the formal coronation of Aśoka.

(4) We find dates like 638 or 639 B. C. and 544 or 543 B. C. This difference of one year is, I think, caused by the starting point of the era, as we find in the case of Vikrama era (56 B. C. or 57 B. C.).

(5) Thus, in considering further, we may find a difference of 4 or 10 years or of 3 or 9 years or of 1 year, in any calculation due to any of the above misunderstandings.

Bearing this in mind, I shall, now, explain the various dates given by Max Müller. But before that I think it will be convenient if we tabulate all the possible dates of Buddha's death which might be arrived at by the omission of 653 or 753 and /or of the Kingless Periods. I shall, therefore, here, give a consolidated table for the various possible dates (though all may not be found employed in actual practice) of Buddha's death.

B. C. (1)	B. C. (2)	B. C. (3)	B. C. (4)	B. C. (5)	B. C. (6)	B. C. (7)	B. C. (8)
2066	2066	2066	2066	2066	2066	2066	2066
350	300	120	650	470	420	770	653
1716	1766	1946	1416	1596	1646	1296	1413
653	653	653	653	653	653	653	100
1053	1113	1293	763	943	993	643	1313
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
963	1013	1193	663	843	893	543	
						300	
						243 B. C.	

Keeping in mind that any one of these dates is possible to be misunderstood as the date of Buddha's death, due to various omissions, let us now examine the dates given by Max Müller. I think I shall be able to explain all the dates except the first i. e. 2422 B. C.

I think that the three dates 2148 B. C., 2139 B. C., and 2139 B. C. are not the dates of Buddha's death but are the dates of his birth. (I have not seen the original Tibetan texts on which these dates are based and that is a positive handicap.) He is supposed to have lived for 82 or 83 years. My date of his death is 2055 B. C.; add to this 82 and we get 2055+82=2148 B. C. as the date of his birth. The other date 2139 B, C. is less by 9 and third date —2135 B. C.— is still less by 4 years. But we have seen that a difference of 9 or 4 years may be expected.

Then we take up 1310 B. C. In the table we have a date which is 1313 B. C. and between these two dates there is a difference of 3 years i. e. of 4 years which is caused by Aśoka's Kingless Period.

Similarly, in our table we have a date 1053 B. C. and in Max Müller's list, we have a date 1050 B. C. They are the same, the difference of 3 years being explained as above.

Then we have got in Max Müller's list, 884 B. C., 882 B C., 880 B. C. and 837 B. C. In the above table, we have a date 893 B. C. 884 B. C. is less by 9 and 880 less by further 4 years. 882 B. C. is due to some confusion. Similarly, I cannot exactly explain the date 837 B. C. unless there has been a double deduction of 3 (3+3=6) from 843 B. C., a date which we find in our table. But the difference is not big and there might have been any sort of confusion.

Then we have 752 B. C. in Max Müller's list and 743 B. C. in our table showing a difference of 9 years, which is to be expected.

Similarly 553 B. C. of Max Müller's list shows a difference of 10 years when compared with 543 B, C. of the Table and 545 B. C. of Max Müller's list shows a difference of 3 years when compared with 543 B. C. of our Table. Both these may be expected.

Thus on an examination of the various dates of Buddha's death, we find that they are all explainable on the assumption of

2066 B. C. as the real date of Buddha's death and on the assumption of the theory propounded by me, of the omission or non-omission of the various periods. These considerations, therefore show that the omission or non-omission (the two schools) of which I have talked in the beginning of this paper are actually found employed in various calculations. This is also proved by some other considerations, but before I take up those, I should remark that so far as the date of Buddha's death is concerned, over and above the confusions noted above, there is a possibility of some other type of confusion. Certain dates may be as important in the life of Buddha e. g. the date of his birth, or of his abandoning the house, or of his first getting Buddhahood, or of his first sermon, or of his death. And any one of these dates may be, through confusion, taken as the date of his death. But in this case the maximum difference will be of 82 or 84 years.

As we find many dates for Buddha's death, so we find more than one date current for certain other incidents also. Let us take Aśoka's date.

Max Müller (*Hist. of Ancient San. Lit.* P. 134-5) has noted that the Chinese chronicles put Aśoka (i. e. Aśoka's accession or coronation) in 850 B. C. or 750 B. C. According to the modern historians who put Aśoka in c. 275 B. C., these two dates will remain unexplained. They will simply ignore them. I have, however, put Aśoka's coronation in 1498 B. C. Therefore taking 1498 B. C. as the correct date of his coronation let us see how these two dates are arrived at. I think that these two dates were obtained by omitting 653 or 753 years. If we deduct 653 or 753 from 1498, we get 845 B. C. or 745 B. C. as Aśoka's date. These will be the dates of his coronation. Therefore his accession, which was earlier by 4 years will be in 849 B. C. or 749 B. C., and these are the years given by the Chinese Chronicles (850 and 750 B. C.), the difference of one year having been already explained by me.

Max Müller has also noted that the Ceylonese chroniclers put Aśoka's date in 315 B. C. Now this date is clearly based on the usual date of Buddha's death viz. 543 B. C. But if we deduct 218 (which is known to be the interval between Buddha's death and Aśoka), from 543 B. C., we get 325 B. C. and not 315 B. C. as the date of Aśoka. This shows the difference of 10 years which we have noted earlier.

Let us consider the date of Kaniṣka.

(1) *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (I, 170) puts Kaniṣka 150 years after Buddha's death. This Kaniṣka is not Kaniṣka Kushāṇa, but an earlier Kaniṣka who ruled in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa puts the accession of Gonanda III in 1182 B.C., but, I have earlier shown that the accession of Gonanda III is to be put in 1082 B.C. and not in 1182 B.C. Before Gonanda III ruled Abhimanyu and before Abhimanyu ruled Kaniṣka. Thus Kaniṣka's accession will be according to MCM, 80 years earlier i.e. in 1082 + 80 = 1162 B.C. Therefore, Kaniṣka really came (2066−1162=) 904 years after Buddha's death. But in Kalhaṇa's chronology, either 653 or 753 years have been omitted throughout. If we deduct 753 from 904 we get 157 years. That is why Kalhaṇa says that Kaniṣka came 150 years after Buddha's death.

(2) According to certain Chinese traditions Kaniṣka came 700 years after Buddha's death. This refers to Kaniṣka Kushāṇa. I put this Kaniṣka's accession in c. 150 A.D. Taking 543 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death, this Kaniṣka will be 543 + 150 = 693 years or in round numbers 700 years later than Buddha's death.

(3) Hiuen Tsang (I, P. 203) puts Kaniṣka 400 years after Buddha's death. This calculation is based upon 243 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death. Taking Buddha's death to be in 243 B.C. Kaniṣka will be 243 + 150 = 393 or in round number 400 years later than Buddha's death.

One Ceylonese tradition puts Chandragupta Maurya's accession to be 162 years after the death of Buddha. (*Indian Culture* ii, p. 560) I put Chandragupta Maurya's accession in 1550 B.C. Add to this 162 and 350 of the First Kingless Period, and we get 1550+162+ 350 = 2062 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death. My date for Buddha's death is 2066 B.C. This only means that this difference of four years is caused by not counting the first four years of Aśoka's reign.

All these considerations, I think are enough to make it clear that Buddhist chronology has been adjusted at several periods and the method of adjustments has been to include or not to include the various periods noted by me in the beginning of this paper.

According to Jain Traditions[1] (1) Mahāvīra died 15 years after

1. I have relied upon Muni Kalyāṇavijaya's paper on Jain chronology which appeared in *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* (X, 4).

Buddha's death. Therefore, the date of Mahāvira's death will be 2066 — 15 = 2051 B. C. This is the correct date of Mahāvira's nirvāṇa; but I must say that all the confusion which I have taken as likely in the case of the date of Buddha's death, is also likely in the case of the date of Mahāvira's death. Therefore, I shall first give a table of all such possible dates and then discuss one or two specific cases:—

B. C. (1)	B. C. (2)	B. C. (3)	B. C. (4)	B. C. (5)	B. C. (6)	B. C. (7)	B. C. (8)
2051	2051	2051	2051	2051	2051	2051	2051
350	300	120	650	470	420	770	653
1701	1751	1931	1401	1581	1631	1281	1398
653	653	653	653	653	653	653	100
1048	1098	1278	748	928	978	628	1298
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
948	998	1178	648	828	878	528	
						300	

228 B. C.

According to Jain Traditions Chandragupta Maurya lived 155 years after Mahāvira's death. Now according to me, Chandragupta Maurya's date is 1550 B. C. and the date of Mahāvira's death is 2051 B. C. Adding 155 to 1550 B. C. we get 1705 B. C. and adding 350 of the First Kingless Period, we get 1705 + 350 = 2055 B. C. as the date of Mahāvira's death. The difference of 4 years is caused by the first 4 years of Aśoka's reign. This thus confirms that upto Aśoka's days, 350 years of the First Kingless Period were omitted from the calculations, and that both 218 years after Buddha's death as the date of Aśoka and 155 years after Mahāvira's death as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession are based upon the same method of calculation. Difference between 218 and 155 is of 63 years and taking out 15 years of the difference between the dates of the deaths of Buddha and Mahāvira, we get 63—15=48 years as the difference between Chandragupta's accession and Aśoka's accession. And we have 24 years for Chandragupta's reign, 28 for Bindusāra's reign i. e. 52 years in all. But 28 years

of Bindusāra's reign, include 4 years of uncrowned period of Aśoka. Thus this calculation is quite in conformity with other calculations.

Jain Tradition is almost unanimous in saying that Saka era came 605 years after Mahāvira's death. Therefore Mahāvira's death will be in $605 - 78 = 528$ B. C. And this date is arrived at by deducting $770 + 753 = 1523$ from 2051 $(2051 - 1523 = 528$ B. C.

I think that these calculations taken from Puranic Buddhist and Jain traditions (and to which many more probably can be added) prove that our chronology has been adjusted at different periods and that the usual method of adjusting the chronology was by selecting the lowest date out of the various dates prevalent. The cause of the prevalence of these various dates is this that a school of our chronologists used to omit all the kingless periods. It has been also caused by the difference in the date of Mbh war. i. e. the difference of 653 or 753 years.

I I

I shall, now consider the very complicated question of Jain Chronology, which also, shows the fourth century B. C. to be the time for the Guptas. Jain works have preserved a type of chronology, from which the date of Mahāvira's death is usually reconstructed. I shall, here, consider all the various details and complications of Jain Chronology, which have bearing on our subject. For the sake of convenience, I shall start from the following. In a Jain work called *Titthogoli Painnaya*, the following verses occur:

जं रयणि सिद्धि गओ अरहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो ।
तं रयणिमवंतीए अभिसित्तो पालओ राया ॥ ६२०
पालगरण्णो सट्ठी पुण पण्णसयं वियाणि नंदाणम् ।
मुरियाणं सट्ठिसयं पणतीसा पूसमित्ताणम् ॥ ६२१
बलमित्त भानुमित्ता सट्ठ चत्ताय होंति नहसेणो ।
गद्भ सयमेग पडिवन्नो तो सगा राया ॥ ६२२
पंच मासा पंच य वासा छब्बेव होंति वाससया ।
परिनिव्वुअस्सरिहतो तो उप्पन्ना सगो राया ॥ ६२३

This means that Pālaka was crowned in Ujjain on the day on which Mahāvira passed away. Then this passage gives 60 years to Pālaka, 150 to Nandas, 160 to Mauryas, 35 to Puṣyamitra, 60

to Balamitra-Bhānumitra, 40 to Nahasena and 100 to Gaddabha. Then it is said that 605 years after Mahāvira's death Saka king came to the throne.

To one who is familiar with Puranic Chronology, there are several points striking in the above passage. Pālaka, of course, is the son of Pradyota, but he is, here, given a rule of 60 years.[1] Nandas and Mauryas are also known to the Purāṇas, though the number of years given to them, here, considerably, differs from that of the Purāṇas. Puṣyamitra is the first Suṅga king and he is given 34 years. So far these names are familar to us. But then follow Balamitra – Bhānumitra, Nahasena and Gaddbha. Who are these? The name Gardabhilla appears in the Purāṇas as a dynastic name, but the other two names are altogether unknown to the Purāṇas. In fact, these three names are peculiar to Jain chronology. Who were they and what is their exact place in Indian chronology? In order to answer this question, I shall have to enter into a necessary digression.

In Jain literature, there is a story called 'The story of Kalakācarya'. The story runs thus. A great Jain monk named Kālakācārya was once living at Ujjain with his sister Sarasvati, (who also was a nun). At that time, a Gardabhilla king, who is named as Darpaṇa, was ruling there. This king captured Sarasvati and confined her to his palace, and inspite of many pursuations on the part of Kālaka and others, did not liberate her. Thereupon Kālaka took a vow to retaliate. He first went to a king named Balamitra-Bhānumitra (the texts give this double name as of one king) who was the king of Laṭa with his capital at Broach and who was Kālaka's nephew (sister's son). Kālaka approached his nephew for help against the Gardabhilla king, but the nephew dared not defy the Gardabhilla openly as he was a very powerful king.[2] So Kālakācārya, it is said, went to Pārisakula.[3] There were 96 chiefs called

1. I put Mahāviras' death in 2051 B. C. Therefore according to this pas.sage Nandas will start in 2051 — 60 = 1991 B. C. and I have put Mahānanda's accession in 1986 B. C. Again see this. Out of the 4 or 5 kings of the Prady.ota dynasty given in the Purāṇas, only one Pālaka is given here. May it not be that other names are omitted because Pālaka had favoured Jainism and others had not? Mṛcchakaṭika treats Pālaka as a heretic king.

2. But it is not unlikely if the uncle and nephew together hatched out the plan of bringing the Sakas: and the nephew must have openly sided with these Sakas when they actually came.

3. Some texts give the name as 'hindugadesa.' For thsse details see Kalyaṇavijayaji's article in Nāgari Pracāriṇi Patrikā, X.

'sāhis' in the country or district to which Kālaka went. Kālaka
lived at the court of the chief of these Sāhis, and by his astrological
and medical knowldge pleased this chief Sāhi. He lived for two
years at his court. There, one day, the overlord of that country
for some reason, sent a dagger to these Sāhis and asked them to
cut off their own heads with it. Therefore, it is said, Kālaka pursuad-
ed these Sāhis to leave their country and come with him to India.
It is said that with these Sāhis and their armies, Kālaka first
came to the Hindugadeśa (most probably upper Sind) and thence,
via the Indus, came down to lower Sind. He, then, took these
Sāhis by boats to Surāṣṭra (Kathiawad). It is said that the whole
of Surāṣṭra was divided amongst these 96 sāhis and the Sāhi at
whose court Kālaka had lived, was made the overlord of the whole
of Surāṣṭra. Then, with the help of Balamitra-Bhānumitra, they
invaded Ujjain, defeated the Gardabhilla king, liberated Sarasvati
and put the chief of Sāhi on the throne of Ujjain

We thus find the name of Balamitra-Bhānumitra in this story
and his name is coupled with Kālakācārya and the Gardabhilla
king. I must also point out that Jain literature unanimously calls
these Sāhis to have been Sakas. Jain literature loudly proclaims
that Kālaka had brought Sakas to India. The question is who
were these Sakas and when did they come to India. On a proper
answer of this question, depends the correct solution of the Jain
chronology I shall, therefore, enter into the details of the question.
In fact, the scholars, at first, did not take seriously to this question.
But of late, some scholars have expressed it as their opinion that
these Sakas are the same as the western Kṣatrapas: and I subscribe
to that view. But, then the question is who were these Western
Kṣatrapas originally and when did they come to India. Most of the
scholars believe that the era used by these Kṣatrapas in their coins
and inscriptions, is the era of 78 A. D. Jayswal and others take the
initial point of this era to be 123 B.C. I shall, therefore, examine
the question of the identity and times of these Kṣatrapas.

At first, the scholars took these Kṣatrapas to be the Satraps
of the Kushan king Kaniṣka and others. Jayswal and others, now
take them to have been the Satraps of the Persian king Mithradites
II. In fact, the Kṣatrapas have a definite place in Indian chrono-
logy. Nahapāna one of the earliest of these Kṣatrapas, was defeated
by the Āndhra king Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. Therefore his relative
position is before the Guptas and almost at the end of the

Āndhras, as Gautamīputra is 23rd out of 30 or 32 Āndhra kings. Now the modern scholars put this Gautamīputra in c. 120 A. D., so that Nahapāna, too, has to be placed near about 120 A. D. But if I take Āndhras to have ended in c. 380 B. C, this Nahapāna must have lived much earlier. According to my chronology, Gautamīputra's acc. is to be put in c. 498 B. C. This Gautamīputra had restruck the coins of Nahapāna. Therefore Nahapāna must have lived before 498 B. C. The latest date on the coins of Nahapāna is 46. Therefore the era used by Nahapāna must have started in 498+46=544 B. C. or somewhat earlier. I, therefore, suggest that the era used by the Kṣatrapas is the era of 553 or 551 B. C. which was current in Persia in the days of Darius the great, that Kālaka had gone to Persia in the days of Darius, that it was in the days of Darius that these Kṣatrapas came to India and that they were, at first the Kṣatrapas of Darius. If so, we should show that (1) these Śakas originally came from Persian regions and that (2) they came in the days of Darius.

That they are likely to have come from Persian regions is already granted by several scholars. I shall, however, note down, here, all such points which connect them with Persia.

(1) Rudradāman's Junagadh rock inscription mentions that his governor of Surāṣtra was one Suviśākha, the son of Kulaipa, who is clearly described as a Pahlava. Thus Pahlavas definitely held responsible administrative posts in the days of these Kṣatrapas. It may, of course, be argued that Persians had settled in Surāṣtra, long before the Kṣatrapas, as we are told in the same inscription of Rudradāman that Aśoka Maurya's governor of Surāṣtra was one Tuṣāspha and that name with its aspa or aspha ending is clearly Iranian. It may be so and it may also be that Suviśākha (= Syā-vākṣa ?) probably belonged to the same family as Tuṣāspha; but this fact that the Persians had already settled in Surāṣtra as early as Aśoka Maurya, shows that there must have been free inter communication between Persia and India from a very early age. It shows that the Persians were very well acquainted with these western regions of India and that some Persian tribes had actually settled in Kathiawad as early as the Mauryas. Therefore Persian invasion of India in the days of Kālaka and Darius is not so unexpected as it would otherwise be.

(2) The name Nahapāna is usually taken to be a Persian name. Sten Konow *(Journal of Indian History* vol 12, 1933, p. 37 ff) has

shown how the names Bhūmaka — Ysāmotika, Castana Uṣavadāta, Dinika the father of Uṣavadāta, Jīvadāman etc are likely to be originally Iranian or Saka names.

(3) Nahapāna's son-in-law Uṣavadāta calls himself in his inscriptions, a Saka. This would show that the Kṣatrapas originally belonged to a Saka tribe (most probably to the Saka tribe which lived to the east of Iran and which was already subdued before Darius, by Cyrus.)

(4) From the coins and inscriptions of these Kṣatrapas two families have been traced (i) Bhūmaka-Nahapāna and (ii) Zāmotika –Castana-Jayadāman-Rudradāman etc. Some scholars consider these two families as unconnected with one another, but Le'vi, Sten Konow and some other scholars have suggested that the names Bhūmaka and Zāmotika are identical and refer to one and the same person. They think that ysam or zam of Ysāmotika or Zāmotika is orginally the Iranian-Scythian word meaning earth and that Bhūmaka is its Sanskritised form. According to this view the Kṣatrapa genealogy will stand as under:

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                       Bhūmaka or Zāmotika
                                |
        _____|_____
        |                                               |
    Nahapāna                                         Castana
        |                                               |
        0                                           Jayadāman
                                                        |
                                                    Rudradāman
                                                        |
                                                       etc
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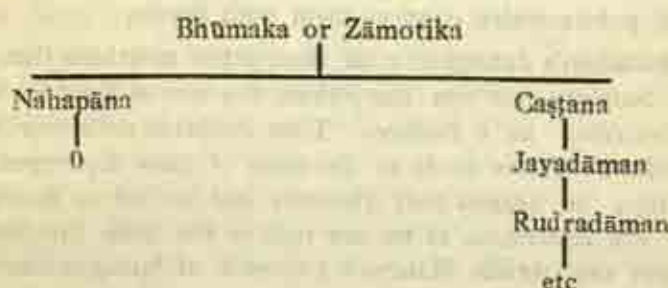
I think that this view is correct. These scholars have already advanced philological arguments in support of their view. I shall use another type of argument, which too, I think, is fairly conclusive. According to the story of Kālaka, Kālakācārya brought these Sakas from Iran to Kathiawad via Sind and Cutch. After coming to Kathiawad, he divided the whole of Kathiawad amongst the 96 Sāhis and put that Sāhi at whose court he had lived in Iran as the head of these Sāhis. I think that this Sahi who became the chief, was Bhūmaka or Zāmotika.[1] An old capital of Kathiawad

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1. The era used by these Kṣatrapas might have been the dynastic era of Bhūmaka, being counted from the first year of his accession on the throne in Iran. If so, he must have died soon after coming to India.

was named Ghumli. Today this Ghumli, which is a ruined village, is considered to have been the original capital of the Jeṭhvās of Porbandar in Kathiawad. In the inscriptions which have been found from this place, this Ghumli is named as Bhūmilikā. I think that this Bhūmilikā, was the capital of Bhūmaka, apparently named after him. Philologically it is easy to cannect Bhumilikā with Bhūmaka. But how can we explain the variant Ghumli? Ordinarily Gh and Bh do not interchange and yet why do we get two spellings of this place-like Ghumli and Bhūmilikā? Here I should point out that the name Ysāmotika or Zāmotika is found in the inscriptions, written as Ysāmotika as well as Ghsāmotika. Now as suggested by Sten Konow and others Bhūmaka and Ysā (Ghsā)motika are the names of the same person. Therefore, I suggest that Bhūmilikā is derivable from Bhūmaka and Ghumli is derivable from Ghsāmotika (Ghsāmotika - Ghammoḍiya - Ghummaliya - Ghūmli). If this view of mine about the founding of Ghumli - Bhumilikā by Ghsāmotika-Bhūmaka be correct,[1] then it follows that Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were brothers and it was this Bhūmaka at whose court Kālaka had lived in Iran.

(5) The names Rudradāman, Jayadāman etc have dāman-ending. Sten Konow has shown that this dāman is the same as Iranian daman (creation), dami (creator). I shall here point out another phonetic similarity. This ending dāman is also seen as demos in names like Euthy-demos (a Bactrian name). There is a Kṣatrapa name Dāmaśri, which phonetically is the same as Demo-cles (Dāma -sri), where s and k have interchanged according to the Palatal law. Similarly, the name Dāmajdasri can be compared with a name like Demosthecles (thus, Demo=Dama+Sthe=jda or sda+cles=sri). I take this word dāman or demos as the same as the Sanskrit word deva. Change of v and m is well-known. Demos is masculine and dāman is neuter and both of these are connected with deva. An Inscription of Uṣavadāta mentions a name like Mitradevaṇaka, which preserves devana-daman[2] almost intact. This name can easily be changed to Mithradāman or Mithrademos.

1. It is not impossible if some other village-names are derivable from original Persian names. Many out of the 96 Ṣāhis must have tounded cities atter their names.

2. The word demon seems to be the same as this 'devan'. It is already known that deva means demon in Iranian language. It will be interesting to trace the passage of this word demon to European countries.

Therefore, the names like Dāmaśri are mere Sanskritised trans-
literations of the original Iranian-Scythian names. This also
connects these Kṣatrapas with Iran.

(6) The ending rāta found in Kṣaharāta, the family name of
Nahapāna has been compared with Iranian rāda (caretaker). Though
Sten Konow takes Kṣaharāta as a title of an officer, I think it is
a proper name. The names with rāta-ending are not unknown to
us. Bhīṣma's name is given as Devarāta. The Bijayagadha Inscrip-
tion of Viṣṇuvardhana mentions names like Vyāghrarāta and
and Yaśorāta, which clearly shows that personal names ending in
rāta were known in India. But as rāta has no particular sense in
Sanskrit, such names have to be connected with some Iranian
dialect.[1]

(7) There is a noteworthy point about the coins of these
Kṣatrapas. It is found that on the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana.
both Nāgari and Kharoṣṭhi scripts are used, but on the coins of
subsequent Kṣatrapas only Nāgari is used, Kharoṣṭhi has altogether
disappeared. Now Kharoṣṭhi was regularly used in countries to
the North-west of India, If these Kṣatrapas originally came from
Iran (i. e. North-eastern Iran) they would be using Kharoṣṭhi there.
After coming to India, the first two Kṣatrapas used Kharoṣṭhi
along with Nāgari, but the later Kṣatrapas stopped using Kharoṣṭhi
altogether. Thus the fact that the first two Kṣatrapas have Kha-
roṣṭhi on their coins, shows that they originally came from those
regions where Kharoṣṭhi was current.

All these considerations show that these Western Kṣatrapas
were originally Iranian-Scythians.

Now, let us see if these Śaka Kṣatrapas originally migrated to
India in the days of Darius or not.

(1) The Greek historian Herodotus, who was a contemporary
of Darius and who had lived at his court, writes in his history:[2]

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of
Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which
is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into

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1. The ending rāta is, now, current amongst Abhiras of Cutch and Ka.
thiawad. The ending dāman is found in names like Śridāman, the famous
Ābhira friend of Kṛṣṇa. Even Parikṣit was called Viṣṇurāta.

2. *Ancient India as described by Herodotus and others* by MacCrindle, 1901,
p. 45.

sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Skylax of Caryanda (a fellow countryman of Herodotus). They accordingly, setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyia, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westward, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I, before, mentioned, to sail round Libya. *After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and* frequented the sea."

On this the writer in *Cambridge History of India* (I, p. 336) writes: "From the statement of Herodotus (IV, 44) it would appear that this achievement (Skylax' exploration of the Indus and the Arabian sea) was accomplished prior to the Indian conquest (of Darius) for he says that 'after they had sailed around, Darius conquered the Indians and made use of this sea [i. e. the Indian Ocean];' but it seems much more likely that Darius must previously have won by force of arms a firm hold over the territory traversed from the headwaters of the Indus to the ocean, in order to have been able to carry out such an expedition."

I fully agree with the last suggestion made above. This, therefore, means that Darius was already in possession of the Indian country upto the mouth of Indus i. e. of the whole of Sind. Then he sent Skylax for exploring the Indian ocean and then after Skylax had returned, he subdued the Indians. The whole of Sind was already under Darius, and I suggest that the Indian regions, which he conquered after this, must have been the regions of Cutch and Kathiawad. That Darius had not gone to the east of Sind is clear from the statement of Herododus that to the east was desert (i. e. Rajputana desert). Therefore, the Indian regions which Darius conquered, after he was in possession of the whole of Sind, should be to the south of Sind i. e. Cutch and Kathiawad; and these were the countries which came into the possession of the S'akas (i. e. Iranian S'akas who were subservient to Darius) who were brought by Kālaka.

My idea is this. Kālakācārya was living in the S'aka region to the east of Iran, from where the 96 Sāhis came with him to India. Kālaka had incited them to go to India; and when Darius was displeased with them, they agreed to go to India. But they were subservient to Darius, and if they agreed to go to India as the

Kṣatrapas of Darius, the latter might have even helped them. If so, the purpose of the exploration by Skylax, must have been to afford a route of retreat (in case of a possible defeat to these invaders.) In that case, the Indus expedition of Skylax might be taken as the direct result of Kālaka's visit to Iran. After the sea-route was thus made safe by Darius, these Sakas, along with Kālaka went to Cutch and Kathiawad and conquered these lands. In this case, since Bhūmaka, the chief of them, was already subservient to Darius, the first one or two generetions (say upto Caṣṭana, or Jayadāman) of these Sakas must have ruled in India as the Kṣatrapas of Darius.

Any way, the above passage of Herododus does suggest that Indian regions to the south of the mouth of Indus were subject to Darius, and therefore these Sakas might have been his Kṣatrapas.

(2) Again Herodotus writes: (*Cambridge History of India*, l, p 335): ' The population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people that we know; and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest — [the sum of] three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust." *The Cambridge History* writes, "This immense tribute was equivalent to over a million pounds sterling and the levy formed about one-third of the total amount imposed upon Asiatic provinces." Now if the Indian Satrapy of Darius included the eastern Punjab and Sind only as the modern historians believe, is it likely that such a huge sum could be paid to him as a tribute? Vincent Smith, in order to escape from this difficulty believes with others that 'owing to the changes in the course of the rivers since ancient times, vast tracts in Sind and the Punjab, now desolate, were, then rich and prosperous'. But there is no need for such a desperate supposition. According to Herodotus, the Indian Satrapy was the greatest both in population and in tribute. If the Indian Satrapy paid a tribute which was one-third of the total tribute of the Asiatic Satrapies, the Indian Satrapy should have roughly an area which would be about one-third of the total area of the Asiatic Satrapies. The Eastern Punjab and Sind would naturally not satisfy both the tests of area and richness of the Indian Satrapy. But if we once believe that the area ruled over by the Western Kṣatrapas formed the Indian Satrapy of Darius, we can, at once, justify the huge tribute as well as the huge population of the Indian Satrapy.

The whole question of the Indian Satrapy and Indian invasion of Darius quite fits in with the story of Kālakācārya.

(3) About the Indian regions lying outside the power of Darius, Herodotus writes thus, "they have also all the same tint of skin, which approaches that of the Euthiopean. This country is a long way from Persia towards the south; nor had king Darius any authority over them." Which is this Indian region, which was a long way from Persia towards the south and the people of which had the same skin-colour as the Euthiopeans? It cannot be Punjab or Sind, since they were already under Darius. It cannot refer to Cutch and Kathiawad, as the people of these regions are not as black as the Euthiopeans and as these countries cannot be considered very far from Persia. The rule of Nahapāna extended upto Nasik. Therefore if Nahapāna acknowledged the overlordship of Darius, the Indians outside his Indian Satrapy, would be to the south of Nasik; and this region can be described as lying a long way off to the south of Persia and the people of this region (Dravidians?) can be described to have black skin-colour like that of the Euthiopeans. This would, therefore, suggest that the suzereinty of Darius extended upto Nasik regions. This also fits in with the story of Kālaka.

(4) Naqsh–i–Rustum Inscription of Darius distinguishes the following three types of S'akas, all of whom were under him: — S'akāh Somavargāh, S'akāh Tigrakhaudāh and S'akāh Taradaryāh. So far the scholars take this third type of S'akas to be the S'akas who dwelt on the other side of Caspean sea, for which there is no ground. But I think that S'akāh Taradaryāh i. e. S'akas across the ocean, were the S'akas who came to India with Kālaka and who lived in Cutch and Kathiawad and for that reason could very appropriately be described as S'akas across the ocean i. e. Indian ocean. This, if true, conclusively proves that the Western Kṣatrapas were, at least, in the beginning, the Kṣatrapas of Darius.

Thus, to me, it seems likely that these Western Kṣatrapas were the S'akas who came to India along with Kālakācārya[1] and that

1. This explains the fact why some of the early Kṣatrapas had favoured Jainism. Jain works consider these S'akas as Jains. Uṣavadāta (see his Nasik inscription), it seems, followed Jainism. Nahapāna, too, seems to have taken to Jainism, though in the house of Caṣṭana, Rudradāman and others may not have taken to Jainism. That is why Nahapāna is mentioned as a separate king in Jain chronology. After the above considerations it will be easily conceded that Nahasena of the Jain chronology is the same as Nahapāna, particularly as he is mentioned along as Gardabhilla and Balamitra.Bhānumitra.

they came in the days of Darius who ruled from c. 526 to 486 B. C.

Therefore, Gardabhilla and Balamitra, who figure in Kālaka's story and who are mentioned in Jain chronology, must have lived in c. 520—500 B. C.

Having thus seen who Balamitra-Bhānumitra, Nahasena and Gardabhilla are and when they are to be placed, let us now see other Jain sources of chronology. One *Titthogoli Painnaya* we have already seen.

(2) A calculation is found in *Apāpapurikalpa* or *Pāvapurikalpa* of *Vividhatīrthakalpa.* (p. 38-39).

तत्थ मट्टी वरिसाणं पालयरुन्स रज्जं; पणपण्णं सयं नंदाणं; अट्ठोत्तरं सयं मोरियबंसाणं; तीसं पूसमित्तस्स; सट्ठी बलमित्त-भानुमित्ताणं; चालीसं नरवाहणस्स; तेरस गद्दभिल्लस्स; चत्तारि सगस्स । तओ विकमाइच्चो ।

According to this Pālaka ruled for 60 years (after Mahāvira's death), Nandas for 155 years, Moriyas for 108 years, Pusamitta for 30 years, Balamitra-Bhānumitra for 60 years, Naravāhana for 40 years, Gardabhilla for 13 years, Saka king for 4 years. And then came king Vikramāditya.

(3) Muni Kalyanavijaya has noted (*Nāgaripracāuṇi Sabha Patrika* X, p. 615) that in a ms. in his possession, the following is given.

श्रीवीर-निर्वाणात् विशालायां पालकराज्यं २० वर्षाणि । एतेन सहितं सर्व नन्दराज्यं १७८ । १०८ वर्षाणि मौर्यराज्य, वर्ष ३० पुष्यमित्राणां, बलमित्र-भानुमित्रराज्यं ६० वर्षाणि । दधिवाहनराज्यं ४० । तदा ४१६ । तदा च देवपत्तने चंद्रप्रभजिनभुवनं भवि-ष्यति । अथ गद्दभिल्लराज्यं वर्ष ४४, तदनु वर्ष ५० शकबंशाः राजानो जीवदयास्ता जिनभक्ताश्च भविष्यति । श्रीवीरात् ४७०

काळंतरेण केणवि उप्पाडिता सगाण तं वसं ।
होहा मालवगंया नामेण विकमाइदच्चो ॥ १
तो सतनवई बसा ९७ पालेही विकमो रज्जं
अरिणत्तणेण सोवि हु विदर संवत्सरं नियं ॥ २

श्रीवीरनिर्वाणात् ५५० विकमबंशस्तदनु ३८ अन्यो बंशः । श्रीवीरात् ६०५ शक-संवत्सरं :

According to this Pālaka ruled for 20 years (after the death of Mahāvira), Nandas for 158 years, Mauryas for 108 years, Puṣyamitra for 30 years, Balamitra-Bhānumitra for 60 years, Dadhivāhana for 40 years, Gardabhilla for 44 years, S'akas for 50 years, Vikrama for 97 years, kingless period for 38 years—then in 605 M. E. started Sāka Era of 78 A. D.

(4) Merutuṅga gives the following:

Pālaka for 60 years, Nandas for 158 years, Moriyas for 108 years, Puṣyamitras for 30 years, Balamitra-Bhānumitra for 60 years, Dadhivāhana 40 years, Gardabhilla for 44 years, Sakas for 50 years, Vikrama 97 years.

I shall now tabulate the result of these four sources.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pālaka	60	60	20	60
Nandas	150	155	158	158
Mauryas	160	108	108	108
Puṣya.	35	30	30	30
Ba–Bh.	60	60	60	60
Naha.[1]	40	40	40	40
Garda.	100 ̅605̅	13	44	44
Saka	(Came Saka)	4 ̅470̅	10[2]	10
Vikrama	—	Came V	97	97
Blank	—	—	38 ̅605	38 ̅605

Thus in these lists we find three names—Balamitra-Bhānumitra, Nahasena and Gardabhilla—who figure in the Kālaka story. But the point to be noted is this. According to that story, first ruled Gardabhilla, Balamitra-Bhānumitra was his contemporary and possibly ruled for some time after his death and Nahapāna difinitely ruled after Gardabhilla's death. Therefore if these three names refer to Kālaka story, the name Gardabhilla should be put first and then the name of Nahapāna should be placed; Balamitra-Bhā-

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1. The names Nahasena, Naravāhana, Dadhivāhana apparently refer to the same person i.e. to Nahapāna. Dadhi is a mistake. Nara should be Naha.

2. 50 in the text is a clear mistake for 10.

numitra will be a contemporary of both Gardabhilla and Nahapāna.
And yet we find the above sources putting Gardabhilla last. But
I must point out that other sources give the correct order. There
are two other sources known to me, which are as under:

(5) There is a Jain work called *Trailokya Prajnapti* of Yati-
vṛṣbha (6th cent A. D.). It says:

जं काले बीरजिणो णिस्सेयसंपयं समावण्णो ।
तक्काले अभिसित्तो पालय णामो अवतिसुवो ॥ ९९
पालकरज्जं सट्ठि इगसिय पणवण्ण विजयवंसभवा ।
णालं मुरुदयवंसा तीसं वस्सा हु पुस्समित्तम्मि ॥ ९६
वसुमित्तअग्गिमित्ता सट्ठी गंधव्वया वि सयमेकं ।
नरवाहणो च चालं

This gives 60 years for Pālaka, 155 for Vijaya dynasty, 40 for
Murudaya dynasty, 30 for Pussamitta, 60 for Vasumitta-Aggimitta,
100 for Gandhavvaya and 40 for Nahapāna.

(6) *Harivaṃsapurāṇa* of Jinasenasuri has (60th sarga).

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽत्राभिषि यते ।
लोंकेऽवतिसुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालक: ॥ 487
षष्ठिर्वर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विषयभू ꠰=म् ।
शतं च पंचपंचाशद्वर्षाणि तदुदीरितम् ॥　488
चत् रिंशत्मुरुडानां भूमं लम खडि ꠰म् ।
त्रिशतु पुष्यमित्राणां षष्टिवस्वग्निमित्रयो: ॥ 489
शतं रासभराजानां नरवाहनस्य तत:
चत्वारिंशत्ततो　　　　　490

This is the same as (5). Only, here Vijaya is changed to
Viṣaya, Murudaya to Muraḍha and Gandhavvaya to Rāsbha. If
we equate Vijayas with Nandas and Murudayas with Mauryas we
get the following consolidated table for all the six sources noted
above.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5-6)	
Pālaka	60	60	20	60	60	
Nandas	150	155	158	158	155	
Mauryas	160	108	108	108	40	
Puṣya	35	30	30	30	30	
	405	353	316	356	285	
Ba-Bh. Va-Agni.	60	60	60	60	60	
	465	413	376	416	345	
Naha.	40	40	40	40	40	order
	505	453	416	456		reversed
Garda.	100	13	44	44	100	in (5.6)
	605	466	460	500	485	
Saka	——	4	10	10	10	
		470	470	510		
Vikrama	——	——	97	97		
Blank	——	——	38	38		
			605			

Any one who studies this Jain chronology, will at once find that this chronology tries to arrive at the period that elapsed from Mahāvīra's death to the coming of the Sakas. But in the above sources, we find various figures like 605, 466, 460, 500 and 485 years for this period. This confusion, I think, is due to the later Jain chronologists having adjusted the chronology at a later date, not understanding the reference to the arrival of the Sakas, correctly. In fact, we find three distinct references to the Sakas in our ancient literature.

(1) Sakas were brought by Kālakācārya. These Sakas came just at the end of the rule of the Gardabhilla king.

(2) Vikrama, the founder of the era of 56 B. C. is taken to have been the vanquisher of the Sakas. Therefore, Sakas might be taken to have come some time before Vikrama.

(3) The Era of 78 A. D. is called a Saka Era and it might be taken to have been established by a Saka king, who came from outside.

Therefore, if the chronological calculations have to be brought down to the point when the Sakas came to India, they might be brought (1) upto the end of Gardabhilla, (2) upto 56 B. C. or (3) upto 78 A. D. And this is what we find in the

above sources, (1) stops at the end of Gardabhilla, though it carries the end upto 78 A. D. (2) stops at the accession of Vikrama and thus puts the end of Gardabhilla in 60 B C. (3) and (4) seem to have once stopped at the accession of Vikrama, but, now, come down to 78 A. D. (5) and (6) put the end of Gardabhilla in 445 M. E. i. e. 528 — 445=43 B. C. But, I think, these confused calculations are due to later adjustments.

I think that, at first, these Jain caculations had stopped at the date when Sakas who were brought by Kālaka, came to India. But in later times, the historical memory of these earlier Sakas having been lost, the later chronologists tried to adjust the chronology handed down to them from the point of view of 56 B. C or 78 A. D., misunderstanding one or the other as the date meant for the arrival of the Sakas. If so, what must have been the earlier calculation ? This can be determined if we can know the date of Kālakācārya. Fortunalely, Jain literature has preserved his date, though here, too, there have been confusions, as we find 3 or 4 different dates given for him. Earlier, I have taken Kālaka to have flourished in the days of Darius i. e. in about 522 B. C. Let us see how the matter stands in Jain literature.

Sthavirāvali or Yugapradhānapaṭṭāvali has the following gāthās (as quoted by Muni K. in Nagari Pr. Sabhā Patrikā, X. p. 655).

सिरि बीराउ सुहम्मो बीस॑ चउत्तत॑वास ज॑बुस्स ।
पभवगारस सिज्ज॑ भवस्स तेबीस वासाणि ।
पन्नास जसोभद्दे स॑भूहस्सट्ठु भद्दबाहुस ।
नउदस च थूलभद्दे पणयालेव॑ दु॑भरस ।
अज्जमहागिरि तीस॑ अज्जसुहत्थीण बरिस छायाला ।
गुणसु॑दर चहसाला एव॑ तिसया पण्त्तीसा ।
ततो एगतालीस॑ निगोयचक्खाय कालिगायरिओ ।
अद्द॑तीस॑ ख॑डिल (स॑दिल) एव॑ चउइस चउदस य ।
रेवइमित्ते छसत्ती अज्जम॑गू अ बीस एव॑ तु ।
नउसय सत्तरि नउसय तिपन्ने कालगो जाओ ।
चउबीस अज्ज धम्मे ऐगुणयालीस भद्गुत्ते अ ।
सिरिगुत्ति पनर बद्दरे छत्तीस॑ एव॑ पणचुलसी ।
तेरस वासा सिरि अज्जरक्खए बीस पूसमित्तस्स ।
इल्लस पणहिअ छसरासु सागस॑वच्छस॑पत्तो ।

These verses give two dates for Kālakācārya. Once Kālaka is definitely described as Yugapradhāna from 335 — 376 M. E. and then it is said that Kālaka was born (or flourished = Jāo) in 453 M. E. This line is a clear interpolation as will be seen from the context.

Further we have the following four gāthās in *Ratnasañcaya* (Muni K's article, p. 649).

सिरिवीराओ गएसु पणतीसहिएसु तिसय (३३५) वरिसेसु ।
पढमो कालग्सूरी जाओ सामज्जनामुत्ति ॥ ५५
चउसथतिपन्न (४५३) वरिसे कालगगुरूणा सरस्सरी महिआ ।
नउसयसत्तरि वरिसे वीराओ विक्कमो जाओ ।
पं चेव य वरिमसए सिद्धसेणो दिवायरो जाओ ।
सत्तसयवीस (७२०) अहिए कालिग्गुह सक्कस थुणिओ । ५७
नवसयतेण उएहिं (९९३) समइक्कंतेहि वद्दमाणाओ
पन्ज्जोसाबणचउत्थी कालकसूरिहि तो ठविओ ।

This puts Kālaka in 335, 453, 720 and 993 M. E. Out of these four dates, the first two are found in the *Yugapradhānapaṭṭāvali* also. From these dates, it is generally believed that there have been four different Kālakācāryas at these four different dates. Muni K takes two Kālakas flourished in 335 and 453 M. E. as distinct and doubts the existence of Kālakācāryas who are said to have flourished in 720 M. E. and 993 M. E.

Now I think that the dates 335, 453 and 720 M E. refer to one and the same Kālakācārya, only the date 993 M. E. refers to a distinct Kālaka. As is noted by Muni K, Paṭṭāvalis put one Kālaka as Yugapradhāna from 981—993 M.E. Therefore, this Kālaka was Yugapradhāna for 12 years, whereas the earlier Kālaka of 335 M. E. is distinctly said to have been Yugapradhāna for 41 years. 981 M.E. will give 981–528=453 A.D. This Kālaka of 981 M.E. is said to have been a contemporary of king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura, while the earlier Kālaka was a contemporary of Gardabhilla and Balamitra-Bhānumitra. Therefore I take Kālaka of 981 M E. to be distinct and put him from 453 A.D. to 465 A.D. The other three dates in my opinion refer to the same Kālaka.

Kālaka of 453 M E. is taken as Gardabhillo cchedaka by all. There is a Gāthā in a Pariśiṣṭa of *Vicārasreṇi* which runs thus:

सिरिवीरजिणिंदाओ वरिसमा तिन्निबीस (३२०) अहियाओ ।
कालयमूरि जाओ सक्को पडिवोहिओ जेण ॥

This Gāthā puts Kālaka in 320 M.E. and describes him as one who taught Sakra. Kālaka of 325 M.E. also is described as Nigoda-vyākhāta and as one who had taught Sakra. Similarly, Kālaka of 720 M.E. is described as Sakkasanthunio (Srkrasanstuta), which also would refer to the same Kālaka. Thus Kālaka of 335 (320) and 720 M.E. are identical. I think that Kālaka of 453 M.E. is also the same as above two. The refrence to Kālaka teaching the Sakra may really be to his teaching the Saka king, Saka being wrongly taken as Sakra in later times. Thus I take these three dates to refer to one and the same Kālaka, only in my opinion, they are based on different calculations. I shall explain how.

I have already shown that real date of Mahāvira's death was 2051 B. C. and that this date was brought down by not counting either the three republican periods of 350, 300, 120 years or by not counting 653 or 753 years of Kali adjustment. Now taking that the date of 720 M. E. for Kālaka represents an earlier calculation made before 78 A. D. (after which date the Kali adjustment of 653 years was made) and taking that the other two dates represent calculations made after 78 A. D., let us examine these dates. I put Mahāvira's death in 2051 B. C. But if the three republican periods amounting in all to 770 years are not counted, Mahāvira's death will be placed in 2051 − 770 = 1281 B. C. According to this date Kālaka lived in 1281 − 720 = 561 B. C. Again if 420 years of the last two republi-can periods as well as 653 or 753 years of Kali adjustment are not counted, we get 2051 − (653 + 420 =)1073 = 978 B. C. or 2051 (753 + 420 =)1173 = 878 B. C. as the dates of Mahāvira's death. Now taking that the date 453 M. E. for Kālaka is based on 978 B. C. as Mahāvira's death, we get 978 − 453 = 525 B. C. as the date of Kālaka. And taking that 335 M. E. for Kālaka is based on 878 B. C. as Mahāvira's death, we get, 878 − 335 = 543 B. C. as Kālaka's date.

Thus we get 525 B. C., 543 B. C. and 561 B. C. as the dates of Kālaka and I suggest that 561 B. C. was the date of Kālaka's birth, 543 B. C. as the date of his dikṣā and 525 B. C. as the date of his getting sūripada or ācāryapada. And if he was yugapradhāna for 40 years as he is said to be in the Paṭṭāvali, he must have died in 525 − 41 = 484 B. C. at the age of 77 years. That the date 525 B. C. which

according to me is based upon 453 M. E. as the date of Kālaka is the date of his getting ācāryapada is clearly stated by Merutuṅga in his *Vicārasreṇi*:—

अस्मिध वर्षे गर्दभिल्लोच्छेदकस्य श्रीकालकाचार्यस्य सूरिपदप्रतिष्ठाभूत् । (Muni K's article p. 650)

Any way, even if Kālakas of 335 M. E. and 720 M. E. were different persons, we are concerned with Kālaka of 453 M. E., as he is unanimonsly taken as the uprooter of Gardabhilla. And this Kālaka became ācārya in 453 M. E., which according to me corresponds to 525 B. C.

Now our sourece (2) above, puts the period of Gardabhilla from 453 M. E. to 466 M. E. Therefore, Kālaka must have uprooted Gardabhilla in 466 M. E. (i. e. 512 B. C.) i. e. 13 years after he became the ācārya. Accordingly, I reconstruct the period of these 13 years thus. Sometime after 453 M. E. i. e. 525 B. C. Kā'aka reached Ujjain. Then his sister was molested by Gardabhilla. Thereafter Kālaka left Ujjain and first went to Balamitra-Bhānumitra, his nehew and after that he went to Iran. He must have reached Iran in c. 515 B. C. He lived there for two years and brought the Sakas to Kathiawad in 513-12 B. C. And then in 512 B. C. he uprooted Gardabhilla and put the Saka king—either Bhūmaka or his son Nahapāna on the throne of Ujjain. He then, remained as ācārya and presumably as the religious and political adviser of the Saka kings at Ujjain upto 484 B. C. in which year he died.

Therefore, so far as Gardabhilla's period is concerned, our source (2) seems to preserve correct tradition. But it has put the period of Balamitra-Bhānumitra and Nahasena earlier than that of Gardabhilla. Why is this so? My suggestion is this. The last Gardabhilla had ruled for 13 years, but before him the Gardabhilla dynasty had lasted for 100 years i. e. altogether the dynasty lasted for 113 years. If so, originally, after Puṣyamitra, at whom the total comes to 353, 100 years of Gardabhilla dynasty must have been put and after these 100 years 13 years more of the last Gardabhilla king must have been put. And this break in the Gardabhilla dynasty must have led to confusion. Thinking that there cannot be two Gardabhilla periods, one of 100 years and another of 13 years, (2) kept the last 13 years and for the earlier 100 years it put the names of Balamitra-Bhānumitra and Nahapāna. If so, the earlier chronology must have stood thus.

Pälaka   60
Nandas   155
Mauryas 108
Pusya.   30
         ———
         353

Gardabhilla (100)   B-B (60)   Nahasena (40)
Last Gar.   (13)

The rule of Ba-Bh must have been contemporaneous with the last Gardabhilla or slightly longer than his end. Nahasena i. e. Nahapāna had definitey come after the last Gardabhilla, but might have ruled contemporaneously with Ba-Bh for some years. As the total of Ba-Bh and Nahasena came to 100 years, exactly the same number as the period of the earlier Gardabhillas, it was easy to change the names. Thus this source put Ba-Bh and Nahasena in place of the earlier Gardabhillas, assigned to them 100 years (60 + 40) and gave only 13 years to Gardabhilla. Thus we can explain source (2)[1]. According to this calculation Sakas came in 466 M. E.

But when at a later date they took Saka to have come in 78 A. D., they wanted 605 M. E. to be the years in which Sakas came, i. e. they wanted 605—466=139 years more. What they did was this. They took 100 years for Gardabhillas and placed them after Nahasena. Then they omitted 13 years of the last Gardabhilla. Thus they still wanted 39 + 13 = 52 years more. These they obtained arbitrarily by adding 52 to the period of the Mauryas. Thus they get 605 M. E. as the date of Saka-arrival. Thus we can explain the first two columns.

(3) and (4) seem to have adjusted from the point of view of 56 B. C. i. e. they took the Sakas to be those who were supposed to have been defeated by Vikrama of 56 B. C. So they wanted in all 470 years after Mahāvira's death. In (2), the total at the end of Gardabhilla had come to 466. Some one added 4 years for the Sakas and brought the total to 470. But (3) and (4) take 44 for Gardabhilla, neither 100 nor 13. They also took, for some reason 158 instead of 155 for Nandas. Thus they took 31+3=34 years

1. It should be here remembered that accoroing to the modern historians Darius had conquered India in c, 512 B. C. (See *History of Persia* by P. M. Sykes 1915, P. 179) which date is thus corroborated by this Jain calculation.

more than (2). They also gave 6 more to the Sakas and made up the round number $34+6=40$, which they deducted from 60 of Pālaka. Therefore (4) should have 20 for Pālaka and not 60, which is a clear mistake.

(5) and (6) are based on a different consideration.

Now let us look at this from another angle. Originally the date of Kālaka's getting ācāryapada must have been $2051-525=1526$ M. E. and not 453 M. E.. But when M. E. itself was brought down, they brought down this date also to 453 M. E. In other words, they brought down the date of Kālaka from 1526 M. E. to 453 M. E. because the intial date of M. E. itself was proportionately brought down by them i. e. from 2057 B. C. to 978 B. C. But at a later date when they further adjusted the date of Mahāvira's death by deducting 350 years and brought it down to $978-350=528$ B. C. they should have proporationately adjusted Kālaka's date also; but they did not do so. They kept 453 M. E. as Kālaka's date or they kept 466 M. E. as the date of the arrival of Sakas. Now this 466 M. E., would be too temptingly near the date of Vikrama i, e., 56 B. C., which will be placed in 470 M. E. according to the latest adjustment in M. E. Thus they connected Sakas of Kālaka, with Vikrama and related the date of Kālaka (i. e. Gardabhilla etc) to Vikrama. At a still later date, by a further misapprehnsion, they related the same dates to 78 A. D. This I think is the genesis of this Jain chronology.

But (5) and (6) sources in our Table, preserve a slightly different chronology. They agree in the order of giving the dynasties upto Balamitra-Bhānumitra for which joint name, however (5) and (6) give the joint name of Vasumitra-Agnimitra. After this joint name they give Gardabhilla and then Naravāhana. The point to be noted is this. Whereas others stop at Gardabhilla and then talk of Saka, Vikrama and the Saka of 78 A.D., these two sources put first Gardabhilla and then Naravāhana. Then they proceed as under

(5)   चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्राभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् । ४९०
        भद्रबाणस्य सद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम्
        एकविंशद्¹ वर्षाणि कालविट्ठिहृदाहृतम् ॥ ४९१
        द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कलिकराजस्य राजता ।   जनहरिवंश

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1. This gives 221 years for the Guptas. (6) gives 251 for the Guptas. But 94 verse of (6) which is not quoted here gives 255 years for the Guptas.

(6) नरबाहणो च चाळ ततो भत्थइणा[1] जादा ॥ ९७
भत्थइणाणो कालो दोण्णि सयाइं हवंति बादाला ।
ततो गुत्ता ताणं रज्जो झण्णसय।णि एगितीसा ॥ ९८
ततो कढी जादो इदमुदो तस्स चउमुहो णामो ।
सत्तरिवरिसा आउ° बिगुणिय इगवीस रज्जतो ॥ ९९

Trailokya Prajnapti

This gives us the following chronology:

Pālaka	60
Nandas	155
Mauryas	40
Puṣyamitra	30
Vas–Ag	60
Rāsabha i. e. Garda.	100
Naravāhana	40
Bhadravāna or Bhacchaṭṭhaṇā	242
Guptas	231, 221, 255
Kalki	42
	1,000

Now, here, immediately after Gardabhilla is put Naravāhana,
who is the same as Nahasena or Nahapāna. After Nahapāna are
put Bhacchaṭṭhaṇā, who evidently are Caṣṭanas.[2] And after the
Caṣṭanas are put the Guptas. Thus this tradition differs from the
other sources. The reason is simple. Other sources, not under-
standing the Sakas correctly, talk after Gardabhilla of Vikrama
and Saka of 78 A. D., (5) and (6) preserve the correct order. They
put Napapāna after Gardabhilla, which as we have seen from
Kālaka story, is the correct position of Nahapāna. This order
preserved, here, shows that Nahapāna and other Sakas succeeded
Gardabhilla and it becomes clear that they were the Sakas who
were brought by Kālaka for uprooting Gardabhilla. After Nahapāna

1. This is also spelt as भच्छइणा.

2. Caṣṭana is used as a dynastic term. Even Ptolemy has used the term
in the dynastic sense and not as a personal name. It would mean that in
his days (in 1st century A. D.) some descendent of Caṣṭana was ruling in Ujjain.
I think that though Sakas were defeated by Ch II. in about 219 B. C., there is
a possibility of their rule at Ujjain in c. 125 A. D.

these sources put Castanas. This shows that after Nahapāna his line stopped, but the line of his brother Castana continued. Harivañśa names these Castanas as Bhadravāṇa, which apparently, seemes to be a corrupt reading for Rudradāma or Rudravāhana, the grandson of Gastana.

These sources give, after Gardabhilla, 40 years for Nahapana's period and 242 years for the period of Castanas. After Castanas they put the Guptas for whom a rule of 221 or 231 or 255 years is given. It should be noted that Vikrama of 56 B. C. has no place in this chronology and that is natural as according to my scheme. Vikrama came after the Guptas.

The correct historical sequence will be this. Gardabhilla was killed in c. 512 B. C. After him the western Kṣatrapas are said to have ruled for (40 years for Nahapāna + 242 years for Castanas i.e.) 282 years. Therefore the Western Kṣatrapas would end in 512 — 282 = 230 B. C. Now according to me the Gupta Era started in c. 312 — 10 B. C. Therefore Ch II's rule will extend from c. 242 — 245 B. C. to 211 — 209 B. C. Thus the date 230 B. C. will fall in the reign-period of Ch II. And the scholars, now, believe that the W. Kṣatrapas were crushed by Ch. II. Therefore, these sources preserve a very important chronological date for us, though the system followed has all the artifical traits of MCM. For Castanas and Guptas were contemporaries for some years, but, here, they are shown as lineal, because these sources wanted to make up 1000 years for the date of Kalki as they wanted to put him in 1000 M. E. I shall soon consider who this Kalki was, but just now, I shall talk of some incidental matters. The start of Castanas is put 242 years before the rise of the Guptas. I just explanied the 282 years (40 + 242) of the Sakas differently. It is also possible to explain them in another manner. According to me Guptas started in c. 312 — 10 B. C. Now 242 from 312 — 310 B. C. will put the start of the Castanas in 554–552 B. C. This is the Saka era of which we have already talked of. These Jain sources take Nahapāna as a separate king. So Castanas may be taken as Sakas proper and if the start of the Saka era (of c. 552 B. C.) was misunderstood to have been with Castana rather than with Bhūmaka as I have suggested, 242 years have to be between the rise of the Castanas and the rise of the Guptas. This, as it were, says that the Guptas came 242 years after the start of the Sakas or Sakakāla. Now, here, one would be at once, reminded of Alberunis' statement that

the epoch of the Guptas fell 241 years later than Sakakāla. It only means that the statement of Alberuni was based on some such statement as we find in our sources (5) and (6). If so, it is clear that Sakakāla meant by him is not the Saka era of 78 A. D.

But it will be objected that I have put the start of the rule of Sakas in India in 512 B. C. Thereafter Nahapāna should have ruled for 242 years. That is what seems to be the case from (5) and (6) above. That is how I explained (5) and (6) earlier. But it is not correct. It is the usual artifical MCM way of putting it. We know that the last known date of Nahapāna is 46 i.e. Nahapāna had ruled upto about the 46th year of the era which these Sakas were following. Therefore his rule could not have been of 40 years. If he ruled upto 46 Saka Era, he must have died in 552—46 = 506 B. C. i. e. his rule in India as a king could not have been of more that 6 or 7 years. So, 40 years given to him are artificially given. Similarly, 242 years given to Caṣṭanas may not be the correct number, though it is almost correct. But this number fits in here in two ways. 242 years from Sakakāla (552 B.C.) brings us to the start of the Guptas (310 B.C.). 242 years+40 years of Nahapāna, counted from 512 B.C. (the start of the Sakas in India) bring us to 219-220 B.C., the date in which the Sakas are likely to have been defeated by Ch II. Another consideration also supports this. I have said that the Sakas ruled for 282 years from 512 B.C. i.e. it can also be said that the Sakas ruled for 310 (552-242) years from the start of Saka era of 552 B.C. That is they ruled upto 330 Saka era of 552 B.C. And we know that the last known date of the W. Kṣatrapas is 31X of their era. That would mean that no coins or inscriptions of these Kṣatrapas have been found for the last 10 or 12 years of their rule.

Now let us consider the position of the Guptas according to these considerations. For the Guptas we get in these sources 221, 231 and 255 years. Therefore the end of the Guptas will be put in c. (312—221=) 91 B.C. or c. (312—231=)81 B.C. or in c. 312—255)= 57 B.C.

Now let us consider the reference to Kalki in these sources. These sources put the end of Kalki's period in 990 or 1000 M.E. Muni K has collected some other references to Kalki's date. I shall give them here (See Muni K's article p. 621)

(1) According to *Titthogoli* Kalki was born in Pāṭaliputra in 1928 M.E. or in Śaka Era 1323.

(2) According to *Kālasaptatikā* 1912 M. E. is the date of Kalki's birth. This source gives three names of Kalki — 1. Kalki. 2. Rudra and 3. Caturmukha.

(3) *Dīpamālākalpa* of Jinasundarasuri gives 1914 M. E. as the date of Kalkı's birth. It is said in this source that Kalki was the son of Yaśa and Yaśodā.

(4) *Dīpamālākalpa* of Upādhyāya Kṣamākalyāṇa gives 475 M. E. as the date of Vikrama and puts Kalki's birth 124 years after Vikrama.

(5) *Tiloyasāra* says that Śaka king flourished in 605 M. E. and Kalki was born 394 years after that.

(6) *Dīpālikākalpa* of Jinasundara gives 2000 M. E. as the date of Kalki's death at the age of 86.

(7) One other source also gives 2000 M. E. as the date of Kalki's death.

Thus we get the following dates for Kalki.

Birth in 599, 1000, 1912, 1914, 1928 M. E.

Death in 2000 M. E. at the age of 86.

Now if we take 528 B. C. as the date of the start of M. E., as is, now, usually done we shall get 71 A. D., 472 A. D., 1384 A. D., and 1400 A. D. as the date for Kalki's birth and 1472 A. D. as the date of his death. Now the last three dates are not at all possible for Kalki, as Pāṭaliputra was non-existent in those days. Moreover sources (5) and (6) put Kalki soon after the Guptas. None of these dates comes immediately after the Guptas. I, therefore, offer another explanation.

If we take 1912, 1914 or 1928 M. E. as the date of Kalki's birth, we get, according to my date of Mahāvīra's death, 2051 — 1912 = 139 B. C. or 137 B. C. or 123 B. C. as the date of Kalki's birth. (4) above gives 124 years after Vikrama as the date of his birth. I think that this Vikrama is not the Vikrama of 56 B. C., but is Vikrama Ch. II. I put Ch. II 's acc. in c. 256 B. C. Accordingly Kalki's birth will be placed in c. 256 — 194 = 132 B. C. (5) above is apparently wrongly arrived at as it gives 394 years between the end of Śakas and the *birth* of Kalki. Our earlier sources

(5) and (6) put 221 or 231 or 255 + 42 i. e. maximum 297 years between the end of the Sakas and the *death* of Kalki. This source (5) has first wrongly understood the reference to Saka as to Saka era of 78 A. D. and then, in order to make up 1000, has given 394 years. Thus it is wholly unreliable.

Thus we get the following four dates for the birth of Kalki—123, 132, 137 and 139 B. C. For his death we get one date i. e. 2000 M. E., which according to me, will be 2051 − 2000 = 51 B. C. But we should remember that 2000 as well as 1000 are round numbers and are likely to be correct approximately.

If this interpretation of mine has any value then it means that these sources put Kalki between c. 139 B. C., and c. 51 B. C., and further that the Guptas flourished immediately *before* this Kalki.

Now I beg to submit that all these calculations suggest that Vikrama of 56 B. C. is taken by the Jains as Kalki.

Later (Part Four) I shall show that Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman of the Mandasor Inscription is to be put in c. 90 B. C. In that connection I shall also show, giving reasons, that Vikrama of 56 B. C. is the same as Harṣa(Vardhana) Vikramāditya of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇi. I will further suggest that this Harṣa (Vardhana) Vikramāditya might have been the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana whose title, in that case, might have been Mahendrāditya. And I have shown that Kalhaṇa's Harṣa had died in 56 B. C.

Here we find the end of the Guptas, according to one view placed in 56 B. C. One verse of *Trailokya Prajnapti* gives 255 years to the Guptas, i.e. Gupta-end will be in c. 312−255=57 B. C. Now let us remember that Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman was, at first, in the service of the Guptas, as the expression guptanātha in his inscription clearly, indicates. Therefore I would call these two kings —Viṣṇuvardhana and Harṣa(vardhana) — by the name of Guptabhṛtya; and I suggest that it is not unlikely if from this point of view, they were considered as Guptas and thus Gupta rule was considered to have lasted upto the death of Harṣa Vikrama. That is why we find 255 years given to the Guptas, which brings their close to 56 B.C.

Again we should note that these Jain traditions as interpreted by me seem to put Kalki's birth in c. 140 B.C. and his death in c. 50 B.C. Therefore the time of Kalki tallies with the time of

Harṣa Vikrama. That is why I say that the Jains seem to have taken Harṣa Vikrama as Kalki. *Dīpamālakalpa* of Jinasundara (as quoted above) says that Kalki was born of Yaśa and Yaśodā. *Titthogoli Painnaya*, as quoted earlier calls Kalki to have been the son of Indra. Now as I have suggested Harṣa Vikrama was the son of Viṣṇuvardhana Yaśodharman. Most probably Yaśa of Jinasena is this Yaśodharman, and if he had the title of Mohendrāditya as I have suggested, we can explain the statement of *Titthogoli* that Kalki was the son of Indra. Thus all the considerations point to Harṣa Vikrama as having been taken by the Jains as Kalki.

But there are one or two considerations which go against this identification of Kalki and Harṣa. (1) Jain works say that Kalki's name was Rudra or Caturmukha and that he ruled at Pāṭaliputra. Harṣa is not known to have these names nor is he known to have ruled at Pāṭaliputra. (2) Again, Jains seem to consider Harṣa Vikrama of 56 B.C. as a patron of their religion, while if he was Kalki, he should have been an oppressor of the Jains. These objections are there but they can be satisfactorily explained.

We find Purāṇas talking of a Kalki as also the Jain works talking of a Kalki. Now Kalki, to the Brahmanas, was a saviour of their religion as he opposed the heterodox faiths of Buddhism and Jainsim, to the followers of which he would look an oppressor. But the Kalki of the Purāṇas is not the Kalki of the Jains. We have seen how the Puranic tradition puts Kalki in the days of Viśākhayūpa. Now Viśākhayūpa came soon after Pālaka at whose accession, Mahāvīra died. Therefore Puranic Kalki flourished within 50 or 60 years of the death of Mahāvīra. Therefore, he cannot have been the Kalki of the Jains who put him sereral hundred years after the death of Mahāvīra. Consider along with this one other point. According to Jain traditions, there came one Kalki every 1000 years after the death of Mahāvīra. And this seems to be based on some fact. Kalki, in this context, means one who supported Brahmanism and opposed Buddhism and Jainism. Now one such Kalki—the Puranic Kalki — came immediately after Mahāvīra's death. That is Kalki no. 1. Now, according to my scheme, 1000 years from Mahāvīra's death will bring us to 2051 − 1000 = 1051 B. C. The figure 1000 is a round uumber, therefore this date 1051 B.C. will necessarily be approximate. I have placed Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's period from 1113 B. C. to 1053 B. C. Therefore, it seems likely that Kalki of the Jains, who came about 1000 years after Mahāvīra was Puṣya-

mitra Sunga. Muni K has tried to show in his paper that the Kalki of the Jains was Puṣyamitra Sunga. and it seems that he is right. Therefore Puṣyamitra Sunga will be Kalki no. 2. Again 1000 years after Puṣyamitra will bring us to $1053 - 1000 = 53$ B. C. Here also we should remember that 1000 is a round number, therefore Kalki no. 3 will come in about 53 B. C. Earlier we have seen 56 B. C. to have been the date of the end of Kalki's period as well as the date of Harṣa Vikrama's death. Therefore Harṣa Vikrama will be Kalki no. 3.

Thus we get traditions about three different Kalkis and it is likely that incidents and names connected with one Kalki might be ascribed to another Kalki. Thus the name Rudra or Caturmukha might have been the name of Puranic Kalki (no. 1), Puṣyamitrā (no. 2.) was ruling at Pātaliputra. And both these might have been ascribed to Kalki no. 3. Again it is true that the Jains take Vikrama of 56 B. C. as their patron. But it is well-known that Vikrama of 56 B. C. (i. e. Harṣa Vikrama) was a keen follower and supporter of Brahmanism also. In fact, as the Jain tradition itself has preserved, it was only after Vikrama came in contact with Siddhasena Divākara that he became interested in Jainism. Before that he seems to have been apathetic to Jainism and Buddhism. And at that time the Jains might have taken him as a Kalki, and we do find that the tradition preserved in Jain *Harivaṁsa* and *Titthogoli* just stops at Vikrama of 56 B. C. i. e. at Kalki. That means that it is the earlier view about Vikrama. After his death Jains seem to have taken him as their patron. Any way, my interpretation of Jain chronology, coupled with my scheme for general Indian chronology, leads me to believe that Kalki, who has been put immediately after the Guptas by the above Jain sources, is Harṣa Vikrama.

We find two sources putting the death of Kalki (i. e. Harṣa Vikrama as I identify him) in c. 2000 M. E. i. e. according to me in c. ($2051 - 2000 =$)51 B. C. And I place the death of Harṣa Vikrama in 56 B. C. Again we find one source putting the end of Kalki's period in 990 and another in 1000 M. E. These dates are apparently based upon 1048 B. C. as the date of Mahāvira's death. Therefore, even according to these two views Kalki's death will be in 48 B. C. or 58 B. C. and I have put it in 56 B. C.

This is my explanation of the Jain chronology as I have found preserved in the above various sources. According to this, the

Jain chronology puts the start of Saka Era in c. 554—2 B.C., start of the Gupta Era in c. 312—10 B. C. (242 years after the Sakas), end of the main Guptas in (312 — 221 =) c. 91 B. C. or in (312 — 231) = c. 81 B. C. and the end of the Guptabhṛtyas (i. e. Viṣṇuvardhana and Harṣa Vikrama) in c. 56 B.C. In this way the Jain chronology fully supports my general scheme of Indian chronology.

III

In connection with this Jain chronology, which we have been considering so far, I shall like to draw the attention of scholars to some other Non-Jain sources.

Dr. P. C. Bagchi, in his article on 'A new source of the Political History of Kāmarūpa' (*IHQ*, XVIII, 3, p. 231 ff) draws our attention to a Buddhist Tantric text entitled *Haragaurīsaṁvāda* (= *HGS*). He has translated the following account from this text (p. 234).

"The pious Yudhiṣṭhira is (the first) king in the Kali age: He will reign for 1412 years. Then will come the Nandas, who will reign for 500 years. They will be followed by the Gautamas who will reign for 400 years. After them the Mayūras will reign for 132 years. They will be followed by Pancasama (tr. Pāṇḍavas) who will reign for 105 years. Then will reign the Saka kings, possessed with all good qualities. The sun of the Saka (Sakāditya) will be king in Kali year 3179. The Saka kings will reign for 180 years. The king Vikramāditya of great spiritual perfection (Mahāsiddha) will thereafter be installed as king in the śaka year 171 (? ku Visva Bhumi). He (and his successors) will reign for 102 years. In his times the people will become Buddhist as Hari will then attain Bodhi. He will be followed by king Bhoja who will reign for 113 years. In his times a revival of Brahmanism will take place. With him the line of Kṣatriya kings will come to an end."

In the same article is also noted: "Dr. Majmudar (R C.) has in this connection discussed the contents of an incomplete manuscript of a Sanskrit text entitled *Rajāvali* which he discovered in the collection of the Dacca University. For the earlier period, we get the following information in this Sanskrit text. 'The line of the Pāṇḍavas ended in Kali 1812. That was also the end of Kṣatriya rule in India. After that Mahāpadma Nanda and his descendents were rulers for 500 years. They were followed by Virabāhu, the Nāstika (materialist) king. He and his descendents

ruled for 400 years. After that Dhurandhara was installed as king. Ādisura became king of Bengal in this period."

"Dr. Majmudar is of opinion that a Sanskrit text like this *Rajavali* was the source of the imformation given in the Bengali book (published in 1906 A. D.) of Pandit Mṛtyuñjaya Tarkālankāra."

Then Dr. Bagchi has quoted from the book (*Rājāvali*) by Pt. M. Tarkālankāra.

"Up to the Kali year 4,267, Hindu rulers were on the throne of Delhi. Up to Kali year 1812, 28 kings from Yudhiṣṭhira to Kṣemaka were on the throne. 14 rulers of the Nanda dynasty from Viśārada to Bodhamalla ruled the country for 500 years, after them. They were followed by the Gotama dynasty of which 15 kings reigned for 400 years. The first of them was Virabāhu and the last Āditya. They were succeeded by Mayura dynasty with 9 rulers, beginning with Dhurandhara and ending with Rājapāla, who reigned for 318 years. Then commenced the rule of Śakāditya who ruled for 14 years upto the Kali year 3044. This was the end of the era of Yudhiṣṭhira."

In connection with these vaṁśāvalis, I wish to state that in the Satyārthaprakāśa of Swami Dayānanda Sarasvati, is given a *Vaṁśāvali*. It is taken from a fortnightly called *Hariścandracandrika* or *Mohanacandrika* (V. S. 1939, Mārgaśirṣa, Śukla, Kiraṇa 19-20). This *Vaṁśāvali* gives the following dynasties.

The first dynasty starts with Yudhiṣṭhira and ends with Kṣemaka. It had 30 kings in all and it ruled for 1770 years. The second dynasty started with Viśravā and ended with Virasālasena, having 14 kings and 500 years. The third dynasty started with Viramahā and ended with Ādityaketu, having 16 kings and 445 years. The fourth dynasty started with Dhandhara and ended with Rājapāla, having 9 kings and 374 years. Then came Mahānapāla who ruled for 14 years. Then came Vikramaditya of Ujjain who ruled for 93 years. Then six more dynasties are given upto Yaśapāla.

Now, I have to offer the following remarks about these lists. I shall first tabulate the information gathered from these four sources—viz *Haragaurīsanvada* (HGS), Sanskrit *Rājavali (Sk. Rāj.)*, the Bengali *Rājavali (Ben Rāj)* and *Satyārthaprakāśa (SP)*.

A		B		C	D
HGS		Sk. Rāj		Ben. Rāj	SP
				years kings	kings
Yudhis	1412	Pāṇḍava	1812	Y. 1812—28	Y. 1770—30
Nandas	500	Nandas	500	N. 500—14	Visravā 500—14
Gautama	400	Virabāhu	400	G. 400—15	Viramaha 445—16
Mayura	132	Dhurandhara	—	M. 318— 9	Dhandhara 374— 9
			2,712		
Pancasama	105				
Sakas	180			Saka 14—1	Mahanapala 14— 1
					3,103, 70
Vikrama	102				Vikrama 93 1
Bhojas	113			3,044—67	3196—71
	2,944				

It will be seen that *Sk Rāj* is incomplete and stops at the
Gotamas, naming only the first king of the Mayuras. The first
dynasty in all the four is the Pāṇḍava dynasty, but A gives to
them 1412 years, B and C 1812 years and D 1770 years. Again C
gives them 28 kings, D gives 30. The second dynasty is named as
Nandas by A, B and C. D calls the first king of this dynasty by the
name of Vi'sravā, but it is the same dynasty as the Nandas of the
others, because according to C, the first king of this dynasty was
Visārada and the last king Bodhamalla and Visravā of D is evid-
ently the same as Visarada of C. All the sources give 500 years to
this dynasty while both C and D give 14 kings to it. The third
dynasty is called Gotama by A and C. Viramaha of D is the same
as Virabahu of B and C and the last king is Aditya according to C
and D. Thus all the sources speak of the same dynasties. A, B and C
give 400 years to this dynasty. C gives 15 kings, while D gives 445
years and 16 kings. The fouth dynasty is called Mayuras by A
and C. B, C and D ve the nim of the first king as Dhurandha-
ra (Dhandhara of D being a corruption), while both C and D call
the last king by the name of Rājapāla. Thus here also all the four
speak of the same dynasty. B gives no period for this dynasty.
A gives 132 years, C gives 318 years and 9 kings and D gives 374
kings and 9 kings. So far these sources more or less tally with
one another. Then A gives a dynasty of Pañcasama with 105 years.
C also gives Saka but with with only 14 years. D gives Mahanapala

with 14 years. Then C stops. Then A gives Vikrama with 102 years
and D also gives Vikrama but with 93 years. Then A gives Bhojas
with 113 years. D proceeds on other lines.

Now let us examine these. The first thing to be noted is that
as the Jain dynastic lists follow the post–Mahāvīra dynasties that
ruled at Ujjain, so these sources follow the post-Mbh dynasties
that ruled at Indraprastha or Delhi. Then we find that like the
Puranic lists, these sources start with post–Mbh dynasties and the
first dynasty taken up by them is the Aila dynasty of Yudhiṣṭhira,
but the Purāṇas start with Parikṣit while these lists start with
Yudhiṣṭhira. Like the Puranic lists, these sources also bring this
dynasty down to Kṣemaka, but the Purāṇas make Kṣemaka 30th
from Parikṣit while these make him 28th or 30th from Yudhiṣṭhira.
The Puranic lists give 1150, 1200 or 1500 years upto Nandas,
while these lists give 1412, 1812 or 1770 years upto the Nandas.
Then again the years given for the Nandas and Mayūras (Mauryas)
given in these differ largely from those given in the Purāṇas. The
number of kings for the Mauryas is given nine and that tallies
with the Purāṇas. But the number 14 for the Nandas does not.
Again these sources put Gautamas between Nandas and Mauryas,
while the Purāṇas know of no Gautamas. The Jain sources also
put the Mauryas immediately after the Nandas. But these discre-
pancies can be explained on the supposition that these sources are
following the local and not Imperial dynasties.

Now let us examine these lists separately. B is frankly incom-
plete, but otherwise the same as C. C comes to 3044 Kali Era
(K. E.) i. e. to 56 B. C. i. e. to Vikrama and stops there. Just
before 56 B. C. according to C ruled the Saka ruler for 14 years.
Therefore, according to C, 56 B. C. will not be the year of the
death of Vikrama as we find to be the case in *Rajataraṅgiṇī* and
in Jain sources, but of his accession. S'akas are put by C, imme-
diately after the Mauryas. D seems to differ from C in certain
details but in general computation seems to have been the same as
C as will be clear from the following consideration. Its total upto
Mahānapāla is 3163 years. But if we deduct 45 years from the
3rd dynasty (i. e. from the Gautamas, as all the other sources give
400 years for them, only D giving 445 years) and count upto the
end of the fourth dynasty of the Mauryas, we get the total 3,044
years. However Mahānapāla of D with his 14 years' rule can
equate with the Saka king of C with his rule of 14 years. The

difference, then, will be that 3,044 years will be over just before
the Sakas according to D and just after the Sakas according to C.
The position in C seems to be correct. It is a list brought down
upto the start of Vikrama Era of 56 B.C. and as Vikrama was
known to have defeated the Sakas, the Sakas should precede him.
That is so in C. Therefore in D we should deduct 45 from the
3rd dynasty and 14 from the fourth dynasty[1] and thus we can
get the total of 3,044 at the end of Mahānapala, who equates with
the Saka king. This shows that these lists B, C and D are made
up lists for arriving at the date of 56 B.C. and Sakas are therein
taken to have been Sakas who were defeated by Vikrama of 56 B.C.

But A differs from B, C and D in certain respects. Its total
upto the end of the Bhojas is 2944. It gives 1,412 to the Pāṇḍavas.
It gives the dynasty of Pañcasama which is given by no other
source. It puts Sakas after Pañcasama. Vikrama after Sakas and
Bhojas after Vikrama. That is it puts Vikrama's period from 2729
K.E. to 2831 K.E. i.e. from 372 B.C. to 270 B.C. But I should
submit that this is a mistake. This source-HGS-comes upto Pañ-
casama whose period it places from 2444 K.E. to 2549 K.E. Then
it places Sakas (i.e. starts Sakas in 2549 K.E.) about whom it
says, "Then will reign the Saka kings, possessed with all good
qualities. The Sun of the Saka (Sakāditya) will be in the Kali
year 3179." Now this is self-contradictory. Once it places the
start of the Sakas in 2549 K.E. and then in the same breath it
places their start in 3179 K.E. This contradiction has arisen,
I think, due to some later writer having misunderstood the referen-
ce to the Sakas in the text. I suggest that at one time the text
of HGS had stopped at the Sakas. In my opinion, the Sakas refer-
red to in HGS and placed therein soon after Pañcasama are the
Western Kṣatrapas of whom the Jain sources also talk. HGS places
the start of the Sakas in 2549 K.E. i.e. in 3101−2549=552 B.C.,
exactly the year in which I have earlier placed the start of the
Saka Era followed by the W. Kṣatrapas. Here, then, is preserved
a very valuable and much-wanted datum. Here we are told in the
clearest of terms that the Saka-start was in 2549 K.E.=552 B.C.
Therefore I say that the Sakas originally intended by HGS were
the W. Kṣatrapas. And, as in Jain sources, so here too, later
writers mistake these Sakas to have been either the Sakas defeat-

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1. This fourth dynasty has been given 9 kings and therefore, according
to MCM should have 360 years not 374 years.

ed by Vikrama of 56 B. C. or the Śakas of Śālivāhana Śaka of 78 A. D. The later interpolator in *HGS* has most awkwardly put in the statement that the Śaka king came in 3179 K. E. (of course mistaking him to be the Śaka of 78 A. D.), when his entire calculation stops at 2,944 K E. The other sources C and D mistake the Śakas to have been the Śakas, who were defeated by Vikrama of 56 B. C. and therefore place them just before 3,044 K. E. But all these are later corrections made by persons who misunderstood the original reference to the Śakas.

This leads me to believe that at one time these sources as well as the Jain sources had stopped at the start of the Śakas i. e. of W. Kṣatrapas. If so, we can understand that both in C and D also the Śakas must have been then started in 2549 K. E. Instead they are now started in 3030 K. E. i. e. full 481 years later and it is to account for these 481 years plus 105 years of Pañcasama which they do not give that they have added 481+105=586 years to the earlier dynasties and have given 400 more to the Pāṇḍvas and the remaining 186 to the Mauryas. I, therefore, take 1412 years given in A to the Pāṇḍavas as almost correct. I have put, according to the Purāṇas, the start of Mahāpadma Nanda 1500 years after the Mbh war, here it is put 1412 years after that event. That is why I say it is almost correct. The figure for the Mauryas given in A is also almost correct, as the correct figure, according to the Purāṇas is 137. Thus out of all these four sources *HGS* seems to have preserved an earlier tradition, only some later writer has wrongly added the figures later than the Śakas. As a matter of fact even here some confusion has happened. The purpose of the interpolator was evidently to bring the calculation upto 3044 K. E. (i. e. to 56 B. C.) and it is seen brought upto 2944 K. E. Therefore, it seems to me that even this interpolated list should have 100 years more, and, I think that these 100 years were at one time added to the Śakas, whose total thus should have been 280 and not 180 as it is now found. These 100 years could not have been added to any dynasty before the Śakas, as the total of 2549 years upto their start is quite authentic as it puts their start in 552 B. C. as I have shown before. Again see this. The Jains give 40 years to Nahapāna and 242 years to the Caṣṭanas i. e. in all 282 years to the Śakas, and if my above suggestion is correct, at one time even *HGS* must have given 280 years to the Śakas. If so, the end of the Śakas will be

put in 552 — 280 = 232 B. C. which would fall according to my scheme in the reign-period of Ch. II. Thus, if we apply this correction, we can harmonise this account of *HGS* with the account of the Jain sources. We should, here, remember that *HGS* is a Buddhistic text, that these Sakas i. e. the W. Kṣatrapas were patrons of Jainism and that *HGS* calls these Sakas full of all good qualities. Therefore it is clear that *HGS* speaks of the same Sakas as the Jain sources and *HGS* makes it absolutely clear that the start of these Sakas (i. e. of their Era) is to be put in 552 B.C.

We come to the same conclusion from another consideration also C gives 66 king-units from the start to the rise of the Sakas. According to MCM 66 king-units means 66×40 = 2,640 years. If we put Mbh war in 3201 B. C. as I do and not in 3101 B. C., this will put the rise of the Sakas in 3201—2640 = 561 B. C. And as MCM can be only approximate, this only means that the start of the Sakas is to be put after 9 years of the 67th unit have passed i. e. in 561—9 = 552 B. C.

Before I leave this subject of Jain chronology, I wish to clarify one point. I have said that when these sources put Vikrama just after the Sakas they misunderstand the reference to Sakas. But there is another possibility also. We know that these Sakas i. e. the W. Kṣatrapas were finally overthrown by Ch. II Vikramāditya. Therefore, it is not unlikely if the chronologists once put Vikramāditya (= ch. II) just after the Sakas.[1] Further I wish to point out that it is true that Ch. II had defeated the Sakas and sent them out of Ujjain. What must have happened to these Sakas? Their sway is likely to have extended over Malava, Gujarat, Saurāstra and Sind. If so, when they were defeated in Malava, they might have been localised in Saurāṣṭra or Sind. And it is not impossible if these Sakas bided their time and when the mighty Gupta empire disintegrated, tried to obtain their lost territory. If they did try, they must have tried in the days of Viṣṇuvardhana or Harṣa Vikrama. Our tradition supports such a course of event. It may be that the Sakas actually tried in the days of Harṣa Vikrama but were unsuccessful. Then our tradition puts Sakas in 78 A. D. also. It is likely that after the death

1. We should remember that these chronologists do not designate the dynasties by their dynastic names but by the name of the first ruler of the dynasty. If Ch. I also had the title of Vikramāditya then the Vikramāditya might stand for the whole of the Gupta dynasty.

of Harṣa Vikrama the Sakas once again invaded Ujjain ?
Rajataraṅgiṇi says that Pratāpaśila the son Harṣa Vikrama
had been dispossessed of his throne by his enemies and Prava-
rasena II of Kashmir put him back on the throne. If the enemies
mentioned here be taken to be the Sakas, it will mean that the
Sakas went on trying to invade Ujjain till 78 A. D., during which
period they might have met with varying fortunes, sometimes
occupying and sometimes vacating the throne at Ujjain. They
might have been at Ujjain in 78 A. D. and a Sālivāhana might have
defeated them, then. Even after this period there might have been
struggle for the possession of Ujjain. [1]

Having thus examined and explained these various chronologi-
cal computations and having seen that there have been frequent
adjustments in the chronology, I shall now try to show the
various stages at which these adjustments had happened.

The Purāṇas show only one school i. e. the adjusted one upto
the Mauryas, but from the Mauryas we find both the actual and
the adjusted schools. It is in the days of the Mauryas, in fact of
Asoka that the first stage of adjusting seems to have occurred. In
Asoka's days there will be two views prevalent regarding the
date of Buddha's death. Some would place it 218 years before
Asoka's coronation and others would place it 218 + 350 = 568
years before Asoka's coronation. Now we know that a Buddhist
council had met in the days of Asoka to settle all the confusion
regarding their religion. Along with the rules and regulations of
the saṅgha, they seem to have settled the chronology and put
Buddha's death 218 years and not 568 years before Asoka's
coronation.

The second stage in this connection seems to have occurred in
or soon after the days of Kālakācarya. Jain tradition says as I
have noted earlier, that Chandragupta Maurya came to the throne
155 years after Mahāvira's death. As I have explained earlier this
adjustment also omits 350 years of the first kingless period, but
the number 155 is not correct, it should have been 151. This dif-
ference is created by omitting to count 4 years of Asoka's period
before coronation. And this could have happened only after As'oka's

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1. The reference to Tiastanas by Ptolemy refers to some such time when
the Sakas i. e. Casianas were occupying the throne at Ujjain. Or, it may be
that his intention is to describe Ujjain as the traditional capital of the Casianas.

days. It might have happened in the days of Samprati, if an adjustment was made then, otherwise in the days of Kālakācārya, when adjustments are likely to have been made in the Jain traditions. We have seen that out of the three dates of Kālakācārya, 720 M.E. seems to deduct only the 770 years of the three gaps. It does not deduct 653 or 753 wh ch difference had arisen only after 78 A.D. Therefore this calculation must have been made before 78 A. D.

In almost all the subsequent adjustments we find either 653 or 753 years omitted. A misunderstanding about these years of Kali adjustments must have happened sometime after 78 A. D. as these adjustments are based upon a misunderstanding of the verse āsan-maghāsu etc. which is possible only after 78 A. D. I, therefore, think that it was at Kaniṣka's Buddhist council that the verse was misunderstood and the chronology was readjusted on that misunderstood basis. I put Kaniṣka's accession in c. 15 A. D. and therefore his assembly must have been convened in c. 175 A. D. This will be a hundred years after the start of the Śaka Era of 78 A. D. This gives sufficient time for the misunderstanding of the verse āsan etc. There is also another reason why I say that this almost final adjustment had happened in the days of Kaniṣka. The verse āsan etc. seems to have been first misunderstood on Kashmir side and it was there that Kaniṣka's assembly had met. That is why 2448 B. C. or 2348 B. C. as the date of Mbh war seems to have been acceped on the side of Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and China as also of Burma, Assam and Ceylon, but not in India proper. For, India proper always seems to have put Mbh war in 3101 B. C. or 3201 B. C. We find 2448 or 23 8 B. C. being taken as the date of Mbh war in Kashmir chronology and in Nepalese chronology. (see next chapter). That means that these dates were first fixed up on that side and Kaniṣka's assembly which met in Kashmir and at which monks from all the different parts had come, seems to have made an intentional effort at adjusting all Buddhistic traditions, as according to Hieun Tsang, the main object for which the assembly was convoked by Kaniṣka was to bring order in the most disorderly and confused traditions that were current in his days.

In his days they seem to have put Mbh war in 2448 B. C. But either in his own days or soon after him, there seem to have come in existence two schools of chronologists, one putting Mbh war in 2448 B. C. and other in 2348 B. C. Accordingly we find some

deducting 653 and others 753 from the original dates. For instance Chinese tradition which puts Buddha's death in 643 B. C. deducts 653 years while others (Burma, Nepal, Siam etc.) who put his death in 543 B. C. deduct 753 years from the original dates.

Yet another adjustment seems to have been made in or after the days of Candrāpiḍa of Kashmir, most probably in Kashmir itself. Kashmir chronology, as I have shown, has followed MCM upto the end of Durlabhaka's death and has abandoned it from Chandrāpiḍa's reign. That means that some chronological adjustments were made in his days In his days they found that a further period of 300 years had elapsed which was taken by them as kingless (the period given to Raṇāditya in Raj). Therefore, they deducted these 300 years from the various dates. As we have seen, it is due to this adjustment, that they brought down the date of Buddha's death by 300 years (from 543 B. C. to 243 B. C.) and the date of Kaniṣka also by 300 years (from 700 years after Buddha to 400 years after him). This seems to have been the last adjustment. After about 550 A. D. (the date of Candrāpiḍa's acc.) there is found no trace of any chronological adjustment to have been made.

CHAPTER THREE

NEPALESE CHRONOLOGY

ANCIENT dynastic genealogies of Nepal are preserved in certain Vaṁśāvalis. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has published one Pārvatiyu Vaṁśāvali in *Indian Antiquary* Vol XIII. I have appended the Vaṁśavali to this chapter. It is generally discredited and it is true that there are, in it, all the faults of the artificiality of MCM and these faults are even emphasis l by a certain amount of confusion. And yet, I think, it is possible to settle some of the outstanding epochs of Nepalese chronology from this Vaṁśāvali.

The Vaṁśāvali starts with Gopāla Dynasty, with a particular epoch at which 88 years of that dynasty had already elapsed (bhuktamānagata 88 years). The e, och with which this Vaṁśāvali starts is, I think, the epoch of Rāma Daśarthi. That the Nepalese chronologists, once, started their regular lines from Rāma, is suggested from the Inscription of Jayadeva II of Harṣa era 153. (Gupta Inscriptions, Fleet, Intr. p. 185 ff.) That inscription starts with Brahmā and then gives some stray names but from Rāma regular list of n ne starts. Therefore, I t ink, that this Vaṁśāvali also starts with J yagupta, w must have been a contemporary of Rāma Daśart a. This is proved by the following also.

The first king of the Kirāta dynasty, named Yālambara is said to have come on the throne in dvāparaśeṣa 12 i. e. when 12 years of the Dvāparayuga were yet left to go. I have already shown the various dates for the starts of Kaliyuga. Same will be the dates for the end of Dvāpara. Earliest amongst these is 3201 B. C. and latest is 2976 B. C. If we take 3201 B. C. as the date of the end of Dvāpara, the accession of Yālambara will be in 3201 + 12 = 3213 B. C. That is, Kirāta dynasty had started ruling in

3213 B. C. Before the Kirāta dynasty, the Vañsāvali has given two other dynasties. Out of these, it has given 434 years for the first i. e. Gopāla dynasty from Jayagupta to the end. Then it has given three kings for the second i. e. the Āhir dynasty. But the regnal periods of these three kings are not given. Let us apply MCM here and take $3 \times 40 = 120$ years for these three kings. Thus we get $434 + 120 = 554$ years from Jayagupta to Yālambara's accession. I just placed Yālambara's accession in 3213 B. C. Therefore Jayagupta's accession will be in $3213 + 554 = $ C. 3767 B. C.

I shall, later, show from independent considerations based upon MCM that Rāma's period was from c. 3765 B. C. to 3725 B. C. Thus Jayagupta, who according to above calculations, came to the throne in 3767 B. C. will be a contemporary of Rāma. Thus we find that the Nepalese chronology, as represented in this Vañsā-vali, starts with the epoch of Rama and incidentally preserves for us a very important piece of evidence to fix the date of Rāma.

Here, I must point out that all the Puranic chronology makes a re-start with the Mbh war. But the chronology of Assam and Nepal seem to start with Rāma. In the next chapter we shall see that in the Assamese chronology, Naraka, with whom the chronology starts was a contemporary of Rāma. This fact that some countries start their chronology from the epoch of Rāma and others from the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira, I think, strongly points to the historicity of both these epochs.

Thus Jayagupta's accession will be put in c. 3767 B. C. and that of Yālambara in 3213 B. C.

Next datum that we get in this Vañsāvali is this. It is said that the sixth king named Humati of the Kirāta dynasty had gone to the forest along with the Pāṇḍvas. About the 7th king of this dynasty (named Jitedasti) it is said that he had assisted the Pāṇḍavas and was killed in the Mbh war. It is also said about him that Buddha had visited Nepal in his days. Now, here is some obvious confusion. Mahābhārata was over before Yālambara, the first king of this dynasty. Therefore, the 7th and the 8th kings of his dynasty could not have lived at the same time as the Pāṇḍavas. Again, Buddha cannot be the contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas, as the Vañsāvali seems to suggest. Therefore, there has been some confusion here. What I think is this.

At one time, the Nepalese chronologists must have noted about some two kings that one had fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas and been killed and the other had gone to the forest with them. But the place of these two kings could not have, originally, been just before Yālambara, nor 6th or 7th after him. Similarly, the Vaṁśāvali must have, originally, noted that Buddha had visited in the days of a particular king, but he could not have been the 7th king after Yālambara. But though the present Vaṁśāvali has, thus, confused the details and numbers of the kings, it has preserved an important datum for us. It says that Kirāta dynasty had ruled for 1118 years. I think it means that 1118 years of the Kirāta dynasty had elapsed upto the king in whose days Buddha came to Nepal. 1118 years from 3213 will bring us to 3213—1118=2095 B. C. Thus Buddha came to Nepal in 2095 B. C. I have placed Buddha's death in 2066 B. C. Buddha is said to have lived for about 80 years. Therefore, he lived from c. 2146 to 2066 B. C. Thus 2095 B. C. falls within the life-period of Buddha. Thus, I think, that 1118 years from Yālambara's accession marks the period of Buddha's visit to Nepal; but the numbers of kings are certainly misplaced.

Again the Vaṁśāvali gives 29 kings for this dynasty. In the Puranic chronology, we have seen that number of kings of different dynasties at the end of Kali was 29th. Here also, this number suggests the end of Kaliyuga. All this, again, shows the use of MCM in this Vaṁśāvali.

Next, we are told about the king Sthunko that in his time king Aśoka of Pāṭaliputra had come to Nepal. Between Jitadesti and Sthunko are given six king-names. That is, six king-units are between Buddha's visit and Aśoka's visit. Now, Aśoka is said to have been crowned 218 years after Buddha's death. And 218 years, according to MCM, will require 6 king-units. But we have already seen that though the tradition puts 218 years between Buddha's death and Aśoka's coronation, in reality 218 + 350 = 568 years had elapsed between these two incidents. Therefore, this Vaṁśāvali which has given only 6 units, has adjusted the chronology at a later date. Thus we find that these two important events are well recorded in the Nepalese chronology, though the dynasty shows all the traces of being thoroughly mishandled for the purposes of MCM.

We get our next datum in the midst of IV dynasty. Paśuprekṣādeva, the 4th king of this dynasty, we are told, had brought to Nepal settlers from India in Kali era 1234. We have seen the various beginnings of this era and we have seen that in Kashmir 2448 B. C. and 2348 B. C. are taken as the starting points of the Mbh war, and therefore, these years could be, through confusion, taken to be the starting points of K. E. also. Taking 2348 B. C. as the start of K E., we get 2348 − 1234 = 1114 B. C. as the date of Paśuprekṣādev's accession.

Above, we have seen that Sthunko is taken as a contemporary of Aśoka. I have put Asoka's coronation in 1498 B. C. Therefore, we can take 1475 B. C. as the approximate date of Sthunko's period. Now, this Vaṅśāvali gives 18 kings between Sthunko and Paśuprekṣādeva. And 18 kings at the rate of 20 years' unit will require 360 years. Therefore Paśuprekṣādeva was removed from Sthunko by about 360 years. Placing Sthunko in c. 1475 B. C., the date of Paśuprekṣādeva will be 1475 − 360 = 1115 B. C. and we have just placed his accession in 1114 B. C. This incidently shows that both the units of 40 years and 20 years are found used in Nepalese chronology also, as they are found used in the Puranic and in the Kashmir chronology. In all the three places, we find the unit of 20 years employed from the Nandas. This date of Paśuprekṣādeva is supported by the following also.

I have put Puṣyamitra Suṅga's accession in c. 1113 B. C. In Kashmir chronology, I have placed the reign of Gonanda III from 1082 B. C. to 1122 B. C. Now, this period of the first quarter of the 12th century B. C. had witnessed a general revival of Brahmanical religion and a general downfall of Buddhistic religion throughout India. Puṣyamitra Suṅga is known to have been a staunch Brahmana. Rājataraṅgiṇi tells us clearly that Gonanda III had revived Brahmanic religion in Kashmir. And we are told, here that Paśuprekṣādeva had brought to Nepal settlers from India, which also suggests a general revival of culture. Thus the period of this king (c. 1115 B. C.) fits in eminently well in the general time-scale of chronology as is interpreted by me and proves the reliability of the dates of all these three kings. We, are here, given a definite date. We are clearly told that Paśuprekṣādeva came on the throne in K. E. 1234, only this is based on 2348 B. C. as the starting point of Kali Era.

Then we get three more dates—K. E. 1389 for the accession of Bʿūmivarman, the first king of the Suryavñśi dynasty, K. E. 2800 for the accession of Vasantadeva, the 23rd king of the same dynasty and K. E. 3000 for the accession of Añśuvarman, the first of the Thakuri dynasty. Taking 2348 B. C. as the starting point of K. E., we get

Bñmivarman's acc. in 2348—1389=959 B. C.

Vasantadeva's acc. in 2800—2348=452 A. D.

Añśuvarman's acc. in 3000—2348=652 A. D.

Now, 959 B. C. as the date of Bhūmivarman is likely. Regarding him we are told that he was adopted by Bhāskarvarman who had conquered the whole of India. The period of Bāskaravarman will be c. 990-960 B. C. Now it is likely if Bhāskaravarman had conquered large portions of India proper. According to my scheme of chronology, the 3rd kingless period of 120 years was frɔm c. 1001 to B. C. tɔ 8810 B. C. Therefore, in the days of Bhāskaravarman and Bhūmivarman India proper was without a soverign king ruling form Pātaliputra. Therefore, it is likely if a Nepalese king had conquered Magadha and other portions of India proper at this period. Thus these dates of these two Nepalese kings fit in well with the contemporary political condition of India proper.

Then, it is remarked in the Vaṅśāvali that Shaṅkarācārya had visited Nepal in the days of Vrishadevavarma, the 18th king of the Sūryavañśi dynasty. Vasantadeva's accession is put in 2800 K. E. Therefore, the accession of Vrishadevavarma, who is removed from Vasantadeva by 5 units i. e. by (5 × 40) = 200 years, will be in c. 2600 K. E. Now traditional records at Sṛṅgeri Maṭha put Shankaracārya in 2631 K. E. Thus, this Nepalese date supports the tradition of the Maṭha.

Then Añśuvarmā's accession is placed in 652 A. D. I think this was really the date of his death. There are some inscriptions of Añśuvarmā found and these bear the dates from 34 to 44. These years are generally referred to Harṣa era of 606 A. D. Therefore, Añśuvarmā's period will have the years 640 A. D. to 650 A. D. in it. Next we get an inscription of Jiṣṇugupta which has the date 48 i. e. 654 A. D. Therefore Añśuvarmā must have died between 650 and 654 A. D and we are here told that he died in 652 A. D., which date, therefore, is correct. This date of

Añśuvarmā-3000 K. E.-justifies finally my position, taken up by me while considering the Kashmir chronology, that over and alove 2448 B. C., even 2348 B. C. was taken as the start of K. E.

That 652 A. D. i. e. 3000 K. E. is the date of Añśuvarmā's death and not of his accession is proved by this also. Vasantadeva's accession is put in 2800 K. E. From Vasantadeva to Añśuvarmā (both included), we have 10 kings. Ten units at the rate of 20 years' unit will require 200 years. And 200 years from the accession of Vasantadeva (i. e. 2800 K. E) bring us to 3000 K. E., which, therefore, is the date of Añśuvarmā's death.

I cannot explain other dates given in this Vañśāvali. Most of them seem to have been based on 3101 B. C. as the starting point of K. E. If so, Nepalese chronology adopted 3101 B. C. of K. E. at a later stage. At that time they did not understand the earlier dates based upon 2348 B. C. and therefore, taking those dates also to have been based on 3101 B. C. as the start of K. E., they seem to have put remarks about Vikrama and Sālivāhana, where they occur now.

But these considerations show clearly that MCM is used even in this Vañśāvali.

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The Pārvatīya Vañśāvali of Nepalese kings

by Pt. Bhagwanlal Indraji

(IA, XIII, p. 411 ff.)

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I. *Gopāla Dynasty* of Mātātirtha, so called after the cowherd (Gopāla) whom Nemuni installed as the first ruler of Nepal, lasted for 521 years.

Bhuktamānagata	88 years
1 Jayagupta	72
2 Paramagupta	80
3 Harshagupta	93
4 Bhimagupta	38
5 Manigupta	37
6 Vishṇugupta	42
7 Yakshagupta	72

He brought in the Āhir Dynasty from India.

II Āhir Dynasty

  1 Varasinha
  2 Jayamatisinha
  3 Bhuvanasinha

He was conquered by the eastern

III Kirāta Dynasty (which resided at Gokarṇa and lasted for 1118 years)

1 Yālambara	(came in dvāparaśeṣa 12 i. e.
2 Pavi	when 12 years of dvāpara
3 Skandhara	were left to pass).
4 Valamba	
5 Hariti	
6 Humati	(went into the forest with the Pāṇḍavas)
7 Jitedasti	(assisted the Pāṇḍavas and
8 Gali	was killed in the war. In his
9 Pushka	time Sakyasinha Buddha came
10 Suyarma	to Nepal).
11 Parba	
12 Thumka	
13 Svananda	
14 Sthunko	(in his time king Asoka of
15 Gighri	Pataliputra came to Nepal.
16 Nana	Asoka's daughter Cāumati
17 Luk	was married to a Ksatrya
18 Thor	called Devapala settled in
19 Thoko	Nepal and founded Devapat-
20 Varma	tana).
21 Guja	
22 Pushkara	
23 Kesu	
24 Sunsa	
25 Summu	
26 Gunana	
27 Khimva	
28 Pattika	(was attacked by Somavaṅśi Rajputs).
29 Gasti	(lost his kingdom to)

IV   Somavansi Dynasty

1 Nimisha
2 Manaksha
3 Kakavarman
4 Pashuprekshadeva .   .   .   (conquered whole of India,
                                      being childless adopted the
                                      first ruler of the—)

V   Suryavansi Dynasty (also called Licchavis)

1 Bhumivarma		(crowned in Kali...1389)
2 Candravarman	61 years	
3 Jayavarman	82	
4 Varshavarnan	61	
5 Sarvavarnan	78	
6 Prithvivarman	76	
7 Jyesthavarman	75	
8 Harivarman	76	
9 Kuberavarman	88	
10 Siddhivarman	61	
11 Haridattavarma	81	
12 Vasudattavarma	63	
13 Pativarma	53	
14 Sivavriddhivarma	54	
15 Vasantavarma	61	
16 Sivavarma	62	
17 Rudradevavarma	66	
18 Vrishadevavarma	61	(Sankaracarya came from the
19 Sankaradeva	65	South and destroyed Baud-
20 Dharmadeva	59	dha faith)
21 Manadeva	49	
22 Mahideva	51	
23 Vasantadeva	36	(crowned in K. Y. 2800)
24 Udayadevavarma	35	
25 Manadevavarma	35	
26 Gunakāmadevavarma	30	
27 Sivaslevavarma	51	
28 Narendradevavarma	42	
29 Bhimadevavarma	30	
30 Vishnudevavarma	42	

31 Visvasdevavarma   52   .   (gave his daughter to Ansu-
varma of the Thakuri Dynasty.
In his time Vikramadity1
came to Nepal and established
his era then).

VI I Thakuri Dynasty

1 Ansuvarna   68   .   (crowned in K. Y. 3000)
2 Krtavarma   89
3 Bhimarjuna   93
4 Nandadeva   25   .   (in his reign the era of Sali-
vahana was introduced in
Nepal)

5 Viradeva   95   .   (crowned in K. Y. 3400)
6 Candraketudeva
7 Narendradeva
8 Varadeva   .   .   .   .   (crowned in K. Y. 3629. Ava-
9 Sankaradeva   12   lokitesvara came to Nepal).
10 Vardhamanadeva   13
11 Balideva   13
12 Jayadeva   15
13 Balarjunadeva   17
14 Vikramadeva   12
-15 Gunakāmadeva   51   (K. Y. 3824)
16 Bhojadeva   8
17 Laksmideva   22
18 Jayakamadeva   20   .   (being childless he was suc-
ceeded by a member of the—)

VII Navakota Thakuri Dynasty

1 Bhaskaradeva
2 Baadeva
3 Padmadeva
4 Nagarjanadeva
5 Sankaradeva

VIII II Thakuri Dynasty of Ansuvarma

1 Vamadeva
2 Harshadeva
3 Sadashivadeva   (K. Y. 3851)

4 Manadeva 10
5 Narasinhadeva 22
6 Nandadeva 21
7 Rudradeva 19
8 Mitradeva 21
9 Arideva 22
10 Abhayamalla 22
11 Jayadevamalla 10

IX *Karnataka Dynasty*

X *Suryavansi Dynasty*

XI *III Thokuri Dynasty*

CHAPTER FOUR

NARAKĀSURA EPISODE AND ASSAMESE CHRONOLOGY

THE episode of Naraka or Narakāsura is narrated in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* from the 37th to the 41st *adhyaya*. The episode throws considerable light on the ancient history of *Kāmarūpa* or Assam. I shall, therefore, study the whole episode here. I shall, first give a brief summary of the episode.

Viṣṇu, in his *Varāha* form, impregnated Bʰūmi or the Earth, when she was in her monthly period (*malini—rajasvalā*). *Bhūmi* thus conceived a child. But inspite of the full period of ten montʰs having passed away, she was not delivered of the child, though she had terrible pangs of labour. She, being too much tormented went to *Viṣṇu*, and requested him to deliver her of the child. *Viṣṇu*, however told her that the child will take a long long time before it saw the light of the world. He said,

अष्टाविंशतिमे प्राप्ते आदिसर्गोञ्चतुर्युं मे ।

त्रेतायुगस्य मध्ये तु सुतं त्वं जनयिष्यसि ॥ 36th, 39 ॥

And again he said—

गर्भस्तव महाभागे त्रेतायां मध्यमागतः ।

उत्पत्स्यते हते वीर रावणे रामसंज्ञिना ॥ 36th, 50

And then he touched her body with his conch and her pangs disappeared and she moved about freely. Tʰen, when the time came and Rāvaṇa was killed by Rāma, she delivered a son in the country of Videha.

Now, at that time, a king Janaka was ruling in Videha. He had no child. He performed a sacrifice and as a result, got two sons. He also got one daughter from the Earth, while tilling the ground. That was Sita. But when the Earth gave him the daughter she took a promise from him that he would bring up her son, when born, at least upto his 16th year. She also urged him to keep her motherhood of the son a secret. Janaka promised to that effect. So, when she delivered her son after Ravaṇa was killed, she went to Janaka, reminded him of his promise and asked him to take care of his newly born son. Janaka, true to his word, went to the place where the child was lying. He saw him lying with his head on the skull of a human being. So,

नरस्य शीर्षे स्वशिरो निधाय स्थितवान्यतः । [1]
तस्मात्तस्य मुनिश्रेष्ठो नरकं नाम वै व्यधात् ॥ 38th, 2.

Then the child was named Naraka and was brought up along with his other childern. Bhūmi, also, taking the form of a nurse, stayed in Janaka's harem and brought up the child.

But as time passed, Naraka shone out and turned out to be more brilliant and powerful than the other sons of Janaka. And Janaka grew jealous of Naraka. Bhūmi came to know this change of feeling in the heart of Janaka and she thought of removing the child from there, even before the stipulated period was over. So, when Naraka was about to complete his 16th year, she removed him to the Ganges and there, in privacy told him how she had been her mother. But the child said that he would believe her story only if Viṣṇu himself bodily came there and assured him of his birth. So Bhūmi invoked Viṣṇu, who came and confirmed her story.

Then Viṣṇu, along with Bhūmi and Naraka, went to Prāgjyoti-ṣpura. At that time, a Kirāta king named Ghaṭaka was ruling there. Viṣṇu asked Naraka to fight out with this Ghaṭaka and in the battle that ensued, Naraka killed Ghaṭaka and gave a crushing defeat to his army. Then Viṣṇu crowned Naraka as the king of Prāgjyotiṣpura and asked him to worship goodess Kāmākhyā. He also asked Naraka never to insult Brāhmaṇas. Then he married him to Māyā, the princess of the Vidarbha country. Viṣṇu, then, told him to rule there for a long time.

1. This fanciful derivation is evidently not correct: I have, further, offered a natural explanation.

त्वं तु प्रजार्थं त्रेतायां यत्नवान्वै भविष्यसि ।
द्वापरान्ते तु संप्राप्ते प्रजा तव भविष्यति ॥ 38th, 140

Thus Naraka started ruling over *Kāmarūpa* and he ruled for a very very long time and he ruled righteously and religiously. Then when the end of Dvāpara came, Naraka formed friendship with Bāṇa a king of Soṇitapura. This Bāṇa was a devotee of Śiva and was very disrespectful to Brāhmaṇas. Naraka, too, by his company, changed his nature and day by day, became irreligeous. Once a Brāhmaṇa named Vasiṣṭha came to Prāgjyotiṣpura for worshipping the goddess Kāmākhyā, but Naraka did not respect him and did not allow him an entrance to the temple of goddess. Then Vasiṣṭha cursed him that he would be ruined etc.

Naraka, meanwhile, started worshipping Śiva and neglected Kāmākhyā and through the favour of Śiva went on harassing Brāhmaṇas and others. He, in his arrogance, captured 16,000 ladies and also forcibly took away the kuṇḍalas of Aditi, the mother of gods. Then the gods requested Kṛṣṇa, who was, by now, born, to punish the demon and Kṛṣṇa, accordingly, went to Assam, killed Naraka and delivered the 16,000 ladies and also regained the ear-rings of Aditi. Then, on the special request of Bhūmi to save and protect the children of Naraka, Kṛṣṇa put Bhagadatta, the *napta* of Naraka on the throne and returned to Dvārakā.

This, in short is the story of Naraka as narrated in the *Kālika Purāṇa*. Now, from this story the following historical incidents can easily be gathered.

(1) Naraka was either an adopted son of Janaka or was an irregular son of Janaka and a nurse, whose name might have been Bhūmi, and was declared to be an adopted son of Janaka.[2]

(2) Janaka, later, grew apprehensive of Naraka who turned out to be very brave.

(3) So, the nurse secretly removed Naraka from the country of Videha.

(4) Then, she and Naraka working together, in due course, gathered an army and attacked the country of Kāmarūpa.

2. It is, therefore, likely that Sitā, who also was Bhūmi's daughter, was this Naraka's sister.

(5) Naraka gave a decisive defeat to Ghaṭaka the Kirāta king of the country and established himself as the king of the country.

Naraka, like Janaka, was a dynastic title. In fact, Naraka and Janaka are the same words. Janaka is jana+ka and Naraka is nara+ka; only, in the word Naraka, jana is translated by nara, both jana and nara meaning the same thing. Therefore, as Janaka was a dynastic title, Naraka, too, was a dynastic title. In fact, the word Naraka proves that the king Naraka, originally belonged to Janaka family, but had adopted the title Naraka in place of Janaka. Thus, Naraka is a dynastic title and every king in that dynasty, though bearing a distinct personal name, would still be called a Naraka.[3]

In fact, we have a bit of evidence preserved to show that Naraka was a dynastic title. In a book called *Haragaurīsaṁvāda*, it is said that some 24 or 25 kings of the Naraka dynasty had ruled in Kāmarūpa. It is said:[4]

अमनागमनतामरजहायथपविला: ।
अमसाम्वामसुगोषा ङरेशि नरकान्वये ॥

Here, the initial letters of 24 or 25 kings' names of the Naraka dynasty are mentioned after the fashion of the *tantric* works. Thus, there had ruled 24 to 25 kings of Naraka dynasty and each one of them, over and above, bearing a distinct personal name, also bore the dynastic name Naraka.

Now these two facts—the fact that there had been 24 or 25 kings in that dynasty and that Naraka was a dynastic title— help us in understanding why Kālikā Purāṇa says that Naraka ruled for one full yuga. That according to the *Kalika Puraya*, Naraka ruled for one full yuga is clear from (1) the fact that his birth is put in the 28th tretā and his death is put in the end of Dvāpara, and (2) from the fact that he is said to have been born soon after Rāma's period and is said to have been killed by Kṛṣṇa. And we know that according to the general tradition, there had elapsed one full yuga between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

3. Later, Naraka seems to have been taken as a tribal name also. Regarding Bhagadatta, it is said in the Mahābhārata II, 14, 578: muruñca nara- kāñcaiva sāsti yo yavanā hipah, This shows that Bhagadatta was taken as ruling over Murus end Narakas.

4. Se *IHQ*, Sept, 1942, 231 ff.

Now, when *Kālika Purāṇa* says that Naraka ruled for a long period of one full yuga, what is really meant is that not Naraka, but Naraka dynasty ruled for one yuga. Therefore, the 24 or 25 kings of the Naraka dynasty as given in *Haragaurīsamvāda*, ruled for one yuga. And this is quite plausible. 25 king – units, according to Manavantara-Caturyuga Method, would reuqire (25×40) 1,000 years. And I have already shown that a yuga had 1,000 years. Therefore, what *Kālika Purāṇa* and *Haragaurīsamvāda* mean is this that the 25 kings or king-units of the Naraka dynasty ruled from the end of Tretā to the end of Dvāpara.[5] In other words, the first king of the Naraka dynasty ruled just after Rāma and Rāvaṇa, in the 28th caturyuga of mahātretā and the last king of the Naraka dynasty was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa, in the 28th caturyuga of mahādvāpara.

And as we understand the Naraka episode in this manner, the whole story becomes clear to us. It is not one and the same Naraka who was in the begining a righteous king and in the end of his career, turned out to be irreligious. The description refers to the first and the last kings of the Naraka dynasty. Therefore, the final reconstruction of the Naraka episode will be like this.

(1) Naraka, an irregular son of king Janaka by a nurse named Bhūmi, defeated the then ruling king (who was a Kirāta named Ghaṭaka) of Kāmarūpa, established himself as the king of that country and founded a dynasty, which was called Naraka dynasty. The word Naraka was a mere variant of Janaka, coined in order to distinguish the new dynasty, from the old.

(2) This Naraka, the founder of the dynasty, had married Māyā, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha.

(3) This Naraka, kept up good relations with his father Janaka, as we are told in the *Kālika Purāna* that after Naraka had established his kingdom in Kāmarūpa, Janaka had gone to Kāmarūpa and had passed some time there, as a friend.

(4) This Naraka followed Vedic religion. *Kālika Purāṇa* says.

5. Thus even here we find the MCM operating. In fact, it is this key of MCM which opens up the closed doors of Narakāsura's long lie of one full yuga.

नरकोऽपि तदा श्रीमान्वेदशस्त्रार्थपारग: ।
ब्रह्मण्यो नीतिकुशलो बदान्यो दानतत्सर: । 38th, 152.
कामाख्यापूजनरतो नीलकूटे महागिरौ ।
महाभोगी महाश्रीमान्हीनबाधव शत्रुभि: ॥
सुचिरं राज्यमकरोच्छकवन्त्रिदशालये । 38th, 153.

Thus he respected Vedas and Brahmaṇas. He made religious, and learned Brahmaṇas to settle in that country. It is said.

द्विजातीन्वासयामास तत्र वर्णन्सनातनान् ।
वेदाध्ययनदानानि सततं वर्तते यथा ॥ 38th, 124.

(5) Probably with the help of these Brahmaṇas, Naraka introduced, propagated and established devi-worship in Kāmarūpa. This propagation of devi-worship by Naraka raises the important question of the introduction of Vedic culture in Kamarūpa. Let us understand the whole position. Naraka was the son of Janaka and as such believed in Vedas. But, then, why did he favour devi-cult? Devi-cult, so far as we know, is not Vedic and Naraka propagated it in Kāmarūpa. Why did he do so? I think that it was due to the fact that in it he followed his mother's cult. His mother seems to have been an ordinary nurse and as such must have belonged to the lower stratum of society. In that stratum of society, devi-worship is likely to have flourished. Tnat Naraka must have, out of his antagonisn with his father disowned, at least in the first instance, all relations with him is shown by (1) his translating the dynastic title from Janaka to Naraka and by (2) his adopting the matronymic Bhauma. Tnus it would seem that Naraka held his mother in respect. It is, therefore, likely if he adopted goddess cult, which was prevalent in his mother's family. But we cannot positively say that his mother, because she seems to have followed devi-cult, was non-Vedic. It is likely that the lower strata of the Vedic society itself, might have followed various cults and devi-cult might have been one such cult, though it did not find favour with the higher society. But we cannot be positive on the point. At any rate, Naraka when he adopted devi-cult for Kāmarūpa, seems to have thoroughly revised the cult itself. Because, he did not change his own character. On the contrary, we are definitely told that he brought several learned and orthodox Brahmaṇas from the parent country and made them to settle down in Kāmarūpa. So, with their help, he seems to have got devi admitted in the Vedic pantheon.

That with Naraka's coming, Kāmarūpa had a definite change of culture (and that too for the better) is shown by this also. We are told that when Naraka came to Kāmarāpa, the country was ruled over by the Kirātas. These Kirātas were, naturally, non-Vedic. *Kalika Purāṇa*, definitely declares that Naraka drove away these Kirātas to the ocean shores and then changed the culture of the country. Therefore, I think, there is nothing wrong in taking Naraka as the first Vedic king of Kāmarūpa.

(6) This first Naraka ruled well and long and consolidated his kingdom and made it prosperows.

(7) The remaining portion of Naraka episode narrates the story of the last Naraka king. In fact the whole Naraka episode is made up of two stories-one of the first Naraka and the other of the last Naraka.

(8) This last Naraka was quite different in character and outlook from the first Naraka. The dynasty had ruled for some hundreds of years till we are introduced to this last Naraka.

(9) It was this last Naraka, who was a friend of Bāna, the king of Ṣonitapura.[*]

(10) Under the advice of Bāna, Naraka disfavoured devi-cult and adopted Siva worship.

(11) He became very arrogant, oppressed the people and Brāhmaṇas and even women. Due to his actions, he seems to have been called Narakāsura i. e. Naraka, the asura-like. The name Narkāsura does not prove that it was an Asura dynasty. It is worthy of note that the word Narakāsura is not used in *Kalika Purāṇa* with reference to the first Naraka. The first Naraka is called simply Naraka, not Narakāsura, which word therefore, refers to the last Naraka king only.

6. Bāna is made the son of Bali in *Kalika Parana*. But that is evidently to make the narration fit in with the lagendary parentage of Naraka, according to which he will have to be plawced in Vārahāvatata. But this Bāna, who should have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa, the 8th incarnation, cannot also be a contemporary of Vāraha, the 3rd incarnation. Therefore Bāna who was a contemporary of the last Naraka king and also of Kṛṣṇa, lived about the time of the Mbh war and thereiore was quite distinct from Bāna, the son of Bali. Vairocana.

(12) Then Kṛṣṇa vanquished this Narakāsura, killed him in the battle and put Bhagadatta, the son or grandson of Narakāsura on the throne.

Thus, I think, on the whole, the Naraka episode of the *Kalika Puraṇa*, yields plausible facts of historical significance and provides a good starting point for the history of Assam.

APPENDIX

WHO WAS ALEXANDER'S CONTEMPORARY ?
—CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA OR CHANDRAGUPTA 1 ?

Considerations, so far made, have led us to the conclusion that the contemporary of Alexander was Chandragupta I and not Chandragupta Maurya. This we have got by equating 6451 or 6042 years and 153 kings as given by Megasthenes and Arrian, with the Puranic figures.

But, I shall, here, point out that there is a manner of calculation, though not satisfactory, which seems to lead us to the contemporaneity between Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya.

(1) In the earlier calculations, I have taken 48 king-names from Manu Vaivasvata to Sahadeva i. e. to Mbh level, but there are, according to Vy 94 king-names for the same period from Manu Vaivasvata to Mbh. (2) Again, we have started with Manu Vaivasvata, but we may start with Manu Svāyambhuva.

From Manu Svāyambhuva to Manu Vaivasvata, according to Br, we get 19 king-names. From Manu Vaivasvata to Bṛhadbala we get 94 king-names, i. e. we get 19+94=113 king-names upto Mbh. After Mbh upto Chandragupta Maurya. There are 39 names. Therefore Chandragupta Maurya will be 113+39=152+1=153rd. Thus this figure given by the Greek writers seems to tally.

Again, as regards years, we have taken 2840 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Mbh. From Mbh to Chandragupta Maurya we have 1000 + 138 + 362 + 100 = 1600 years. Thus we get 2840+1600= 4440 years. Add to this 800 years of yuga-adjustment. So we get 5240 years. And if we put 300+120=420 years of the last two Republican periods given by Arrian to have occurred before Chandragupta Maurya, we get 5240+420=5660 years from Manu Vaivasvata to Chandragupta Maurya. Megasthenes gives 6451 years i.e. we get 791 years less. If we suppose that from Manu Svāyambhuva to Manu Vaivasvata had elapsed 791 years, then we can tally the

figures of the greek writers with the Puranic figures. And thus in a manner, we can show that Chandragupta Maurya and not Chandragupta I was the contemporary of Alexander.

But, I am not disposed to take these calculations as satisfactory for the following reasons.

(1) Above we have taken the start from Manu Svāyambhuva, but our Purāṇas definitely calculate from Manu Vaivasvata. The following clearly says that the calculation is from Manu Vaivasvata.

एवं राजर्षयोऽतीताः शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥ *Mt.* 273, 74

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्वतं मानेऽन्तरे विभो ।

...   .

एलधेर्त्वाकुवंशश्च सहमेदैः प्रकीर्तितौ

इक्ष्वाकोस्तु स्मृतं क्षेत्रं सुमित्रान्तं विवस्वतः ॥ 244 (*Vy, Mt.*)

ऐलं क्षेत्रं क्षेमकान्तं सोमवंशविदो विदुः

These verses clearly show that the present Puranic calculations start with Manu Vaivasvata and not with Manu Svāyambhuva.

(2) In the above calculation, we took 94 kings from Manu Vaivasvata to Bṛhadbala i. e. we first counted the Solar Ayodhyā kings upto Mbh age and then counted Lunar Magadha kings. This is not proper. If for post-Mbh period we follow Magadha Lunar line, for the pre-Mbh period also we should follow the Magadha Lunar line and not the Solar Ayodhyā line. Again, we shall, later, see that the Solar Ayodhyā line had, at first 71 and not 94 king-names

(3) We took 791 years for the period from Manu Svāyambhuva to Manu Vaivasvata, but for this there is no basis.

(4) We took the two Republican periods of 300 and 120 years to have occurred before Chandragupta Maurya. But it is impossible to do so. The first period of 350 years we have taken to be from Mahānanda to Mahāpadma. Then ruled Mahāpadma and his descendents for 100 years. After them and before Chandragupta Maurya, we can put only one Republican period, not two. Purāṇās put Nandas just before Chandragupta Maurya. We may arbitrarily take one period of 300 years to be just before Chandragupta Maurya though there is no indication to that effect in the Purāṇas. But

there is absolutely no room left for the third period of 120 years. On the other hand, we have seen how there are clear indications for both these periods after the Mauryas and how the difference of 409 years between Megasthenes and Arrian tallies exactly with one Puranic school, for the period after Chandragupta Maurya.

(5) Again these calculations will put Mbh war in 2348 B.C. thus:—Somādhi to Nandas 1000 + 420 years for the two periods + 328 (Chandragupta Mauray's date) = 2348 B.C. This, in one sense, looks tempting as Kalhaṇa actually puts Mbh war in 2448 B.C. and we may say that 100 years of Sandhyā will bring us to 2448 B.C. But though tempting, this is not acceptable. For, if 2448 B.C. was the correct date of Mbh war, we cannot explain why they added 653 or 753 and made 3101 B.C. as the date of Mbh war. We cannot say, like Kalhaṇa, that though Mbh war was in 2448 B.C., Kali had started—653 years earlier in 3101 B.C. Because, according to these calculations Kali will end in 328 (Chandragupta Maurya's date)+420 (two periods) + 100 (Nandas)+ 350 (first period) = 1198 B.C. and therefore Kali will start in 1198+1000=2198 B.C. or in 1198+1200=2398 B.C. We, therefore, cannot explain why they put Mbh war or Kali-start in 3101 B.C. On the other hand, I have been able to explain fully the genesis of 2448 B.C. as the date of Mbh war.

(6) For all these reasons and particularly for the reason which I detail below and which, in my opinion, is conclusive, I reject the above calculations which seem to make Chandragupta Maurya a contemporary of Alexander.

That the Purāṇas, as they are today, have put Chandragupta I and not Chandragupta Maurya in 329 B.C. is proved clearly from the following.

I should, here, remind the reader that in both the calculations i.e. the one which makes Chandragupta Maurya as Alexander's contemporary and the one which makes Chandragupta I as Alexander's contemporary—we have included 800 years of yuga-adjustment and then only we have been able to tally the number of years given by the Greek writers with the number of years given in the Purāṇas. This means that both Megasthenes and Arrian had come to India after the tradition which makes each yuga to have 1200 years, instead of 1000 years, was fully established. Let us, therefore, see when this change was made.

Earlier, we have found the following to have been the stages of yuga-adjustment (1) Each yuga had 1000 years. (2) Only Kali was given 1200 years, other yugas having 1000 years each. (3) Each of the four yugas was given 1200 years. (4) The proportion was changed from 1·1·1·1 to 1·2·3·4 (5) The mānava years were taken as divya.

In the days of Kalki and Sumitra, they had taken all the yugas to have 1000 years each as is clear from the fact that the Purāṇas give 25 king-names for all the dynasties of Kali yuga, that is in the days of Kalki and Sumitra they did not take Kali to have 1200 years. So that the first stage was prevailing upto the days of Kalki.

Purāṇas show that after the Mbh war, adjustments and computations were made (1) from Pariksit to Mahānanda, in the days of Mahānand i e in 1976 B. C., (2) from Parikṣit to Mahapadma, in the days of Mahapadma i. e. in 1636 B.C., (3) from Mahāpadma to Āndhra end i. e. in 380 B. C. Now in 1976 B. C. the first of the above five stages was current. The second stage, therefore, might have been introduced earliest in 1636 B. C. and the third stage in 380 B. C. Therefore, it was in 380 B. C. that they made each yuga to have 1200 years and four yugas to have 4800 years. And for this they had to add 800 years i. e. 20 king-names in the genealogies. Let us see how they did this.

There were before them these lines: (1) Ayodhyā line from Manu Vaivasvata to Sumitra. (2) Hastināpura line upto Kṣemaka. (3) Magadha line upto their own days i. e. upto 380 B. C (4) Yādava line upto Sri Kṛṇa (5) Videha line. (6) Mathurā line upto Kansa. Besides these they had some other lines but they did not come upto Mbh war.

In the days of Mbh when one Manvantara was over they had made the number of the kings of all the lines at Mbh level to be 71. In Sumitra's days when Kali was over they had made the contemporary kings to be 100th. This is clear in the Purāṇas.

Now, in 380 B. C. they wanted to add 20 king-names. In the Solar Ayodhyā line which finally stopped at Sumitra, they saw that from Mbh to Sumitra there were already 30 names as they should be. So they had to add these names before Mbh, which they did and thus made Bṛhadbala's number (which was originally 71st) to be 91st.

The Lunar line, in its Magadha branch was followed by themselves. Even in this line they had to add 20 names. Number of kings, in these lines at the Mbh level was **71**. From Mbh to Kaliend there were 30 names, as they should be and therefore these 20 names cannot be added there. After this there was a kingless Period of 350 years and then came Mahāpadma. From Mahāpadma to their own days there were 59 to 62 king-names, as is shown below.

	Bht	Vy–Mt.
Nandas	9	9
Mauryas	12	9 or 10
Suṅgas	10	10
Kāṇvas	4	4
Āndhras	27	27
	62	59 or 60

We have earlier seen that from Puṣyamitra they changed the caturyuga unit to 20 years. This change seems to have been made from the Nandas also. From Mahāpadma to the 20th Āndhra, Purāṇas categorically say that there had elapsed 836 years and if we add to that 420 years of the two kingless periods, then 1256 years. For these 1256 years, at the rate of 20 years' unit, we shall require 62 king-names. That is why they had kept 62 names upto 380 B. C. as is seen above.

Now, I must say that from Nandas downwards Purāṇas employ both the units of 20 and 40 years. This has been made clear in the chapter on Kashmir chronology. For sub-periods, they used 20 years' unit and for longer periods 40 years' unit. Therefore, when they calculated from Mahāpadma to 380 B. C., they used 20 years' unit. Then they wanted for 1256 years 62 names. But when they calculated from Mbh to 380 B. C. they wanted for those (3136 − 380=) 2756 years, at the rate of 40 years' unit, 68+1 king-names. They had 37 names upto Mahāpadma and 63 more upto 380 B. C. i. e. 100 in all. They wanted 68, so they had 32 names more.

Thus the problem before them in 380 B. C. was to add 20 names for Yuga-adjustment and to deduct 32 names as shown above i. e, on the whole they had to deduct 12 names. These they could not deduct from the names Somādhi to Śiśunāga. Nor could they deduct these from 63 names from Mahāpadma to 380 B. C.,

as these 63 names were required according to 20 years' unit. Their only course was to go before Mbh level. And therefore they deducted 12 names there and made the number of Sahadeva from 71 to 59 or 58.

But we have seen that there are two Puranic schools—one which includes 420 years of the two periods and the other which does not. By including these 420 years we have got 1256 years as above, but if we do not include these 420 years then we get 836 years for this period. Therefore, this school will have to deduct ($420 \div 40 = 11$ i. e.) 10 or 11 king-names more. Thus this school will make the number of Sahadeva to be 48 or 49.

The present Purāṇas show that the solar Ayodhya line has about 94 kings upto Mbh level and about 124 kings upto Kalki level. But all the Lunar lines show from 36 to 62 names upto Mbh level. We should remember that at the end of Kali, in the days of Kalki, they had kept 100 names in all the lines, solar as well as Lunar. That means that at that time, there were 71 names in all the Solar and Lunar lines upto the Mbh level. Then why do we not find these numbers today ?

After the above considerations, it should be clear that when in 380 B. C. they had to add 20 names for the 800 years of yuga-adjustment, the Solar Ayodhyā line was available only upto Sumitra and so in that line they added 20 names before the Mbh level, as they could not insert these 20 names in the Post-Mbh list, because they had just 30 names which they required for the 12 0 years from Mbh to Kalki. Similarly, in the Lunar lines also they should have made the number of kings at Mbh level to be 91st instead of 71st, which was the case in 1976 B. C. But they have not done so. No Purāṇa at present, shows even 71st to be the number of any Lunar king at Mbh level. If the 800 years were added before Chandragupta Maurya, we would have, to-day, found the number of kings at Mbh level in all the Lunar lines to be 91st as we find in the Solar Ayodhyā line. But the reason why the numbers of Lunar kings at Mbh level have been brought lower, even lower than 71, is that they adjusted these 800 years at a date later than that of Chandragupta Maurya.

To-day we find in the present Purāṇas, in the Ayodhyā Solar line number of Sṛāyu, who was at Mbh level to be about 71, the the number of Bṛhadbala of the same line and of the Mbh level, to

be about 94 and in the different Lunar lines the number of kings
at Mbh level to vary from 36 to 62. This preserves all the three
stages shown by me. In the days of Kalki, the number of kings
at Mbh level should be 71 and we find Sṛtāyu to be 71st in Br.
Later on, in 380 B. C. when they had added 800 years, they
changed the number of Br̥hadbala only from 71 to 91 (or 94),
because they wanted to come down to Sumitra and Sumitra was
in direct line with Br̥hadbala. And they brought the numbers of
all the Lunar kings at Mbh level, from 71 to about 48 or 58 for
reasons already explained above. Thus we find all the three stages
still preserved in the Purāṇas.

These considerations make it clear that each yuga was given
1200 years instead of 1000 years, only in 380 B. C., and 800 years
of yuga-adjustment were added only in 380 B. C. Therefore
Megasthenes whose figure 6451 includes these 800 years, could not
have come to India before the days of the 27th Āndhra king, whom
we have placed in 380 B. C. And therefore Alexander could not
have come to India in the days of Chandragupta Maurya. Thus,
so far as Puranic evidence goes, it is clear that Magadha contem-
porary of Alexander was Chandragupta I and not Chandragupta
Maurya.

But this conclusion that Chandragupta I was the contemporary
of Alexander the Great goes against all the conceptions of ancient
Indian chronology, established by the modern scholars. The
modern students of ancient Indian history have found the syn-
chronism between Alexander the Great and Chandragupta Maurya
to have been established on the firmest basis. The Greek writers
speak of a Xandrames or a Sandrocottos to have been a king of
the Eastern India in the days of Alexander. Phonetically, both
Xandramas and Sandrocottos can very easily be equated with
Candra or Chandragupta. Students have said that Sandrocottos or
Chandragupta was none else than Chandragupta Maurya.

This synchronism thus arrived at has been finally established
by some other pieces of evidence.

(1) Buddhists and Jains have been following an era of Buddha
Nirvāṇa and Mahāvira Nirvāṇa respectively. According to the
available traditions, scholars have found that the commencement
of Buddha-Nirvāṇa Era was between 543 B. C. and 483 B. C., and
that Mahāvira-Nirvāṇa Era was about 15 years later. Now both

Buddha and Mahāvira were contemporaries of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha According to the Purāṇas, these were the fourth and the fifth kings of the Śaisunāga dynasty. Śaisunāga dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, had in all ten kings. After the Śaisunāga dynasty came the Nanda dynasty, for which, the Purāṇas usually name ten kings. And then, according to the Purāṇas, came Chandragupta Maurya. Thus Chandragupta Maurya was 8th from Bimbisāra i. e, Buddha. Taking the date of Bimbisāra to be c. 525 B. C. and taking an average of 25 years for a ruling generation, we get c. 325 B. C. as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession. Thus it was Chandragupta Maurya who was the contemporary of Alexander.

(2) In the XIII rock edict of Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya, are mentioned the Hellenistic kings viz. Antiochos, Ptolemy, Antigones, Magas and Alexander. Now from Greek evidence, these kings have been found ruling during the third or fourth quarter of 3rd century B. C. Therefore the date of Asoka Maurya should be near about 278 B. C. And as, according to the tradition the first two Maurya kings together ruled for 52 years Chandragupta Maurya's accession should be put in 275 + 58 = 333 B. C. or in c. 325 B. C. Therefore also Chandragupta Maurya was the contemporary of Alexander.

(3) There have been some more kings bearing the names of Chandragupta, but the Chandragupta next in chronological order to Chandragupta Maurya was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. But as, according to Alberuni's clear testimony (corroborated by a mass of other evidence collected by the modern students) the start of the Gupta Era is definitely to be put in 320 A. D., there can be no question of Chandragupta I, being the contemporary of Alexander.

There are some other minor points also, which are adduced in support of this synchronism between Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander. And, yet, we have in our foregoing considerations found Chandragupta I (and not Chandragupta Maurya) as Alexander's contemporary. I shall, therefore, examine the above pieces of evidence gathered by the modern students.

PART THREE

CHAPTER ONE

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND THE GREEK EVIDENCE

THE modern students consider the Greek evidence to be very decisive in establishing the synchronism between Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya. I shall, therefore, first, quote all the passages from the Greek writers, which refer to Xandrames or Sandrocottus and then consider the whole question afresh. The Greek writers, who speak anything about Xandrames or Sandrocottus are Diodorus (1st cent B. C.), Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. 40 A. D), Plutarch (c. 50 A. D.). Justin (4th cent. A. D.) Arrian (2nd cent. A. D.), Strabo (1st B. C.), Appian (c. 123 A. D.) and Athenaios. I shall reproduce below the statements of these writers as they are given by Mac Crindle in his book 'The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great.'

Diodorus (1st century B. C.) [Book VII, ch. XCIII; p. 281-2[1]]

"He (=Alexander) had obtained from Phegus a description of the country beyond the Indus: First came a desert which it would take twelve days to traverse; beyond this was the river called the Ganges which had a width of thirty-two stadia and a greater depth than any other Indian river; beyond this again were situated the dominions of the nation of the Praisioi and the Gandaridai, whose king, Xandrames, had an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 4,000 elephants trained and equipped for war. Alexander, distrusting these statements, sent for Poros and questioned him as to their accuracy. Poros assured him of the correctness of the information, but added that the king of the

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1. The page numbers refer to Mac Crindle's book mentioned above.

Gandaridai was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber. This man, the king's father—was of a comely person, and of him the queen had become enamoured. The old king having been treacherously murdered by his wife, the succession had devolved on him who now reigned."

Quintus Curtius Rufus (c. 40 A.D.) [Book IX. ch. II; p. 221–2]

"Having therefore requested Phegus to tell him what he wanted to know, he (= Alexander) learned the following particulars: Beyond the river lay extensive deserts which it would take eleven days to traverse. Next came the Ganges, the largest river in all India, the further bank of which was inhabited by two nations, the Gangaridae and the Prasii, whose king Agrammes kept in field for guarding the approaches of his country 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry, besides 2,000 four-hoursed chariots, and, what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which he said ran up to the number of 3,000.

All this seemed to the king to be incredible, and he therefore asked Porus, who happened to be in audience whether the account was true. He assured Alexander in reply that, as far as the strength of the nation and kingdom was concerned, there was no exaggeration in the reports, but that the present king was not merely a man originally of no distinction but even of the very meanest condition. His father was in fact a barber scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affection of the queen and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign, and then, under pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king who was detested and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conduct himself as the occupant of the throne."

Plutarch (c. 50 A. D.) [ch. Lxii; p. 310]

This river (i. e. the Ganges), they heard, had a breadth of two-and-thirty stadia, and a depth of 100 fathoms, while its further banks were covered all over with armed men, horses and elephants. For the kings of Gandaritai and the Praisiai were reported to be waiting for him with an army of 80,000 horse,

200,000 foot, 8,000 war chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. Nor was this any exaggeration, for, not long afterwards Androkottos, who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleukos with 500 elephants, and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men............ Androkottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander 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 the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin."

Arrian does not mention Xandrames or Sandrokottos by name.

Justin (2nd cent. A. D.) [Book XV, ch. IV, p. 327]

"......... Seleucus Nicator waged many wars in the east after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylon, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over to India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefect to death. Sandro-cottus was the leader who achieved this freedom, but after his victory he forefeited by his tyrrany all title to the name of liberator, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom. He was born in humble life, but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behavi-our he had offended Alexandrun and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumbrer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke, quietly, took to departure. It was this prodigy which inspired him with hope of winning the throne, and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigourously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucos was laying the foundations of his future

greatness. Seleucos having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the east, returned home to prosecute the war with Antiogonus."

Appian (p. 404) speaking of Seleukos says, "And having crossed the Indus, he warred with Androkottos, the king of the Indians, who dwelt about that river, until he entered into an alliance and a marriage affinity with him."

Strabo (first cent. B. C., [II, 1, 9; 408] says, "Both of these men were sent to Pilimbothra, Megasthenes to Sandrokottos and Deimachos to Amitrochades, his son," and in XV, 1, 36 repeats the statement as concerns Megasthenes. In XV, 1, 53 we read, "Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandrokottos, which consisted of 400,000 men, did not witness on any day thefts reported which exceeded the sum of 200 drachmai and this among a people who have no written laws, who are ignorant even of writing and regulate everything by memory." Lastly, in XV, 1, 57 we read, "Similar to this is the account of Enotokotai, of the wild men, and of other monsters. The wild men could not be brought to Sandrokottos, for they died by abstaining from food."

Arrian (p. 405) in his Indika (ch. 5) says, "But even Megasthenes as far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander, the son of Philip. for, as he says, he had interviews with Sandrokottos the greatest king of the Indians, and with Porós who was still greater than he."

[Mac Crindle notes, "A slight emendation of the reading (suggested by Sehwanbech) restores the passage to sense making Arrian say that Sandrokottos was greater even than Porós.]

Athenaios [p. 405] mentions (him Sandrokottos) in his Deiquosophists (ch. 18d): "Phylarchos says that among the presents which Sandrokottos, the king of the Indians, sent to Selukos were certain powerful aphrodisiacs.

From these various accounts, modern scholars have drawn the following conclusions:

(1) Xandrames and Agrammes are but two variants of one and the same name, i. e. they refer to the same person.

(2) Regarding Xandrames and Sandrokottos (i) some scholars say that both the names refer to the same person viz. Chandragupta Maurya, (ii) while others say that Xandrames refers to the Nanda king whom Chandragupta Maurya had uprooted and Sandrokottos refers to Chandragupta Maurya himself.

Let us, therefore, examine the Greek evidence collected above, dispassionately and impartially. Regarding the first question of Xandrames and Agrammes refering to the same person, it can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that though phonetically the names seem to differ much, they refer to one and the same king; for the details given by Diodorus about Xandrames and those given by Curtius about Agrammes are absolutely identical. The names seem to differ in their first parts, one having Xandra and the other having Agra. Correct name, of course, seems to be Xandrames. We know that Sandrocottos of other writers is spelt Androcottos by Plutarch. Similarly Xandra may be spelt as Andra and scribal indifference may further corrupt it into Agra. At any rate, whatever be the form of the name, it is certain that both the names refer to the same person.

We shall, now, examine the other question of the identity of Xandrames and Sandrokottos.

Diodorus speaks of Xandrames only. According to him, when Alexander was in the Punjab, Xandrames was actually ruling in Estern India. This Xandrames, according to him, had come to the throne after the old king had been murdered. Therefore, according to Diodorus, there will be two successive kings—(I) the old king, who was already killed before Alexander came to the Punjab, and (2) Xandrames, who was actually ruling when Alexaner was in the Punjab. Curtius also says the same thing. Therefore, according to both these writers, first ruled the old king and then ruled Xandrames.

Other writers do not mention either the old king or Xandrames. They speak of Sandrokottos only. Now, we should remember that just as both Diodorus and Curtius are clear on the point that Xandrames was ruling when Alexander was in the Punjab (see expressions like, "—on him who now reigned"—D., and "—present king" used twice by C for Agrammes), both Plutarch and Justin are clear on the point that Sandrocottus had come on the throne after Alexander left India. Plutarch uses the words, "not

long afterwards" which clearly mean not long after Alexander left
India. Justin is clearer. According to Justin, the events of
Sandrocottus' life occurred in the following order. He was "prom-
pted to aspire to royalty by an omen." This omen occurred when
Alexander was in India. After this omen, Sandrocottus collected
'a band of robbers' and attacked Alexander's prefects, which
could only be after Alexander left India. And after this,
Sandrocottus came to the throne. Thus it is clear that Sandrocot-
tus came to the throne after Alexander left India.

In fact Xandrames is mentioned in relation to Alexander only
and Sandrocottus in relation to Seleucos only. There is no state-
ment which makes Xandrames a contemporary of Seleucos or
Sandrocottus a contemporary of Alexander. Therefore, according
to the Greek writers Xandrames is distinct from Sandrocottus, the
former having preceded the latter on the throne.

Thus we get references to three successive kings of Eastern
India, viz. (1) The old king, (2) Xandrames and (3) Sandrocottus.
And Strabo supplies one more name, that of Amitrochates, the son
of Sandrocottus. Thus the seccession stands thus:

<div align="center">

The old king

|

Xandrames

|

Sandrocottus

|

Amitrochates

</div>

I shall, now put together the details of the lives of these four
kings of the Eastern India, as they are found in the above accounts.

THE OLD KING

He is mentioned by Diodorus and Curtius only. His name is
not mentioned by either. The following points are to be noted
about him.

(1) He was ruling before Alexander came to India.

(2) His queen had fallen in love with a barber of comely person.

(3) This barber had become a favourite of the old king.

(4) The old king was treacherously murdered either by the
queen (D) or by the barber (C).

XANDRAMES

He is mentioned by Diodorus and Curtius.

(1) He came to the throne after the murder of the old king. However, the two writers seem to differ in one point. According to Diodorus, when the old king was murdered 'the succession had devolved' on Xandrames, which would mean that Xandrames came to the throne immediately after the murder of the king. Curtius, on the other hand, clearly says that after murdering the old king, the barber acted as the regent and he (= the barber) actually begot Xandrames after the murder. This would mean that after the death of the old king, the barber was supreme for several years till Xandrames, who was born after the old king's death, came to age. Xandrames, according to this, must have come to throne several years after the death of the old king.

(2) But both Diodorus and Curtius are clear on the point that Xandrames was the ruling king when Alexander was in the Punjab.

(3) Xandrames was held in no respect because he was thought to be the son of a barber.

(4) This barber, his father, had won the love of the queen of the old king.

SANDROCOTTUS

He is mentioned by all the writers, except Diodorus and Curtius.

(1) He came to the throne after Alexander left India i. e. after Xandrames was dead.

(2) According to Plutarch and Justin, he had seen Alexander, when he (Sandrocottus) was young i. e. not crowned. According to Justin he had offended Alexander and was ordered to be put to death, but he fled from Alexander and thus saved himself.

(3) According to Justin, Sandrocottus had not come to the throne, evidently of Eastern India (i. e. Magadha), in natural course of succession, but had to acquire it by his own exploits. He was without a throne. He, then, gathered a band of robbers, instigated the Indians to overthow the existing goverment and thereafter fought with Alexander's prefect. He, then, conquered Magadha. This account means that Sandrocottus had fought with and overthrown the Greek prefects and had won himself the throne of Magadha.

(4) As he won the Greek prefects, he was considered a leader and a liberator of his people.

(5) He, then, (according to Plutarch) overran and subdued the whole of India.

(6) He had a fight with Seleucos, in which the latter was defeated and a treaty was made between the two.

(7) According to Justin, though he was the liberator of his people, he had forefeited all title to the name of a liberator by his tyrrany, for he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom.

(8) According to Justin he was born in humble life.

(9) It was at his court that Seleucos had sent Megasthenes to Pāṭaliputra.

AMITROCHADES

(1) He was the son of Sandrocottus.

(2) In his days Deimachos had come as an ambassador.

Having kept in mind these details about these kings as given by the Greek writers, let us, now see if we can identify them with any of the Indian kings known to us. Other scholars have already tried to solve this question. Till recently the tendency was to take Xandrames and Sadrocottus to be the same person and then to identify him with Chandragupta Maurya. But recently scholars have started distingushing between Xandrames and Sandrocottus. These scholars take Sandrocottus to be the same as Chandragupta Maurya and Xandrames to be the Nanda king. Therefore let us go into details.

I must make it clear, here, that it is impossible to take Xandrames and Sandrocottus to refer to the same person. This, as we have seen, definitely goes against the very clear testimony of the Greek writers, who definitely treat Xandrames and Sandrocottus as two distinct persons. If these two names refer to the same person, how is it that some writers (D. and C.) take him to be ruling when Alexander was in India and others (Pl. and J.) take him to have come to the throne after Alexander left India ? It is only after flagrantly disregarding the Greek evidence that we can take Xandrames and Sandrocottus to be the same person. I, therefore, do not admit their identity. Let us, then, consider the question considering these two as two different persons, come to the throne of Magadha one after the other.

But, here, we meet with one difficulty. Did Xandrames succeed the old king immediately? Here we get two distinct statements. According to Diodorus, the old king was immediately succeeded by Xandrames and according to Curtius, after the murder of the old king, the barber had acted as the regent for some years and then it was that Xandrames came to the throne. Thus we get two Greek views about the succession.

(1) Acc. to D.	(2) Acc. to C.
The old king	The old king
|	|
Xandrames	Barber-as regent
|	|
Sandrocottus	Xandrames
	|
	Sandrocottus
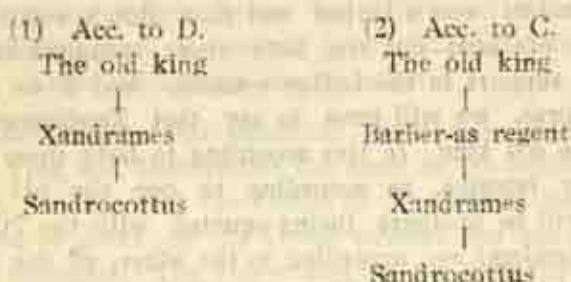
Now, according to Indian sources, we know of the following successions of the Nandas and Mauryas. (1) Mahānanda (2) Mahāpadma (3) 8 sons of Mahāpadma (4) Candragupta Maurya and (5) Bindusāra. But I must here note that though the Indian sources say that 8 sons of Mahāpadma ruled in succession, it is possible that, in reality, only one son of Mahāpadma had ruled. Thus we shall get the following successions :

(1)	(2)
Mahānanda	Mahānanda
|	|
Mahāpadma	Mahāpadma
|	|
8 sons (in succession)	one son
|	|
Chandragupta M.	Chandragupta M.
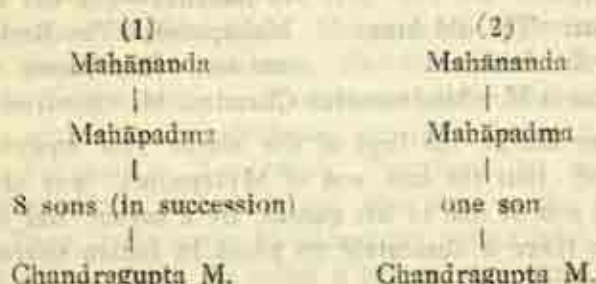
Let us, first, take that 8 sons of Mahāpadma had ruled in succession and then identify the kings named by the Greek writers. according to the views of D and C both. In this case, if we identify Sandrocottus with Chandragupta Maurya, we must identify Xandrames with the 8th son of Mahāpadma, and the old king with the 7th son of Mahāpadma : or according to Curtius, Sandrocottus will be the same as Chandragupta Māurya, Xandrames the same as the 8th son, the regent barber the same as the 7th son and the old king the same as the 6th son. That is,

Acc. to D.	Acc. to C.
The old king=7th son	The old king=6th son
Xandrames=8th son	Barber=7th son
Sandrocottus=Chandragupta M.	Xandrames=8th son
	Sandrocottus=C. M.

But these equations do not fit with the Greek accounts. For, if we accept the view of Curtius, we will have to say that the 7th son of Mahāpadma was a barber and that this seventh son had murdered the 6th son; but for both these assumptions there is absolutely no support in the Indian sources. And if we accept the view of Diodorus, we will have to say that Xandrames was the brother of the old king. In fact according to both these equations this difficulty remains, as according to one the old king and Xandrames will be brothers (being equated with the 7th and 8th sons of Mahāpadma) and according to the other, all the three—the old king, the barber and Xandrames—will be brothers, they being equated with the 6th, 7th and the 8th sons of Mahāpadma. Therefore these equations will not do.

Let us, then, take that after Mahāpadma ruled only one of his sons and then the throne passed on to Chandragupta Maurya. If so, we get the following two equations.

Acc. to D.	Acc. to C.
Mahānanda= ?	Mahānanda=The old king
Mahāpadma=The old king	Mahāpadma=The Barber
one son=Xandrames	one son =Xandrames
Chandragupta M.=Sandrocottus	Chandra. M.=Sandrocottus

Now, if we accept the first of the above two equations, we will have to say that the one son of Mahāpadma, was his illegal son i. e. was a son of one of his queens by a barber but for such an assumption; there is absolutely no proof in Indian sources.

Thus we come to the second of the above two equations. This equation, according to some of the modern scholars[1], satisfies all the details given by the Greek writers. They rely upon Sthaviravalicarita of Hemacandrācārya. They say that according to Hemacandra, Mahāpadma was the son of a barber by a courtezan. Thus Mahāpadma being the son of a barber will himself be a barber. Therefore, these scholars take Mahāpadma to be the same as the barber of the Greek writers. I shall clarify this point.

1. Raychaudhuri, Pradhan, Jayswal. Tripathi and others.

If Mahāpadma is the barber of the Greek writers, we shall have to say that Chandragupta Maurya was the same as Sandrocottus, his predecessor the one son of Mahāpadma the same as Xandrames, Mahāpadma the same as the barber and Mahānanda the same as the old king. Thus this equation, at first, seems to satisfy all the details given by the Greek accounts, which according to this equation seem to be fully supported by the Indian evidence. But though this equation seems to satisfy all the conditions, I must submit that there are several grave difficulties in accepting it as correct. These difficulties are as under:

(1) According to this equation, Mahānanda will be the same as the old king and Mahāpadma the same as the barber. But if we accept this, we find that the details of the lives of the barber, and the old king as given by the Greek writers are not supported by the Indian evidence. The Greek writers say that the queen of the old king was in love with a barber and Xandrames was the son of this barber. According to Hemacandra, as interpreted by the scholars, Mahāpadma was the son of a barber by a courtezan, and therefore was himself a barber. Now the question is this. Is the barber of Hemacandra, who was in love with a courtezan, the same as the barber of the Greek writers, who was in love with the old king's queen? If so, the courtezan should be taken to be the same as the queen of the old king and her son (by the barber) to be the same as Xandrames. Hemacandra says that Mahāpadma was the son of this courtezan, therefore, according to the above, he should be the same as Xandrames. But this goes against the equation which we are considering, according to which Mahāpadma's son was the same as Xandrames. Therefore, we will have to say that Hemacandra's barber is not the same as the Greek writers' barber. Then, is the son of Hemacandra's barber, who also, according to these scholars will be called a barber, the same as the barber of the Greek writers? Apparently that is what these scholars say. But if so, we will have to say that the father barber (i. e. Hemacandra's barber) had a son by a courtezan and also that this barber son of this barber father had, by the queen of the old king a son who was the same as Xandrames. In that case, the barber and the courtezan of Hemacandra will not be the same as the barber and the old king's queen, which these scholars would like to be the case. Because, if Hemacandra's barber and courtezan are not the same as the Greek writers' barber and the old king's queen, then

there is no support, in Indian sources, for saying that Mahāpadma (who was a barber) had a love affair with Mahāpama's queen, which he should have had, if his one son is to be the same as Xandrames.

Again, if we believe in this equation, we will have to say that Mahāpadma the barber, had ruled as a regent only. But I should submit that all the Indian accounts of Mahāpadma take him to be not only a great conqueror but as the starter of a separate Imperial dynasty. The account of Curtius, in no way, even suggests that his regent barber had been an emperor. 'Supreme position' in his statement clearly refers to the supreme position in his kingdom and not in the whole of India. Therefore also, this equation is not satisfactory.

And, we should not forget that, according to Diodorus the barber did not rule at all (not even as a regent) and therefore, Mahāpadma could in no case, be the same as the barber.

(2) Again, according to this equation, we have to identify Xandrames with one son of Mahāpadma, but here also there are difficulties. The name Xandrames cannot be equated phonetically by any stretch of imagination, with the name of the successor of Mahāpadma who is variously named as Sumālya, Sukalpa, Suhasta Dhanananda or Yogananda. But none of these has even the nearest phonetic affinity with Xandrames. In order to, escape from this difficulty, some scholars[1] seem to suggest that Agrammes is the correct name (and not Xandrames) and that Agrammes can be equated with the name of the successor of Mahāpadma. These scholars, say that Mahāpadma was also called Ugrasena, and patronymic from Ugrasena will be Augrasenya and this, they seem to suggest, can equate with Agrammes. But even here, there are several difficulties. Ther is no source which categorically says that Ugrasena was another name of Mahāpadma. It is only an inference drawn by these scholars. But even if we take it that Mahāpadma had Ugrasena as his other name, it is very unlikely that Porus, who informed Alexander, should use the patronymic of the Eastern king, and not his personal name, which is the most universal practice in ancient India. No king is, yet, know to have been, in official references, called by his patronymic. And even taking that

1. Raychaudhuri, Tripathi and others.

Porus had used the patronymic Augrasenya, it is very difficult to equate it which Agrammes. In the first place, as I have suggested earlier, the real name must have been Xandrames and just like Sandrocottus and Androcottus, Xandrames itself must have changed to Andrames and then to Agrammes. Again Agrammes and Augrasenya cannot be identical, as only the first part of the name have a phonetic similarity, but the last parts ('senya' and 'mmes') have no phonetic similarity whatsoever. By no stretch of argument can we affix the termination 'mas' to 'Augra.' On the contrary, this termination 'mes' which is common to both Xandrames and Agrammes, supports, my contention that the original name was Xandrames. Moreover, if we take Agrammes to stand for Augrasenya, we sell have to say that the successor of Mahāpadma had still another name (personal) which should equate with Xandrammes, for which assumption there is not the least ground in Indian sources, as none of the names of the successor of Mahānanda, as given in the various sources, can equate with Xandrames. And it cannot be said that Agrammes had changed to Xandrames, by scribal error, for addition of 'X' can, under no circumstances, happen by mishearing or misspelling. Due to all these reasons I do not think that Augrasenya can be equated with Xandrames. Thirdly, if we take Xandrames to be the same as the one son of Mahāpadma, we shall have to say, according to the Greek accounts, that son of Mahānanda (the barber) was really the son Mahāpadma (the barber) by the queen of Mahāpadma (the old king). But for saying so, there is absolutely no support from any of the Indian sources. Therefore, also this equation will not do.

(3) Again, according to this equation, we shall have to say that Sandrocottus was the same as Chandragupta Maurya. But in saying so there are many difficulties. (i) The Greek writers say that Sandrocottus had become oppressive, but no Indian account calls Chandragupta Maurya to have been oppressive. (ii) According to Justin, Sandrocottus was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen te. But it is really surprising that if Sandrocottus is the same as Chandragupta Maurya, the Greek account which gives this detail of his life should entirely gloss over the insult that Chandragupta Maurya, according to Indian accounts, had met with from the last Nanda king. In fact, according to Indian accounts, it was this circumstance that inspired Chandragupta Maurya to gain the throne of Magadha, not the lion and omen etc. (iii) But

the most important point to bear in mind is this that all Indian accounts are unanimous in saying that Chandragupta Maurya had come to the throne by Cāṇakya's help. But the Greek accounts, one and all, are entirely silent about this most outstandig point. They do not even mention the name of Cāṇakya, or for the matter of that, of any minister at all. How is it that the Greek accounts, which go into such details as the lion and omen, are altogether silent about this most important point ? The Greek accounts are silent about this as well as about the insult given to Chandragupta Maurya. Both these are very important points in the life of Chandragupta Maurya and yet the Greek accounts know nothing about them. Why is it so? The answer can be one only, that the Greek accounts of Sandrocottus do not refer to Chandragupta Maurya.

Thus we find that there are serious difficulties in taking the Greek accounts to refer to the times of the Nandas and Mauryas. We have seen that many points go against identifying (1) Mahāpadma with the barber of the Greek writers, (2) Mahāpadma's one son with Xandrames and (3) Chandragupta Maurya with Sandrocottus. For all these reasons, I believe that even this equation, which we have been considering will not do. At any rate, let us bear in mind that it is only by serious disregard and distortions of both the Greek accounts and the Indian accounts that the scholars have, somehow, been able to make the Greek accounts refer to the Nandas and the Mauryas.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GREEK EVIDENCE AND THE GUPTAS

WE shall, now, see if the Greek accounts of Xandrames and Sandrocottus have anything in common with the life-incidents of the first Gupta king-Chandrgupta I. But before we do so, I shall clarify a point or two. In the above discussions, while applying the details of the Greek accounts to the life of the Nanda kings and to that of Chandragupta Maurya, I had given all the possible options as are possible, according to the interpretations of the modern scholars and also according to the different views expressed by the Greek writers themselves. For instance, I treated Xandrames and Sandrocottus to be the same person as well as two different persons. Similarly, I took Xandrames to have come to the throne immediately after the murder of the old king as well as after the regency of the barber. But, here, I shall clarify my own position about these questions. I must say that according to the analysis of the Greek accounts as I have given before, there arises no question of Xandrames and Sandrocottus being one and the same person. They are two different persons. But I must admit that though the various Greek accounts are coherent and homogeneous on almost all the points, there are two points on which discrepant statements are very clear. These are as under.

(1) Diodorus says that the old king was murdered by his wife, while Curtius says that he was murdered by the barber himself. Thus here is a real conflict.

(2) According to both Diodorus and Curtius, Xandrames was born of an old king's queen by a barber; but according to Diodorus, he was born before the murder of the old king and according to Curtius, he was born after the murder of the old king. Thus according to Diodorus, Xandrames had come to the throne immediately after the murder of the old king, according to Curtius, he had come to the throne some years after the murder of the old king. These two are conflicting details.

The conflicting nature of these details only means that there had been some confusion in the traditions about them. For instance, it may mean that the old king was murdered by a joint conspiracy of the queen and the barber, and that later, some sources blamed the queen alone and others blamed the barber alone.

About the second point, we have got to choose between Diodorus and Curtius, when one says that Xandrames was born *before* the death of the old king and the other says that he was born *after* the death of the old king. I am personally inclined to believe in the account of Diodorus, who was earlier to Curtius by about a century, and who says that Xandrames was born before the murder of the old king. But regarding the accession of Xandrames to the throne, I think that there must have been two distinct traditions current, one saying that Xandrames came to the throne immediately after the death of the old king and the other that he came to the throne some years after the death of the old king. There is just a possibility that these two traditions had come into existence because Xandrames had come to the throne twice. That is, he might have come to the throne immediately after the death of the old king, then might have been dispossessed of his throne by some enemy and then again, might have regained his throne after some years. It is just a possibility, but we should not rule it out, for if we grant this, we can very well explain the conflicting nature of details as given by Diodorus and Curtius.

Thus, this is what I believe about the sequence of events: (1) Xandrames was the son of the barber (2) The old king was murdered by a joint conspiracy of the queen and the barber. (3) Xandrames had come to the throne twice, once immediately after the death of the old king and again some years after the death of the old king. (4) There was no regency of the barber.

Keeping the possibility of such a construction of the Greek accounts in mind, let us, now, apply these accounts to the life of Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty.

But, here, at the very outset, we meet with a check. We seem to know nothing about the life of Chandragupta. What is known from the Gupta inscriptions is only this that he had married a princess of the Licchavi clan, and that it was with the help of these Licchavis that he had gained the throne of Magadha. We also know that the father and grandfather of Chandragupta were not the emperors of Magadha, they were petty chieftains. We know nothing more than this about the life of Chandragupta I. But I must point out that though the scholars are not agreed about its acceptance, Jayswal has propounded a theory which throws some light on the circumstances under which Chandragupta I had come to the throne. Some time back, a drama which is named as *Kaumudimahotsava* had been discovered and published. Jayswal has said that Caṇḍasena of that play is the same as Chandragupta I. I, along with some others, have already declared the acceptance of of Jayswal's theory. Only, I have proposed one or two emandations in Jayswal's reconstruction. I give here, a consolidated summary of the results of Jayswal's theory as modified by me.

There was a king of Magadha mamed Sundaravarman. He had no heir to the throne. He had, therefore, adopted Caṇḍasena as his heir. But some time after this adoption, Sundaravarman got a legal son by one of his queens. So Caṇḍasena "though calling (vyapadiśan) himself a scion of the Magadha family," contracted a relation (apparently a marriage relation) with the Licchavis and with their help killed Sundaravarman and himself ascended the throne of Magadha. I must, here point out that this fact of Caṇḍasena's coming to thone of Magadha with the help of the Licchavis alone shows that Caṇḍasena is to be identified with Chandragupta. In the whole history of Magadha, we know of no other king as having come to the throne with the help of the Licchavis. Only Chandrgupta is known to have formed an alliance with the Licchavis and thus gained the throne of Magadha. We should remember that the play also talks of the throne of Magadha and no other conntry. Therfore Caṇḍasena, who is said to have come to the throne of Magadha, with the help of the Licchavis, conld be no other than Chandragupta.

When the throne of Magadha passed on to Caṇḍasena, the old and faithful minister of Sundaravarman, removed Kalyāṇavarman

(who was his legal son born after the adoption of Caṇḍasena) to
the fastnesses of the Vindhyas. And when Kalyāṇavarma came to
age, taking advantage of Caṇḍasena's absence from Magadha (as he
had gone to quench a rebellion on the frontiers) they attacked
Magadha and put Kalyāṇavarmā on the throne.

Now, Jayswal has suggested (thongh not very clearly) that this
Caṇḍasena i. e. Chandragupta I thus dispossessed of the throne
might have died on the battle field. In this connection, I have
suggested that Caṇḍasena i. e. Chandragupta I was not killed in
the battle. but had retired to some place and that it was by the
exploit of Samudragupta that he had regained Pāṭaliputra. Allahbad
Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta clearly says "daṇḍam grāhayateva
kotakulajam puṣpāhvaye kriḍatā", which means that the scion of the
K ṭa family was the king of Pāṭliputra and that Samudragupta, after
defeating this prince of the Kota family, had entered (krid cannot
be taken to mean play or amuse as some translators do) easily the
capital. At any rate, as is accepted by Jayswal, this verse of the
inscription clearly shows that Samudragupta had to reconquer
Pātaliputra. This would again mean that it was lost by himself or
by his father. I agree with Jayswal in identifying the prince of
of the Koṭa family with Kalyāṇavarmā of the play, but further
suggest that it was Samudragupta who had defeated Kalyāṇavarmā
and had reinstated his father on the throne of Pāṭaliputra; and it
was in recognition of such a noble deed of Samudragupta that out
of gratitude and love, Chandragupta I had appointed Samudragupta,
(who apparently was not his eldest son) as his heir and successor
to the throne, Chandragupta I, thus reinstated, had ruled for
some years and then died. And then came Samudragupta on the
throne.

I must also point out here that according to the authoress of
the play, Caṇḍasena belonged to a very low caste. On hearing that
Caṇḍasena had come to the throne of Magadha, a character of the
play exclaims :

स्वमीहशवर्णस्य राज्ञी :

which shows very clearly that Caṇḍasena was considered to belong
to a very low caste (varṇa). This is the reconstruction from the
play which has already been made.

Now, we shall apply the Greek accounts to Chandragupta I.
I must, here, declare that so far as I can see Xandrames and Sand-

rocottus are treated as two distinct individuals by the Greek writers themselves and I identify Xandrames with Chandragupta I and Sandrocottus with Samudragupta. If so, the details of the life of Xandrames as given by the Greek writers should tally with the details of the life of Chandragupta I and the details of the life of Sandrocottus as given by the Greek writers should tally with the details of the life of Samudragupta. Let us see whether it is so or not. Following are the incidents of Xandrames' life as I have interpreted them earlier:

(1) He was the son of a barber.

(2) He had succeeded the old king immediately after he was murdered by the joint conspiracy of the barber and the queen.

(3) He was ruling at Magadha when Alexander was in India.

(4) He had come to the throne twice, once immediately after the murder of the old king and again some years after his murder as is suggested by me above.

If we compare these points of the life of Xandrames with those of the life of Chandragupta I, we find some points of similarity and some of dissimilarity. The points of similarity are as under:

(1) Both were considered as belonging to a low caste—(cf. "a man of worthless character and held in no respect as he was thought to be a son of a barber"—D. "not merely a man originally of no distinction, but even of the very meanest condition"—C. ; as also the play *Kaumudimahotsava* p. 29-30 "kāraskarah sa khalu samprati pārthivānām" and "kutredṛṣavarṇasyāsya rājaśrih" which clearly mean that Caṇḍasena's varṇa i. e. caste was considered unworthy of royalty i. e. was very low.

(2) The king, who was murdered, was an old man. D actually calls him 'old king' and Sundaravarmā is positively described as old in the play (p. 30).

(3) This old king, according to both the accounts, was killed treacherously. Greek writers actually use the word 'treacherously', while the play says that Sundaravarmā was killed in a battle, but the words 'svayam magadhakulam vyapadisannapi magadhakulvairibhir licchavibhih saha sambandham kṛtvā labdhāvasarah (p. 30) suggest that Caṇḍasena's seige of Kusumapura was considered treacherous.

(4) Greek accounts, as I have shown above, suggest that Xandrames had come to the throne twice; and I have already suggested the possibility of Chandragupta I having come to the throne twice.

But there are points of dissimilarity also.

(1) The Greek accunts say that the father of Xandrames was a barber, while the play says nothing about Caṇḍasena's father. But here, there is no conflict, firstly because the authoress of the play had no occasion to mention the profession of Caṇḍasena's actual father and secondly because we are clearly told in the play that Caṇḍasena, apparently from his natural father's side, belonged to a very low caste. Therefore Caṇḍasena's father could have been a barber.

(2) Just as the play is silent about the barber, it is also silent about the love affair of the barber and the queen. But this also can be easily explained. As in the case of the barber, so here also, the authoress had no occasion to mention the love-affair. And even otherwise, it is clear that the authoress was patronised by a descendent of Sundaravaman and it is, therefore, most natural that she would like to avoid all references to the scandal about a queen of his patron's family.

(3) Diodorus makes the queen kill the old king, Curtius makes the barber kill the old king and the play makes Caṇḍasena (i. e. Xandrames) to kill the king. This only means, as I have already suggested that all the three together had planned the conspiracy and different sources apportioned the blame to different persons. Moreover, we can very well understand that the authoress would not involve the queen and therefore the barber also in the affair.

(4) The play says that Caṇḍasena (= Xandrames) was the adopted son of Sundaravarman (= the old king) while the Greek sources say that Xandrames was the son of a barber by one of the queens of the old king. Here it can be objected that according to Greek version Xandrames would be considered a natural son and not an adopted son of the old king, because he was born of the king's queen, and according to the play he was his adopted son. But we should remember that in both the cases the natural father of Xandrames was other than the old king, only the Greek sources seem to suggest that the old king did not know the fact and took him to be his own son, while the play clearly says that

Caṇḍasena (= Xandrames) was adopted by the old king, suggesting that there was no misunderstanding about his parentage.

But we must remember that, here, the Greek accounts are greatly confused. Diodorus says that Xandrames was born before the death of the king and Curtius says that he was born after the death of the king. Again Diodorus makes Xandrames to come to the throne immediately after the death of the king, and Curtius makes him to come to the throne some years after the death of the king, suggesting a period of regency of the barber. I think that this whole confusion can be explained thus:

Let us take it like this. Xandrames or Caṇḍasena was really the son of a barber (not by the queen). This barber had a real love-affair with the queen of the old king, and was able to pursuade the queen and through her the king, to adopt his son as the heir to the throne. In such a case, the story might become current that Xandrames was the queen's son by the barber. Again this would explain one other thing. The authoress says that Sundaravarman had adopted Caṇḍasena in a moment of weakness, not knowing his own mind (Svasvabhāvāviditayā). How was it that Sundaravarman, who, according to the authoress, belonged to an exalted kingly family, adopted a son belonging not to a royal family, but to a very low family? I think only a circumstance such as is mentioned by the Greek writers can explain this strange and unexpected conduct of the king. If the barber had obtained the love of the queen and through her the utmost confidence of the king, he must have vitiated the mind of the king to such an extent that the old king had no free will left to exercise. It must have been in such a moment of weakness that the king had adopted the barber's son. At any rate, such a construction of events satisfactorily explains the above-noted conflict between the Greek and the Indian accounts. The important point to be noted is that according to both the accounts the old king was not the natural father of Xandrames and that his natural father according to both the sources, belonged to a very low caste. The play mentions the name of the caste as Kāraskāra, and the Greek writers mention the profession of the father as that of a barber. As one mentions the caste and the other the profession, there is no conflict between the two accounts.

Here it may be urged that according to the Gupta inscriptions, Chandragupta I's (whom I identify with Xandrames and Caṇḍasena)

father was Ghaṭotkaca and his grandfather was Srī-Gupta, both of
whom held the title of Mahārāja. Thus Chandragupta I (= Xand-
rames, Caṇḍasena), being the son of a mahārājā, could not have
been the son of a barber 'scarcely staving off hunger by his daily
earnings.' This is an objection; but even this can be explained.
We know absolutely nothing about Ghaṭotkaca and Srī Gupta,
except that according to the inscriptions of his grandson, who had
become a real emperor of India (mahārājādhirāja), they held the
title of mahārāja. But if Xandrames of the Greek writers is the
same as Chandragupta I, Ghaṭotkaca must be the same as the
barber. I must say that it is not altogether impossible if Ghaṭot-
kaca who, at one time, was a poor barber, had later held the title
of mahārājā. In the first place his outlandish name suggests that
he belonged to a class or caste, which is unfamiliar in ancient
Indian royal dynasties. He might as well have been a Kāraskara
or a barber. It is not impossible if Ghaṭotkaca was actually living
as a barber and then had won the love of the queen and through
her, the favour of the king. If, as is told by Curtius, "he had
advanced to too near a place in the confidence' of the old king, it
is likely that he had pursuaded the king to bestow 'a jhagir' or
some districts upon himself or better upon his father—Gupta—,
which might entitle them to the title of mahārājā.[1] Indian kings,
giving away large districts and even whole kingdoms (like Kashmir
to Mātṛgupta) to their favourites are known to history. Therefore,
to me, there seems to be no inherent or insurmountable difficulty,
if we identify Xandrames with Caṇḍasena and both with Chandra-
gupta I.

If we consolidate the two accounts—the account of the play
and the accounts of the Greek writers—we can reconstruct thus.
Sundarvarman, the king of Magadha, was issueless. He had a queen
who was in love with a barbar named Ghaṭotkaca. This barber,
through her favour, rose in the esteem of the king and in due
course, (i) could make the king to bestow a goodly Jagir on his
family or on his father Gupta, and (ii) could further make the
issueless king to adopt his own son, who was then called
Caṇḍasena. This son would, now, be known as the son of king
Sundaravarma. He would thus be an heir to his throne. But when,
in his old age, Sundaravarman had a legal son by one of his queens,

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1. Ghaṭotkaca is a called Guptanāmādirāja by Prabhāvatigupta. Srī Gupta is
not even mentioned by her.

this adopted son Chandrasena, his father Ghatotkaca and the queen all the three together hatched out a plot, as a consequence of which, at first, Chandrasena was married to a Licchavi princess named Kumāradevi, and then taking advantage, probably of Sundaravarman's unawareness, they, with the aid of the Licchavis attacked Pataliputra and killed the old king. The seige laid to Kusumapura was probably laid treacherusly.

Then, after the death of Sundaravarman, Candrasena, who might have, now assumed the name Candra, came to the throne of Magadha. He ruled for some years and then, when he was away to quench a rebellion, the old ministers of Sundaravarman, taking advantage of his absence, put Kalyāṇavarman, the natural son of Sundaravarman, on the throne. This Kalyāṇavarman, then ruled for some years, at the end of which he was defeated in a battle by Samudragupta and then Chandragupta I was reinstated on the throne of Magadha.

Such a coustruction of events, though partially based on some imagination, is I think, plausible and removes all the conflict between the various accounts. As a matter of fact, one account supplements the other and we get the full story of the circumstances, under which Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty, came to possess the throne of Magadha.

Thus we find that the incidents of the life of Xandrames, as given by the Greek writers, are practically the same as the incidents of the life of Chandragupta I. (i. e. Candasena) as given in the play. Therefore, I identify Xandrames with Chandragupta I. And I identify Sandrocottus with Samudragupta. Let us therefore see whether the incidents of the life of Sandrocottus can be applied to the life of Samudragupta or not.

(1) The Greek writers say, Sandrocottus was without a throne. As such, he had seen Alexander, had offended him and was ordered to be put to death by Alexander: but he fled and thus saved himself. He, then, collected a band of robbers, defeated Alexander's prefects and after that he gained the throne of Magadha.

Now about the life of Samudragupta, we know that he had to conquer Pataliputra. The line "daṇḍam grāhayateva koṭakulajam puṣpāhvaye krīḍatā" found in the Allahbad inscription conclusively proves this, as is acknowledged by Jayswal. This means that when Samudragupta started his career, his father had lost Magadha.

We have seen above how Chandragupta I had lost his kingdom
of Magadha. Having lost it he and his family might have, necessa-
rily, fled away from Magadha. The place where they are likely to
have gone would be the place of their original habitation. Now
they, being kāraskiras, must have originally belonged to a country
of that name. Kāraskira, in spoken language can change to Kikir,
and Jayswal has actually identified Kāraskiras with Kakar Jāts of
the Punjab. Now I must submit that, according to Budhāyana
Dharma-sūtra (I, 1, 14), Kāraskiras were living beyond the Hindu
country proper and any one visiting their country had to undergo
a course of prāyaścitta, as they were considered low. Countries to
the west of the Indus are generally taken to be beyond the pale
of Hinduism, and we find the name Karkar or Kākar or Kokala
applied to certain tribes and certain localities in Sind, Balucistan
and the Punjab. There is a Kākara taluka in Larkhana district in
Sind. There is a Karkar range in Balucistan. There are some other
localities of the same name near about. Out of all these places I
think that Samudragupta and his father Chandragupta must have
repaired (when they were ousted from Magadha by Kalyāṇavarman)
to south-eastern coast (on the Arabian Sea) of the present Las
Bela state.

If Sandrocottus had seen Alexander and offended him, he could
not have met him in the Punjab. When Alexander had reached the
eastern-most point of his march, he was told by Poros what is
noted about Xandrames by Diodorus and Curtius. Evidently, at
that time Alexander had not seen Xandrames or Sandrocottus. There-
fore, it must have been after his retreat that Sandrocottus must
have met him.

I think that Sandrocottus had met Alexander in the district
which is named by the Greek writers as Oreitai and which is
identified by modern writers with the territory of Las Bela. Now
Arrian has noted (Indika XXIII, 7) that there was a place called
Kokala near the border of Oreitai. That is, Kokola must have
been situated on the southern coast of Las Bela state, because it
was reached as one left the Indus delta and took a coasting
voyage westwards. Kokala, I think, is the same as Kakar and it
was somewhere here (near the modern Kandewari in Las Bela State)
that Sandrocottus had met Alexander.

Thus if Sandrocottus met Alexander in this locality, it must
have been on the latter's return journey and somewhere in the

year 325 B. C. If at this time Sandrocottus had been living in
this locality, because his father had lost the kingdom of Magadha
we can well understand his mental condition. His father had lost
his kingdom. He himself was second or third son of his family,
and as such even if his father had any dominions left for himself,
he could not hope to inherit the same. And himself being a spirited
young man with high ideals and ambition, he might have thought
of acting on his own initiative. He seems to have gone to Alexan-
der for asking for his help or for some such purpose. But he did
not become successful in his mission. On the countrary, he seems
to have incurred the displeasure of the Greek emperor. This must
have utterly dejected him. And, though Justin's version reads more
like a fairy-tale, it is not altogether impossible, if in this mood of
dejection and exhaution, he was lying in some forest, where some
lion or tiger passed by him without harming him. Such a provi-
dential escape might well be interpreted as a good omen and
might fill a precocious youth with courage and confidence for
his future.

Then he collected a band of robbers or probauly of foresters
and first captured those districts in the north-west of India which
were left in charge of Alexander's prefects. And thus establishing
himself, he, then marched on to Magadha and conquered it.

Such a reconstruction is perfectly possible in Gupta history,
particularly when we know, from Samudragupta's own inscription
that he had to reconquer Pāṭaliputra which suggests that Chandra-
gupta I had lost it.

(2) The Greek writers say that Sandrocottus was born in
humble life. If Chandragupta I had lost his kingdom, it can be
said that Samudragupta belonged to humble life.

(3) The Greek writers say that after thus establishing himself
Sandrocottus had overrun and subdued the whole of India, and we
know that Samudragupta after obtaining Magadha did subdue the
whole of India, including the kingdom of Dakṣ ṇāpatha and
frontiers.

(4) Justin says that Sandrocottus practised tyranny and op-
pressed the people with servitude. The tradition that the Guptas
were wicked people had persisted upto the days of Al Beruni; but
I shall show, below, that our Indian sources also call Samudra-
gupta to have been very oppressive, at least in the beginning of
his career.

Thus I identify Xandrames with Chandragupta I and Sandrocottus with Samudragupta. Phonetically, Xandrames is the same as Candramas. Even Samudragupta can be related phonetically with Sandrocottus. Samudra has a dialectal variation like 'samandara' which through sa-undar (सउदर) can yield Sandra or Sandro. Thus phonetically there should be no particular objection in these two identifications.

I shall, lastly, show how Samudragupta is mentioned as oppressive in Indian sources.

In Mañjusrimūlakalpa, his character is given thus (Ed. R. Sankṛtyayana, appended to Jayawal's Imperial History of India, p. 48, verses 694 ff.)

"He was lordly, shedder of excessive blood, of great powers and dominion, heartless, ever vigilant (mindful) about his own person, unmindful about the hereafter, sacrificing animals; with bad councillor he greatly committed sin."

Here Samudragupta is described as shedder of excessive blood, heartless and doer of sin, which shows that the Buddhist author of MMK took him to be oppressive.

But I must, here, declare that even the Purāṇas give a similar character to Samudragupta. Scholars say that Samudragupta, and for the matter of that no Gupta king is named in the Purāṇas by name. But I must say that it is not so. Not only Samudragupta is mentioned in the Purāṇas, but a very graphic picture of his character is given in the Purāṇas. As the question is of utmost importance, as it has not been detected so far by any one else, and as it sheds a considerable light on the Gupta history, I shall discuss it fully.

It will be seen that after the Āndhras, there is a section in the Purāṇas, which is named by Pargiter as 'Various Local Dynasties.' That section describes the various local dynasties which were 'more or less contemporaneons' as Pargiter says. Or, to be correct, they were the various local dynasties, which ruled during the period of 400 to 500 years, during which the Āndhras, according to the Purāṇas, ruled. The last king of this section is Vindhyaśakti; who was the founder of the Vākāṭaka house. And, according to the modern scholars the rise of Vindhyaśakti was

some 70 years before the rise of the Guptas, so that this section brings the history to 70 years before Samudragupta.

Then follows the section which Pargiter names as, "Dynasties of Vidiśā etc." That section comes down to Pravira i. e. Pravarasena I, (the son of Vindhyaśakti) and to the four sons of Pravarasena I. Now Rudrasena I (Vākāṭaka), who was defeated by Samudragupta, was the son of one the four sons of Pravarasena I. Here it should be remembered that none of these four sons of Pravarasena I seems to have ruled and that therefore, Rudrasena I succeeded Pravarasena I almost directly. Therefore this section, which closes almost at the rise of Rudrasena I, comes down practically to the time of Samudragupta.

Then follows the section named by Pargiter as, "Dynasties of the Third century A. D." In this section various local dynasties are described and brought down actually to the rise of S.mudragupta. "In Mekalā 7 kings will reign 70 years," and Jayswal has taken (*His of India p. 181*) these seven kings to be the early 7 Pallavas, making last Viṣṇugopa, a contemporary of Samudragupta. Along with this is described, in the same section, a king of Magadha named Viśvasphaṇi, whom I identify with Samudragupta.

Then follows the section called by Pargiter as 'Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth century.' These dynasties also come down to the time of Samudragupta. Kanaka or Kāna of this section is actually taken by Jayswal (p. 129 ff) as a contemporary of Samudragupta. In fact, both the sections named by Pargiter as 'Dynasties of the Third Century A. D.' and as 'Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth century, form one section, giving various local dynasties that ruled from the time of the establishment of the Vākāṭaka dynasty by Pravarasena I to the time of the rise of Samudragupta. Viṣṇugopa and Kāna are taken, as shown above, to be contemporaneous with Samudragupta. Even Pargiter says that these lists come upto to the rise of the Guptas (i. e. early fourth century). Thus it is quite clear that these Puranic descriptions come upto and stop at the rise of the Guptas i. e at the time of Chandragupta and Samudragupta. Viśvasphaṇi is the last king named and described as the king of Magadha. I think that he is Samudragupta. I shall quote the verses which describe viśvasphaṇi.

मान्धातं महावीर्यं
विश्वस्फाणिं विष्यति
उत्साद्य पार्थिवान्सर्वान्
साद्रश्यान्तर्णान्करिष्यति
कैवर्तान्पन्नकांश्च
पुलिन्दान्व्याह्माणांस्तथा
स्थापयिष्यति राजानो
नानादेशेषु ते जनाः
विश्वस्फाणिर्महासत्त्वो
शुद्धे विष्णु समो बली

मान्धानां तु भविता
विश्वर त्तेः पुरंजयः

करिष्यत्यपरान्वर्णान्
पुलिन्दयुद्धमद्रकान्
प्रजाधाच्छम्भूयिष्ठाः
स्थापयिष्यति दुर्मतिः
वीर्य वान्धप्रमुन्पाद
पद्मावत्यां स वै पुरी

विश्वस्फाणिर्नृपतिः क्षीवाकृतिरिवोच्यते
उन्साद बिन्वा क्षत्रं तु क्षयमन्यत्र रिष्यति
देवान्नृ श्च विप्रांश्च तर्पयित्वामकृत्युनः
गाह्वीतीरमासाद्य शरीरं यस्त्यसे बली
संन्यस्य स्वशरीरं तु शक्रलोकं गमिष्यति.

(Pargiter *DKA*, p. 52–58)

The above description of Visvasphani suggests a great conqueror and a great emperor. The question is this. Who was this great conqueror and emperor, who ruled at Magadha just after the time of the four sons of Pravarasena I and contemporaneously with Visnugopa and Kana? My emphatic answer to this question is he can be none else than the great Samudragupta himself. The description and the position are unmistakable. At the period at which, the Puranas put Visvasphani i. e. at the period which followed the period of the four sons of Pravarasena I, there was no other king of Magadha, with whom the description and the position given to Visvasphani in the Puranas, can fit in.

Jayswal has identified (*Hist of India* p. 42 ff.) Visvasphani with Vanasphara, the Satrap of Kaniska and has placed him in c. 90–120 A. D. But his identification is untenable. Visvasphani of the Puranas was a great conqueror and emperor, Vanasphara was neither. Visvasphani was the ruler of Magadha, Vanasphara is not known to have ruled at Magadha. Puranas put Visvasphani, as we have just seen, after Vindhyasakti, Pravarasena I and the latter's four sons. Jayswal himself puts the rise of Vindhyasakti in c. 248 A. D. How, then, Vanasphara, whom he places in 90–120 A. D., can be the same as Visvasphani ? The identification is, therefore, to be rejected. Nor is Visvasphani the same as Vindhyasakti

or the same as one of the four sons of Pravarasena I, as is tentatively suggested by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (*Ancient India*, Vol I, p.17a). It is a mere querry and there is nothing whatsoever to support it. On the contrary, the Purāṇas very clearly distinguish between Vindhyasakti, Pravarasena I his four sons on the one hand and Visvsphaṇi on the other.

Jayswal's desperate suggestion is due to sound-similarity between the names Vanasphara and Visvasphaṇi. I think that the name Visvasphaṇi in the Purāṇas stands for the original tribal name of Samudragupta. His grandfather, we know, bore an outlandish name Ghaṭotkaca. His father's name was Caṇḍasena. I think that his original name must have been something like Vindapharna a name which we know as the original name of Gondopharnes. The ending pharna or pharnas is found in other names also. Xenophan has 'phan' at the end, which I think is allied to pharṇa. The Behistan rock inscription (Column IV, para 18) of Darius mentions two names like Vidafrana and Vayaspara. Herodotus spells Vidafrana as Intafarnes. Famous Rupaṛṇa of Nalopākhyāṇ also ends in parṇa. And I suggest that phani of Visvasphaṇi is a modification of this pharna. A name like Vindafrana or Vindapharṇa can easily be sanskritised into Visvasphaṇi. There can hardly be any doubt that phonetically the name Visvasphaṇi is meant to represent a name like Vindapharṇa; and the very fact that the name is spelt variously in the Ms. (Pargiter notes as many as 9 to 10 spellings of the name,) shows that it was a non-Sanskrit name, unfamiliar to the Purāṇikas and which they have tried to transliterate into Sanskrit as faithfully as they could.

If we take Visvasphaṇi as Samudragupta, we find that the Purāṇas have ignored Chandragupta I altogether and started the Guptas with Samudragupta. This is as it should be. MMK starts the Guptas with Samudragupta and not with Chandragupta I. We have seen earlier that Chandragupta I had lost his kingdom and it was Samudragupta who had regained it and expanded it into a real empire. Therefore, in fact it was Samudragupta who was the first Gupta emperor. And I have shown elsewhere[1] that Kālidāsa, too, started with Samudragupta in his plays, Samudragupta and **not** Chandragupta I being represented by the hero of his earliest play viz. Mālavikāgnimitra. Even otherwise he clearly starts the Guptas

1. See, Kālidāsa and the Guptas, in the Annual Report for 1944-45 of Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

with Samudragupta in his famous reference to them in Raghuvansa (āsamudrakṣitiśānām).

This also shows that Viśvasphaṇi is the same as Samudragupta. The Purāṇas say about Viśvasphaṇi that he had uprooted the existing kings and put others who will be abrāhmaṇas on their throne. The reading brāhmaṇa accepted by Parigiter is certainly wrong. Whole context requires it to be abrāhmaṇān, which is the reading of bvṣ. The Purāṇas are actually complaining that this Viśvasphaṇi had uprooted the existing Kṣatriya class and created i. e. put on the throne other Kṣatriya classes whom they call Kaivartas, Pulindas, Yadus, Madras etc.

Now read in this connection, the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta suggests that even Samudragupta had done the same. Regarding the kings of dakṣiṇāpatha, the inscription says 'sarvadakṣṇāpatharājagrahaṇmokṣanugraha etc; i e. He made the kings of the Southern countries accept his overlordship and then to rule as before. He did not uproot them. But about the kings of āryāvarta the insciption says—anekāryāvartarājaprasabhoddhara-noddhataprabhāvamahatā. This means that he had uprooted the āryāvarta kings, which would suggest that he must have put his own men to govern these āryāvarta countries. It is quite natural that being fresh, he would not trust the older families, at least' nearer home, particularly as some of them might have been relatives and allies of the Magadha king whom he had defeated and whose kingdom he had conquered. This policy of Samudrsgupta putting his own men (who naturally would be unbrahmanic) on the throne of the older unorthodox kings, seems to have been disliked by the Brahmana writers of the Purāṇas aud I think, that in the above verses regarding Viśvasphaṇi, we have the first reactions of the Brāhmaṇas towards this policy of Samudragupta, recorded.

This also shows that Samudragupta was at first taken to be oppressive and that is what Justin says.

Thus, at the end of this examination of the Greek evidence we come to this conclusion. (1) There are grave difficulties in applying the Greek accounts to the Nandas and the Mauryas. (2) It is equally possible, if not more possible, to equate the details given by the Greek writers with the lives of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta. Therefore, if from other considerations, we come to conclude that Gupta Chandragupta and not Maurya Chandragupta was Alexander's contemporary, the Greek evidence should not be put as an obstacle in the way.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PIYADASI INSCRIPTIONS

IF the Guptas are to be put from 329 B. C., as I have done here, then the inscriptions, which are now taken to be As'oka Maurya's cannot be his. I have put the start of the Mauryas in 1551 B. C., but XIII rock edict of these inscriptions mentions the name of those Hellenistic kings who are known to have ruled in c. 280 B. C. Therefore if the scheme of chronology advocated here is correct, either these Hellenistic kings should have flourished in the XV century B C. or these inscriptions are not As'oka Maurya's. I, here, suggest that these inscriptions can be Samudragupta's. Indeed, it is a very bold statement that the inscriptions, which have been so far ascribed to As'oka Maurya and one of which actually bears the name of As'ka, may, now, be ascribed to Samudragupta. It would look absurd, but I request the reader to be patient with me and consider all that I say very carefully and then only reject, if he needs must, my theory.

The personality of As'oka Maurya and the personality of Samudragupta have many traits in common. Indeed, it has been suggested with considerable force and reason that Samudragupta had actually and intentionally tried to mould his career after the example of As'oka maurya. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says (*Ancient India* p. 247—8):—

"The whole series of these conquests (conquests of Samudragupta) as detailed in one elaborate inscription which has come down to us of this great ruler, had for their object nothing more than the bringing under the control and influence of one suzerain monarch, the whole territory included in the area, which in the best of its days constituted the empire of As'oka. It must be borne in mind that this record of Samudragupta is indited on a pillar which carries on it an As'okan inscription as well. Did Samudragupta then emulate the exploits of As'oka? Did he, in fact, know the history of As'oka or the extent of his empire and could he

have read the document on the pillar of Aśoka? The answer to this question may be given in the affirmative, for certain reasons."

In this passage and in what follows in the next two or three pages, by means of able and lucid reasoning a modern scholar proves that both in his temporal and spiritual outlook, Samudragupta had followed in the footsteps of Aśoka Maurya. Thus Aśoka Maurya and Samudragupta had many traits in common.

Same is proved from two or three other sources. Let us first gather all the details of Samudragupta's character from different sources, even at the risk of a little repitition.

MMK gives the following traits of Samudragupta's character (p. 48)

(1) He was of good fame. (2) He was lordly, (3) shedder of excessive blood, (4) of great powers and dominion, (5) heartless (6) ever vigilant, (7) mindful about his own person, (8) unmindful about the hereafter (9) sacrificing animals (0) with bad councillor he greatly committed sin. (11) His government was inundated with carping logicians, vile Brāhamaṇas. (12) Men and manes had every luxury (in his days.)

Now, we should remember that this is written by a Buddhist writer. Keeping apart the sectarian venom in this description, we find Samudragupta described (1) as a great fighter and conqueror and (2) as addicted to non-Buddhistic faith—he had performed animal-sacrifices and had satisfied manes.

I have earlier quoted the Puranic passages about Viśvasphaṇi and I have identified this king with Samudragupta. Therefore, according to the Purāṇas, Samudragupta will have the following traits in his life.

(1) He was a great hero (mahāvirya, mahāsattva (2) He was a foreigner or non-Brahmanic in his outlook (3) He had conquered practically all the ruling kings of his time (4) He had created a new military and ruling class by uprooting the earlier Kṣatriya class. So far the description refers to the conquering hero. Then the Purāṇas say that (1) he had satisfied (i. e. worshipped) Gods, manes and Brāhmanas, not once but repeatedly (asakṛt) (2) He had retired to Jāhnavitira at the end of his life. (3) He had resorted to Yoga (yañsyate) at the end of his life. (4) He had actually

taken sannyāsa (sannyasya) and gone to heaven (5) He was Viṣṇu-samo bali, which may mean strong like Viṣṇu or strong and like Viṣṇu.

If we compare this description of Samudragupta, with the one given in MMK, we find that both call him a great hero, a great conqueror. But there seems to be some conflict between the two. MMK calls him un-Buddhistic i. e. Brahmanic in outlook, while the Purāṇas describe him as un–Brahmanic. But this conflict is apparent only. Even the Purāṇas call him a true Brāhmaṇa, when they say that he had worshipped repeatedly, the Gods, manes and Brahmanas. That is exactly what MMK, too, means, when it says 'men and manes had every luxury (in his days)'. Only, the description of the Purāṇas is fuller than that of MMK.

In the Purāṇas, we have a personality described which is, at once, marked out as unique. He seems to have started his career as a conquering hero, in which capacity he was mighty, strong, irresistible and even ruthless. Upto this time he was un-Brahmanic in his outlook. But later, he seems to have changed his character entirely. He, who was a non-Brahmana by birth, who had uprooted all the orthodox Kṣatriyas and put a—Brahmaṇas on the thrones of the indeginous princes, later, worshipped, not once but often the Gods, manes and Brahmaṇas. This only means that though origi-nally a non-Brahmaṇa, he became a true Hindu by retiring to the Ganges as a sannyāsi, and actually worshipped Brahmaṇas. The description, though brief, reminds one of the very vivid picture given by Jayswal of the great welcome change that came over the character of the Gupta rule in the days of Samudragupta. The outlandish monarch became the truest of Hindus. Like the Raghus, he actually abandoned his body by yoga (yogenānte tanutyajām). He, as the Purāṇas would suggest was parama bhāgavata (Viṣṇu samo). Such an emperor, who, in the Purāṇas is described as the monarch of Magadha, coming soon after the four sons of Pravara-sena I, I have made bold to say, could be no other than the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta.

Precisely the same is the character given to Samudragupta by Hariṣeṇa in his Allahbad praśasti. The praśasti, too, like the Purāṇic description of Viśvasphaṇi, divides itself into two parts. The first part describes the conquering hero, actually mentioning like the Purāṇas that he had uprooted all the Āryāvarta kings,

which means that he had put others of his caste to govern the conquered countries. (In Puranic language he had created a new Kṣatriya class.) This part, like the part of Viśvasphaṇi's life given in the Purāṇas, shows that he was a great conqueror and emperor. Only, the court-poet of the great emperor cannot complain of his oppressive policy, as the Purāṇakāras, with a more native outlook and with a more honest insight, would do. That is only to be expected. But apart from the complaining mood of the Purāṇas, both the Praśasti and the Purāṇas describe the same personality in the first part of their description. And, if it is true of the first part, it is all the more true of the second part of the description in both the sources. In the second part, the Purāṇas depict him as the truest of Hindus, as the most religious person and almost a mukta (Sakralokam gamiṣyati.) Hariṣeṇa, with his natural bias, depicts him as Viṣṇu incarnate. To Hariṣeṇa, he is so highly evolved spiritually that he, like the Supreme Reality, is acintya, Sādhvasādhudayapralayahetupuruṣa, bhaktyava natimātragrāhyamṛ iuhplaya and finally lokasamayakriyānuvidhānamātramānuṣa and deva. Thus both the Praśasti and the Purāṇas invest him with the highest of spiritual achievements.

Thus the Buddhist writer of *MMK*, the Brāhmaṇa writers of the Purāṇas, the court-poet Hariṣeṇa and the modern interpreters like Aiyangar and Jayswal all combine in giving us a picture of Samudragupta which is, at once, unique and outstanding. It will be seen that the life of Samudragupta as depicted by these authorities, tallies well with that of Aśoka Maurya in its two well—defined stages—one of ruthless aggressive violent policy and the other of calm and pious life. If, therefore, the Puranic description of Viśvasphaṇi refers to Samudragupta, as in all certainty it does, then we may say that Samudragupta, in his digvijaya and dyauvijaya (divam jayati), had followed the Mauryas and particularly Aśoka Maurya. Therefore, keeping this possibility in mind, let us, now, consider the question of the authorship of the Piyadasi inscriptions.

Aiyangar, with keen insight, has used an argument to show that Samudragupta had read the inscriptions of Aśoka Maurya. He has said that according to Hariṣeṇa, Samudragupta had the epithet of Kaviraja and Kaviraja, according to Rājaśekhara, was a title to be conferred on one, who was able to make compositions, not only in Sanskrit but also in the various dialects of the country.

Samudragupta, possessing the litte Kaviraja, was thus a good linguist. As such, Aiyangar ays, he could have read and understood the inscriptions of Asoka Maurya. I go a step forward and say that he had read Asoka Maurya's inscriptions and had himself composed others like his. I say this on the following grounds.

Even a casual student of Piyadasi inscriptions can see that there are two well-marked out groups of them one group comprising the fourteen principal rock edicts, two separate Kalinga edicts, the seven principal pillar inscriptions and the Queen's edict, and the other group comprising the minor rock edicts, minor pillar inscriptions and the Barbara cave inscription. The first group is entirely non-Buddhistic and positively cosmopolitan in character, while the second group is entirely and positively Buddhistic in character. Now I suggest that inscriptions of the first group were published by Samudragupta and those of the second group by Asoka Maurya. The two groups differ from one another, not only in their outlook (one being narrow and limited to a sect the other being broad and universal) but also in the maturity of expression and style.

In ascribing all the inscriptions of Asoka Maurya, the modern scholars have found certain difficulties:—

Regarding the history to Asoka's life, R. K. Mookerji says, (Asoka, p. 2): "Of the two sources of his history, the legends (whether Ceylonese or Indian) rather hover over his early life and tend to retreat before the light that the edicts throw upon his later life, his career as emperor. The two sources are sometimes in agreement but oftener in conflict."

In this connection, I suggest that when the tradition and the inscriptions are 'oftener' in conflict with one another, the traditions refer to one person and the inscriptions to another. If we assume like that, then the above difficulty felt by Mookerji will, automatically, vanish. Asoka Maurya's life seems to have been, almost from the start to the finish, a religious one. If the Kalinga edicts are to be referred to Samudragupta as I do, there is no other evidence to show that Asoka Maurya had extended the empire inherited by him. The only noteworthy events of his life would, then, be his conversion and his missionary activities in the cause of Buddhism. In that case it would be quite proper if the traditions (both Ceylonese and Indian) record such activities of his only.

Again let us consider what the modern scholars say about the religion of Asoka Maurya. Mookerji points out (p. 68): "We shall now treat of his public religion which he sought to present before his people. Negatively, we may say that it was not to be identified with any of the then prevailing faiths of the country. It was certainly not Buddhism, his own religion. 'We hear from him nothing concerning the deeper ideas or fundamental tenets of that faith; there is no mention of the four grand Truths, the eight fold path; the chain of causation; the Supernatural quality of Buddha; the world and the idea of difference which occupied the several sects are likewise ignored [Camb. Hist. of India I p. 505]. 'As also pointed out by Vincent Smith, the zeal of Asoka for Buddhism is proved, not by his presentation of Dharma, but by his references to the canon, by the cast of his language, by his pilgrimages to Buddhist holy places and by his active control of Church' [Asoka 3rd p. 60]. [adds Mookarji] i. e. by what does not appear in the principal edicts."

Thus, if these principal inscriptions are not ascribed to Asoka Maurya, there is nothing that is violated. They may as well not be his. In fact, if we ascribe the principal edicts to Asoka, it would be greatly surprising that he, who was a staunch missionary-Buddhist as he is known to be from the legends, should so scrupulously avoid in these edicts, all references to that religion. Buddhism, almost from its start and certainly in the days of Asoka Maurya, had been a missionary religion. Asoka is known, from traditions, to have sent out missions to different countries for the propagation of Buddhism. Is it, then, believable that such a staunch Buddhist, who had been an active controller of his Church and an active missionary of his religion, should, in the general broadcast (by means of these inscriptions) to his subjects and others, studiously avoid all references to Buddhism? To believe this is too great a strain on one's credulity. The conclusion should, rather be that the author of the principal edicts was not Asoka Maurya. What is the evidence, apart from an arbitrary interpretation of these inscriptions, to show that Asoka Maurya had a personal religion and a state religion as the modern scholars would have us believe? There is none whatsoever. This fundamental difference between the principal edicts and the known faith of Asoka Maurya's life, should, I think, make us to think before ascribing these principal inscriptions to Asoka. The most

natural conclusion is that the author of the principal inscriptions was not a Buddhist but a man of catholic outlook and therefore he could not be Asoka Maurya. But Samudragupta, who was, at first non-Brahmanic and non-Buddhistic in religion, could well have been a king with such a tolerant and catholic outlook.

It seems to me that Asoka Maurya was not a conqueror but was the faithful custodian of the great empire inherited by him, and apart from this he was a man of religion only. Samudragupta, on the contrary, was a conqueror, a victor and also as great a religious man as Asoka himself. Samudragupta, too, as would be clear from the principal inscriptions (if we ascribe them to him,) was a great missionary. The difference, however was this. What Asoka Maurya did for one religion viz Buddhism, Samudragupta did the same and perhaps more, for the beautifully cosmopolitan and vigorously practical religion (which he seems to have synthesised, taking the best from all the existing religions of the land) and which may have been termed by himself or by his immediate successors as Bhāgavata Dharma, but which we, today, with greater truth can name as Sanātana Hindu Dharma.

We have seen that the Buddhist writer of MMK considered Samudragupta a non-Buddhist. We have also seen that Purāṇakāras, at first, took him to have been non-Brahmanical. Thus Samudragupta owed no allegiance to any particular established religion. And if we bear in mind what Jayswal has said about the change of outlook, that came over the Guptas we can easily say that Samudragupta had developed a cosmopolitan outlook. He followed a policy of aggression at first, but he seems to have soon found out that if he wanted to establish an empire in India, he should live as a son of the land. And, therefore, he seems to have evolved this synthetic religion, of course leaning slightly on the side of Brahmanism (the upaniṣadic attitude), which, after all, had been the time-honoured religion of the country. Thus Samudragupta planned out and perfected what Akbar, 2,000 years later, planned but could not achieve. It is due to this cosmopolitan religious outlook of Samudragupta (and it was followed by his successors) that the author of MMK characterises the Guptas as 'the followers of via media in religious policy (madhyamadharmiṇaḥ P. 33). In fact, this description, by a Buddhist writer, of the Guptas strongly supports my position that Samudragupta had propounded, by means of these principal inscriptions, the Bhāgavata

Dharma, which, is so catholic in character and which the Buddhist writer has most aptly described as madhyamadharma. The Brahmanas might have disliked this new religion at first, but they must have, soon seen its great vitality and greater protective value (against heterodox religions) and therefore, they seem to have given it a place, nay made it a living part of their own religious scheme of lie.[1]

And, as we consider Samudragupta's career in this light as the giver of a new acceptable religion, we can well understand why Harisena designates him by the term 'dharmapracirabandha'. He must have synthesised the existing Brahmanic religions and put Visnu as the Godhead of that religion. That is why he was considered Visnus mo by the Puran karas and acintya, lokasamaya-kriyāmātranavidhānamānusa etc by Harisena.

If we bear in mind the above considerations, we can say that from the point of view of religious evidence as gathered from the legends about Asoka Maurya, the principal inscriptions, MMK, the Purāṇas and the Allahbad prasasti of Harisena, everything is against ascribing these principal inscriptions to Asoka Maurya and nothing against ascribing them to Samudragupta. On the contrary, there are some indications for ascribing them to the great Gupta emperor.

Earlier I have referred to Aiyangar's view that Samudragupta had emulated Asoka Maurya and had read and understood his inscriptions. In so far as he was a 'kavirāja' he was certainly a linguist and it is no wonder if he had, during his extensive expeditions, seen and read what we, now, term the minor inscriptions of Asoka Maurya. It is also possible that, being a well read scholar he had studied the lives of Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka and might have thought of veing with the Mauryas. Possibly the name Chandragupta, which was adopted by Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty (his original name being Candasena and later Candra only) was adopted by him at the suggestion of his son Samudragupta, to whom the idea might have been suggested by the name of the first Maurya king. He seems to have obtained the

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1. It is maintained by some that Krsna worship (particularly the worship of the cow—herd boy) had been prevalent in north-western parts of India. Is it not significant that Guptas who became great Bhagavatas, originally belonged to that part of India ?

idea of propagating his religion by the minor edicts of Asoka and to outshine him, possibly, he inscribed the principal edicts.

But the most important point to be considered in this respect is this. The author of the edicts makes it definitely clear that he turned to Dharma after witnessing the horrors of the Kalinga war. On this ground, it has been held that Asoka Maurya had been converted to Buddhism after his Kalinga slaughter. And yet both in Indian and Ceylonese traditions, no trace of his (Asoka's) Kalinga invasion and his subsequent nirveda is found. On the contrary, the reason of Asoka's conversion, according to all these traditions, was either the telling teaching of a Buddhistic monk or the nirveda caused by the sight of his narakālaya. Why is it that traditions, one and all, are entirely silent about the Kalinga incident ? They not only ignore the Kalinga incident but speak of other reasons for his conversion; but is it possible that the traditions would ignore the Kalinga incident altogether, particularly when the king himself, so publicly, announces that incident as the cause of his taking to Dharma ? The modern scholars have no answer for this. But on my hypothesis that the principal inscriptions including the Kalinga edicts do not belong to Asoka Maurya, the matter can be easily explained. It only means that those traditions which speak of the life of Asoka Maurya were altogether unaware of the Kalinga incident. The Kalinga war does not refer to Asoka Maurya, but to Samudragupta. Apart from the evidence of these inscriptions, there is nothing else to show that Asoka Maurya had conquered Kalinga. But we know positively that Samudragupta had conquered Kalinga. In fact, what is described as the Dakṣṇāpatha invasion of the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta seems to be the same as the Kalinga invasion of the edicts. The Allahabad inscription speaks of the king of Piṣṭapura as one of the kings vanquished by Samudragupta and Piṣṭapura is taken as the capital of Kalinga. Jayswal, with a rare insight, has shown that Samudragupta had not defeated the kings of Dakṣṇāpatha one after the other separately, but all the kings of Dakṣināptha who are mentioned in the praśasti, had formed themselves into a confederacy and it was against this confideracy of the southern kings that Samudragupta had fought and had obtained a decisive victory. According to Jayswal, this war against the confederacy had been fought at the Colair Lake, which was situated in the Kalinga country. Thus this war can very well be termed the Kalinga war.

In fact, there is a difficulty if we ascribe the Kaliṅga war to Aśoka Maurya. It is usually believed that it was Chandragupta Maurya, who had established the great Mauryan empire subjugating countries as far south as Mysore. Aśoka had added only Kaliṅga to this empire. According to this Aśoka must have fought against the Kaliṅga king alone and not against a confederacy. Now the edicts say that in the Kaliṅga war, 10,00 0 men were killed, 1,50000 men were taken prisoners and many more had perished. This amounts to the huge number of three to four lakhs. Is it possible that in fighting against one small country like Kaliṅga (which is not known to have been any significant power in the days of Aśoka) so great an army was involved and such huge casualities had occured ? I do not think this to be possible. On the contrary, if we take it that the Kaliṅga war of the edicts was fought by Samudragupta, we can very well explain these huge numbers. Samudragupta, as Jayswal has shown, had fought in Kaliṅga, against a joint confederacy of several kings and there fore the war must have been very terrific, involving such huge casualities and such terrible horrors, which opened the doors of Samudragupta's inner soul. It is for this reason that I think that Aśoka Maurya had neither fought the Kaliṅga war nor had he conquered the country of Kaliṅga. It was Samudragupta, who had fought that war, as a result of which he (Samudragupta, not Aśoka Maurya) turned to dharma. It is for this most obvious reason that the traditions are entirely silent about this most outstanding incident in the monarch's life. This alone, I think, is enough to prove that the author of the principal edicts is not Aśoka Maurya.

It is known from the traditions that Aśoka Maurya had sent out missions to various countries for the propagation of Buddhistic religion. The XIII rock edict also refers to such missions. Let us examine the list of countries, which are mentioned in both these sources. According to the Ceylonese traditions, Aśoka Maurya had sent out missions to the following countries.

Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahiṣimandala (Mysore), Vanavāsi (North Kannara), Aparānta (coast north of Bombay), Mahārattha (west central India), Yona region (N. W. F. provinces), Himavanta (Himalaya region), Suvarnabhūmi (Pegu and Moulmein) and Laṅkā (Ceylon). (See V. smith, Asoka, 2nd ed. p. 44).

Let us compare this list with the list that we find in XIII rock edict. There in his own dominions the following are men-

tioned:— Yavana, Kamboja, Nabhaka, Nabhampati, Bhoja, Pitinika Andhra and Pulinda. North to his dominions are mentioned Antiochus and the four Hellenistic kings and to the south are mentioned Pāndya, Cola and Tamraparni.

This shows that the traditional list omits (1) the Hellenistic kings and (2) the Tamil kingdoms, while the edicts omit Himavanta, Suvarnabhumi and Lankā. This change could not have been accidental.

Vincent smith has, thus, explained the absence of the Hellenistic kings from the traditional list (2nd ed. p. 44).

"The exclusion of the Hellenistic kingdoms from the Ceylon list is easily explained, when we remember that those kingdoms had ceased to exist centuries before that list was compiled." But I do not see how the explanation is so easy. Was the actual list handed down by tradition or was it made up centuries after the Hellenistic kingdoms had been extinct? Or, shall we say that, because in the age in which the lists were compiled the Hellenistic kingdoms had ceased to exist and therefore though their names were handed d wn by traditions, the compilers dropped their names from the lists?

Again in the Ceylonese list of missions, the Tamil kingdoms are omitted and the reason for their omission as given by Vincent Smith is very funny (p. 140-1). "The omission of the Tamil countries of the Southern India may be ascribed to the secular hostility between the Sinhalese and the Tamils of the mainland, which, naturally would indispose the oppressed Sinhalese to recognise the ancestors of their oppressors as having been brothers in faith". I shall not quote more. The explanation is neither natural nor rational. It means that though the traditionally handed down lists contained the names of these Tamil kingdoms yet the Ceylon-se priests omitted them for not acknowledging the ancient Pandyas and Colas as their brothers in faith. But may we ask, how, by omission of the names of these Tamil kingdoms, was the sense of retaliation or the sense of pride and dignity of the Ceylonese satisfied? The whole explanation is half-hearted, unnatural and uncovincing

The most simple explanation can be this that Aśoka Maurya had not sent missions to the Hellenistic kingdoms (not because

they had ceased to exist centuries before, but because they were yet to come centuries later) and the Tamil lands. It only means that the author of XIII rock edict was not Aśoka Maurya. The omission of the Himalaya region and the regions of greater India and Ceylon in the rock edict also shows the same thing that these lists refer to two distinct monarchs. In fact, one is a list of missionaries sent out for the propagation of Buddhistic religion (as the Ceylonese tradition avers) and the other is a list sent out for the propagation of a religion which was anything but Buddhistic. Now what I ask is this. Is it possible that one and the same king would send out missions to the same countries once for the propagation of one religion and then for the propagation of another religion which had nothing in common with the first religion. It sounds abseurd. If both these lists refer to Aśoka Maurya, we come to an absurd position. It would only mean that Aśoka Maurya did not know his own mind and was a greatly vascillating man, once propagating one religion and next propagating another religion. But he was not a vascillating man; the traditions unanimonsly make him a consistently staunch Buddhist. Therefore, the conclusion becomes inevitable that these lists refer to two distinct kings. And, if the Ceylonese list refers to Aśoka Maurya, as it surely must, then the list in XIII rock edict does not refer to him.

Thus on the one hand, we find that there are many insurmountable difficulties if we ascribe the inscriptions of the first Group (i. e. the principal ones) to Aśoka Maurya, on the other hand we find that there are some very clear indications to refer them to Samudragupta.

(1) If we compare the Puranic passages describing Visvasphani (—Samudragupta), the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta and these Piyadasi inscriptions of the first group (made by me), we find the same personality reflected in all the three. The Purāṇas, as we have seen, divide the life of Viśvasphaṇi in two distinct periods—one of ruthlesss aggression and the other of modest religious piety. The Allahabad Inscription, curiously enough, divides the whole description of Samudragupta into two parts—one depicting him as a ruthless warrior and the other as a man of accomplishments and above all as a man of highest religious attainments. And these Piyadasi inscriptions also speak of the first eight years

of ruthless period of the emperor's life and of a later period of
piety and tranquility. Thus we find that all the three sources
speak of a personality which presents two extremes of ruthlessness
and religiousness.

From the traditions, we know that Aśoka Maurya was an
extremely pious man, but no tradition tells us of his accomplish-
ments as a great conqueror, much less of his ruthless aggression.
Samudragupta, on the other hand, we know both from the Allaha-
bad inscription and from the Purāṇas (as also from *MMK* and
Jayswal's estimation of his character) did combine both the above
extremes in him. And these Piyadasi inscriptions also speak of the
two extremes; therefore these inscriptions of the first group can
well belong to Samudragupta.

(2) We have, earlier seen how in Āryāvarta 'proper i. e, in
his home provinces Samudragupta had put kings of his own tribes
which were a—Brahmanic. And here in rock edict XIII also out of
the kings of his home provinces, Yavanas, Kambojas, Nabhakas
and Pulindas are definitely a–Brahmanic. This also links up the
edicts with Samudragupta.

(3) That these Piyadasi inscriptions belong to a Gupta king
is indicated from the Queen's Pillar Edict. This edict was inscri-
bed by the order of the second queen Kāluvāki (=Kāruvaki or
Cāruvāki) who was the mother of a prince named Tivala or
Tivara. Now I think that this name in all likelihood is of a
Gupta prince.

We learn from Sanjam plates of Amoghavarsa, son of Govinda
III (Ep. Ind XVIII, p. 240 and 245 and also XIII, p. 253) that
there was a Somavansi dynasty of Sripura or Sirpur in southren
Kosala. In that dynasty there was a king named Tivaradeva, whose
full name was Mahāsivagupta Tivaradeva. This Tivara was the
elder brother of Candragupta and uncle of Harṣagupta. He ruled
in c. 750 A. D.

These Gupta-endings of the name and the whole names Candra-
gupta and Harṣagupta, suggest that this Tivardeva belonged to a
Gupta family. The name Tivara is peculiar and looks foreign and
as the same is found in the Queen's edict, Tivara of that edict
also might have been a Gupta. This is only tentative, but if so
this Kāluvāki was the second queen of Samudragupta and not of

Asoka Maurya. We should not forget that this Queen's edict is inscribed on the same pillar on which Harisena's prasasti of Samudragupta is engrav d.

(4) We cannot say that because the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta is in Sanskrit and these Piyadasi inscriptions are in Prakrit, they cannot belong to Samudragupta, for:- (1) Samudragupta being a kaviraja, knew quite well Prakrits and Apabhramsas. Therefore he could have used Prakrit. (2) The Queen's edict is in Prakrit and that edict as I have suggested prob bly belongs to Samudragupta's queen. (3) Though we do not possess any Prakrit inscription of Samudragupta, there is an inscription which reads ddaguttassa, which can only be restored to Samudragupta And even otherwise, there is nothing wrong if we say that for public proclamations, which were intended as orders or instructions to general masses (as the Piyadasi inscriptions, avowedly, are) he had used Prakrit dialects and for his official record (the Allahabad Inscr ption) he had used Sanskrit.

(5) And finally, I wish to point out that not only Samudragupta had emulated Asoka Maurya, but he seems to have adopted the title of Asokaditya as well. Kaliyugarajavrttanta, as quoted by Krishnamachariar clearly states that Samudragupta had the title Asokaditya.

But we have not to depend on Kaliyugarajavrttanta only for this. I find that even Kalidasa suggests very loudly that Samudragupta had the title Asokaditya. I have shown elsewhere[1], that Kalidasa, in his various works has, not only sung the glories of the Guptas, but has made covert references to the Gupta kings. There, I have shown that in Malavikagnimitra, Kalidasa has taken Agnimitra to represent Samudragupta and Malavika to represent Dattadevi. I have actually shown how Kalidasa has used the name Dattadevi punningly for Malavika and how immediately after that pun Agnimitra is compared to Samudra (gupta).

There, I have already drawn attention to a peculiar feature of Kalidasa's similes. I have shown that in Vikramorvasiya, because he wishes to suggest the identity of Chandragupta II, he has, in the 3rd act depicted the scene of Candrapuja and has used the

1. See, Kalidasa and the Guptas in the Annual Report for 1944-45 Gujarati Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

upamāna of candra repeatedly. In Raghuvaṅśa, because he wants
to suggest the identity of Skandagupta, he has used the upamāna
Kumāra or Skanda repeatedly. Read in the same context, it will
be found that Kālidāsa uses, in Mālavikāgnimitra, the upamāna
Aśoka (for Agnimitra, by whom he has suggested Samudragupta)
repeatedly.

Fulfilment of the dohada of Aśoka is a very important incident
in the final stage of the play. I suggest that under the garb of
the Aśoka tree, the poet wishes to suggest the fulfilment of the
desire of the hero (both the expressed hero Agnimitra and the
suggested hero Samudragupta alias Aśokāditya) I have already
shown how Mālavika is taken to represent Dattadevi and Agnimitra
to represent Samudragupta. Read in the same connection, it will
be seen that when Mālavika is asked to fulfil the desire of Aśoka,
it becomes doubly true, for she fulfils the desire of the tree Aśoka
as well as the king Aśoka. There are many expressions in the text,
where there are clear puns upon the word Aśoka. I shall here,
mention two or three most outstanding instances.

(1) When the king sees Mālavika for the first time engaged
in her mission, he asks Vidūṣaka, कथमशोकदोहृदनिमित्तोऽयमारम्भ :
and Vidūṣaka's reply is peculiar. He says

किं नु खलु जानासि त्वम् मम कारणाद्देवीमामन्त्र:पुनरप्येन योऽभिप्यतीति ।

Apparently it is a dig at the king, but to the contemporary
court audience, who knew Kālidāsa had already suggested Dattadevi
and Samudragupta through the heroine and the hero of the play,
who further knew that Samudragupta bore the title Aśoka, it will
be at once, plain that the king probably took the word Tapaniyā-
śoka, mentioned earlier in the text to refer to himself and Vidū-
ṣaka here dispels that doubt. Such a pun is still clearer in the
following.

(2) When Mālavika is ready to kick the tree, with her leg
decorated and painted, Bakulāvalikā says to her.

हला उत्तिष्ठ अशोकविकासयितृकं देव्या नियोगमनुतिष्ठ

and then

एव उपाहृतराग: उपभोग्यम: पुरस्ते वर्तते.

And Mālavika mistaking Aśoka to refer to the king exclaims
किं भर्ता, and it is then, that the maid removes her doubt by saying.

न ताव्द्रतां एषोऽशोकश्राखावलम्बी पत्रबगुच्छ:

Here bhartā i. e. the king is very clearly misunderstood for Aśoka and that can happen particularly when the king bore the name Aśoka.

(3) Irāvati, when angry says in a huff

पूरय पूरय अशोक: कुसुमं न दर्शयति अयं पुन: पुष्पत्यंब

Here, too, the sense is 'the tree Aśoka will not flower, but this Aśoka (the king) will certainly favour you.'

Instances such as these, when read in the whole context of my paper already mentioned, leave no doubt that Kālidāsa has taken Aśoka to be another name of the person who is suggested through Agnimitra and I have already said that Samudragupta is suggested through Agnimitra.

And at the end, in this connection, I wish to draw attention to the expression of tapaniyāsoka used so often by Kālidāsa in this play. Throughout the play the Asoka which is to be kicked is called tapaniyāsoka. Now tapaniyāsoka seems to have been a rare variety of Aśoka and as such might have been prized much. But in the whole context of my theory, the words tapaniyāsoka may be taken in two senses. (1) tapana is the sun i. e. aditya and therefore Tapaniyāsoka may mean Asokāditya (2) तपनीय means gold (Suvarṇa) and su+varṇa may be translated as priya su+darṣi (varṇa) and thus the whole expression may mean Priyadarsi Asoka.

But apart from the question whether Samudragupta bore the title of Aśoka or not, I have tried to show here, that the Piyadasi inscriptions of the first group can belong to Samudragupta and we should remember in this connection that it is only in one of the copies (at Maski) of the minor (not principal) rock edicts that the name Aśoka is found.

At the end of this whole discussion I wish to say this that in view of the above discussion the question of the authorship of these Pyadasi inscriptions should not stand in the way of our conclusion that it was Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and not Candragupta Maurya, who was the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GUPTA ERA

BUT inspite of all that I have said so far, it can still be argued, as the most formidable objection to my scheme of chronology, that all this goes against the start of the Gupta Era. Scholars, today, put the start of the Gupta Era in 319-20 A. D.: and this they do on the authority of Al Beruni, who says that the Gupta Era was removed by 241 years from Sakakāla. Thus we get 241 + 78 = 319 A.D. as the initial date of G. E. (Gupta Era). This evidence and the evidence marshalled by Fleet and others in support of this date for G. E. looks so conclusive that to doubt it would be to show one's own folly. And yet almost from the start to this day, scholars have disagreed and put forward various dates as the starting point of G. E. Thus 167 A. D. (Cunningham), 272-73 A. D (Pai), 200 A.D (Sharma, Shah) 57 B. C. (Mookerji) are the dates put forward for the start of G. E. We should, therefore, in all fairness examine the question. I do not propose to go into the history of these various theories. I shall, here, confine myself to a mere statment of arguments in support of my date of G. E.

In the earlier part of this work, I have put the accession of Chandragupta, I. in c. 329 B.C. Now what I think is this. 329 B.C is the date of Chandragupta I's first accession to the throne, after he defeated and killed Sundravarman. Then he ruled for some years, was defeated and ousted away by Kalyāṇavarman, lived in exile for some years and then was reinstated on the throne by Samudragupta. This reinstatement I think occurred somewhere between 312-310 B. C. and it is with this date of Chandragupta I's reinstatement that the Imperial Gupta era started. This date I think is supported by the following considerations.

Al Beruni says:— "— the epoch of the Guptas falls, like that of the Vallabha era, 241 years later than Sakakāla." (Al Beruni's India, Sachau, II p. 7). Our modern scholars take their stand on

this statement of Al Beruni and put the start of G.E. in
$241 + 78 = 319$ or 320 A. D. But this sentence of Al Beruni means
that G. E. as well as Vallabha Era fell 241 years later than Sakak-
āla. Strictly, therefore, we should take two distinct eras (one
called the Gupta Era and the other called the Vallabha Era) to
have started in the same year viz 319 A. D. But then did these
two eras start in one and the same year—319 A. D.?

If the statement of Al Beruni is read properly it becomes clear
that he has compared the beginning of G.E. with the beginning of
Vallabha Era and according to him both the eras started 241
years later than Saka kāla. We generally consider Saka kāla to be
the Sālivāhana Era of 78 A. D. But earlier in this work I have
shown that there was an earlier Saka Era, that it has been used
by the western Kṣatrapas in their documents and that that Saka
Era started in c. 552 B. C. I, therefore, suggest that G. E. had
started 241 years later than this Sakakāla, i. e. in c. 312 to 310
B. C. Therefore it was in 312-10 B. C. that Chandragupta I was
reinstated. He, then ruled for some years and then Samudragupta
succeeded him. I would put Samudragupta's acc. in c. 307-5 B. C.
It is said that Seleucos invaded Indian border between 304 and
302 B. C. Thus at the time when Seleucos corssed the Indian
border, Ch I (Xandrames) had just died and Samudragupta (Sandrocottus)
had just come to the throne. Plutarch's phrase, "by that time'
would suggest that Sandrocottus had come to the throne recently,
when Seleucos invaded the Indian border. As I have suggested
earlier it was Samudragupta, who by his prowess had reconquered
his father's lost dominions and reinstated him on the throne in
c. 312-310 B. C. By about 303 B. C., when Seleucos invaded, the
Gupta power must have been well consolidated and therefore it
must not have been difficult for Samudragupta to have defeated
Seleucos.

Thus I put the start of G. E. in c. 312-10 B. C. and I explain
the statement of Al Beruni as I have done above. I shall point
out that the date arrived at by me for G. E. viz 312-10 B. C. is
also supported by a mass of other evidence, which I shall, now,
describe.

(1) Purāṇas have given the time of the beginning of the
Gupta power in the clearest terms possible. While describing
Viśvasphaṇi the Magadha king and the dynasties which just preceded

him, the Purāṇas say that all these dynasties (which preceded Viśvasphaṇi) will rule āmanukṣayāt. This expression can only mean "upto the end of Manvantara." Pargiter translates this by 'till the termination of the Manus' or by 'as long as Manu's race.' But the Puranic context can accept only one translation of this phrase and that is "upto the end of the Manvantara." Now I have shown earlier that one Manvantara was taken as closed and a new Manvantara was taken as started with Parikṣit. Taking a Manvantara to have 71 caturyugas according to the usual formula and equating caturyuga with 40 years, I have said that $71 \times 40 = 2,840$ years had passed from Manu Vaivasvata to Parikṣit; and that Manvantara of 2,840 years was taken as closed with the end of the 71st king-name represented by Abhimanyu. Now, the new Manvantara started with the accession of Parikṣit will naturally, close after 71 king-units i. e. after $71 \times 40 = 2,840$ years. I have put Parikṣit's acc, in 3136 B. C. Therefore this new Manvantara will close in $3136 - 2840 = 296$ B. C. And I have put Samudragupta's acc in c. 307-5 B. C. He ruled for about 50 years. Therefore Viśvasphaṇi who is described as just ruling after manukṣaya or the end of the Manvantara, was none else than Samudragupta who ruled for about 40 years after manukṣaya. Thus, according to the Purāṇas the start of the Guptas has to be put in about 296 B. C. and I have put it in c. 312-10 B. C.

(2) Just as the above Manvantara calculation puts the start of the Guptas in c. 300 B. C., the following calculation based upon Saptarṣi Era also shows the same period for the Guptas. This is a very ancient Indian era and I have later given a separate chapter for considering the different problems connected with that era. It is an era, in which Saptarṣis are supposed to be conjoined with each of the 27 Nakṣatras for 100 years. Thus this era has a cycle of 2700 years.

Now in our extant Purāṇas we find the following lines. I quote them as they are printed by Pargiter.

(i) सप्तर्षयस्तदा प्रांशु
   प्रदीप्तेनाभिना समा :
   सप्तविंशतिमाब्दानाम्
   आन्ध्रान्तेऽन्वगात् पुन:

(ii) सप्तर्षयस्तदा प्राहु:
   प्रतीपे राष्ट्रि वै शतम्
   सप्तविंशे: शतैर्ब्ाब्या
   अन्ध्रान्तेऽन्वया: पुन: ।

(iii) सप्तार्षयो मघायुक्ता काले परिक्षिते शतम् ।
अन्ध्रान्ते तु चतुर्वि शे भविष्यन्ति शते समा:

Vu.	*Re.*
ते तु पारिक्षिते काले	(iv) ते त्वदीये द्विजा: काले
मघास्वासन्द्विजोत्तमा :	अधुना चाश्रिता मघा : ।

These passages seem to contain the following four different statements.

(i) Then, at the end of the Āndhras, the Saptarṣis, brilliant like a lighted fire, once again, reached the 27th century.

(ii) Then the Saptarṣis were in a century in the days of Pratipa; they, once again, reached the 27th century at the end of the Āndhras.

(iii) In the days of Parikṣit, Saptarṣis were in the century of Maghā. At the end of the Āndhras they will be in the 24th century (?).

(iv) Saptarṣis were in Maghā in your days as they are in Maghā now.

These statements seem confused because the texts have been confused. Pargiter has proposed to emend prāñṛu to Puṣya and then he says that Saptarṣis were in Puṣya in the days of Pratipa and then again at the end of the Āndhras they were in Puṣya. Thus he puts 2,700 years between Pratipa and Āndhra end. But there are objections in doing so. Firstly, there is no sanction for emending the text to Puṣya. Secondly, having done so, there is no sanction to connect Puṣya with Pratipa, for the text which contains the word prāñsu (which is emended to Puṣya) does not contain the word Pratipa. Thirdly, having taken Saptarṣis to have been in Puṣya in the days of Pratipa, Pargiter takes 814 years to have elapsed from Patipa to Parikṣit (i. e. for seven generations) (DKA p. 75 fn 4). This is evidently incorrect. Puranic texts are clear that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Parikṣit. Therefore, if they were in Puṣya in the days of Pratipa hardly 200 years should have elapsed between Pratipa and Parikṣit, because Maghā is removed from Puṣya only by one Nakṣatra viz Āśleṣa. And Pargiter himself at another place (p. 59 fn 41) takes 150 years to have elapsed between Pratipa and Parikṣit. Thus, Pargiter's emendation is unwarranted and his explanation on p. 75 incorrect.

I shall, therefore explain what these four Puranic statements mean. Taking (1) and (4) together, I think that what the Purāṇas mean is that from Parikṣit to Āndhra-end, a Saptarṣi cycle had been completed. (1) Simply says that the cycle was completed at the Āndhra-end. What the beginning was is not stated there, but it is apparent that the start is from Parikṣit, as all the post-Mbh calculations start with him. (4) is absolutely clear on the point. It says that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in your (Parikṣit's) time and are in Maghā now i. e. at the end of the Āndhras, as the Purāṇas close at that period. I, therefore, take a cycle of 2,700 years having been completed from Parikṣit to Āndhra-end. (3) as it is quoted above seems to mean that 2400 years had elapsed from Parikṣit to Āndhra-end. But the printed edition of Brahmāṇḍa reads the second line differently thus—andhrānśe sacaturvinśe etc [1] This may mean that Saptarṣis will enter Maghā in the reign of the 24th king in the end of the Āndhra period. If so, it would mean that Saptarṣis entered Maghā in the days of Parikṣit and again they, entered Maghā in the days of the 24th Āndhra.

In Part Four of this book, I have shown, that in their retrograde motion Saptarṣis were taken to have been in Maghā from 3176 B. C. to 3076 B. C. Therefore, Āndhra end will be placed in 476 B.C. —376 B. C. It may also mean that the 24th Āndhra is to be placed in c. 476 B. C. and actual end of the Āndhras in c. 376 B. C. And it will be remembered that I have put the end of the main Āndhras in 380 B. C.

If the above considerations are acceptable then it will follow that the Guptas, who followed the Āndhras, came soon after 376

1. But in the above discussion I have relied on Pargiter's text. I quote below from the five printed Puranas:

ते त्वदीये द्विजा: काले अधुना चारिता: मघा:॥ Bg XII, ii. 28; Vn, iv, 24, 106.
सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ता: (यथायुक्ता: Bd) काले पारीक्षिते शतम्।
अन्ध्रांशे सचतुर्विंशे भविष्यन्ति शतं समा:॥ Bd, II, 24, 234; Vy, 37, 419.
सप्तर्षयो मघायुक्ता: काले पारीक्षिते शतम्।
आह्रास्तु नचतुर्विंशा भविष्यन्ति शतं समा:॥ Mt. 272, 43.

This shows that all the five Puranas have a statement saying that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Parikṣit and they will again be in the same century or Nakṣatra in the days of the Andhras, most probably in the days of the 24th Āndhra.

B. C. and I put the start of the Gupta Era in c. 312–10 B. C. I, therefore, claim that these considerations based on Saptarṣi Era, support my date for the Guptas.

In the chapter on Saptarṣi Era, [Part Four of this book] I have shown that one cycle of Saptarṣi Era of 2700 years (plus a 100 years) was completed from Manu Vaivasvata to the end of the unit of Yudhiṣṭhira. Here we find that one cycle of 2,700 years was completed from Parikṣit to the end of the Āndhras. In between, we have to add 100 years for the retrograde motion in Maghā as is suggested by me. Thus we get 2800+100 +2700 = 5,600 years from Manu Vaivasvata to the end of the Āndhras. I have put Manu Vaivasvata in 5976 B. C. when Saptarṣis were taken to have entered Maghā. Then the Saptarṣis reached the end of Maghā i. e. (one cycle plus one Nakṣatra i. e. 2800 years) at the death of Yudhiṣṭhira. Thus we get 2,800 years from Manu Vaivasvata to the end of Yudhiṣṭhira. Then for 100 years Saptarṣis are taken to be retracing through Maghā. Thus the Saptarṣis started retracing through Maghā in (5976−2800=) 3176 B. C. Therefore they will once again enter Maghā after 2,700 years i. e. in 3176−2700=476 B. C. at the end of the Āndhras. Āndhra end is put in the century of Maghā i. e. from 476 B. C. to 376. And that is exactly what we have found above.

(3) Scholars have now practically agreed that the story of Raww'al and Barkamaris, given in Majmal-ul-tawar'ikh refers to Rāmagupta and Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya. Now in that story the genealogy of Barkamaris is given as under.

<div align="center">

Kafand[1]

|

Ayand

|

Rasal

|

_____

Rawwal   Barkamaris.
(Ramagupta)   (Ch II)

</div>

Now this story very clearly says (History of India, Elliot Vol I, p. 108) that Kafand was a contemporary of Alexander the

1. A brother of Kafand is named as Samid in the story.

Great. In the above genealogy, Ch II is removed from Kafand i. e. from Alexander by three generations. That is Ch II is removed from 325 B. C. by three generations. And I put Ch II's acc in c. 247-5 B. C.

But it may be urged that there are some points in this story which do not tally with Gupta history. For instance, it may be said that this story gives 3 ancestors of Ch II, while the Gupta inscriptions give four ancestors of Ch II. Then again the life-incidents of Kafand are not such as are likely to have happened in the life of Srigupta the founder of the Gupta line. I shall answer these objections, though I shall not enter into details. I think that as in other bardic stories so here also, exploits of one king are ascribed to another king. Such transpositions are quite familar to one who has studied bardic historical accounts. I, therefore, suggest as under:

(i) The life-incidents of Kafand and Samid as described in the story should refer to the life incidents of Rasal and Samid.

(ii) Samid who is taken as a brother of Kafand in the story should be taken as the son of Rasal.

If we accept these two suggestions, we get the following genealogy.

Kafand
|
Ayand
|
Rasal
|
Samid
|

Rawwa'l   Barkamaris

In this case, we can equate Samid with Samudragupta, Rasal with Ch I, Ayand with Ghaṭotkaca and Kafand with Gupta or Sri-gupta. And this would be faithful to the Gupta genealogy as is

1. The reason for the transposition may be as under. These incidents belonged to the lives of Ch I and Samudragupta who were the first two Gupta emperors But the genealogy showed Gupta (Kafand) to be the first Gupta. This was probably responsible for the transposition.

given in the Gupta inscriptions. Kafand may equate with Gupta thus—Gupta—Gupat—Gufat—Gufad—Kafad—Kafand. The variant of Kafand is Kaid in Shahnāmah. Kaid may equate with Gutta the Prakrit form of Gupta. The only mistake is that the life-incidents of Rasal and Samid (who were father and son) are transferred to Kafand and Samid (and they are made brothers). Such transpositions[1] are seen in bardic accounts. If therefore we take the life–incidents of Kafand and Samid to refer to Rasal and Samid, they will tally well with the reconstruction of the lives of Ch I and Samudragupta, which has been suggested by me in the section on the Greek Evidence.

The important point, however, to be remembered is that the story expressly calls Kafand (and if we accept my suggestion of ascribing the exploits of Kafand to Rasal, then Rasal = Ch I) to have been a contemporary of Alexander. Barkamaris, whom our modern scholars agree in equating with Ch II Vikramāditya is removed only by three degrees from Kafand. Therefore, the evidence of this story almost conclusively proves that the Guptas started their career immediately after Alexander and that is exactly what I am trying to show in this volume.

(4) The following passage from Heiun Tsang is worth considering (Watters II p. 164.)

"Here (i. e. at Nālandā), *soon after* the decease of the Buddha, Sakrāditya, a former king of this country, esteeming one vehicle and reverencing the three Precious Ones, built a monastery. The king's son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father's good work to the the south of this monastery built another one; to the east of this king Tathāgata Gupta built a third monastery, and to the north–east of this king Bālāditya added a fourth...... ..To the west of this monastery Bālāditya's son and successor Vajra built another, and to the north of this a king of Mid India afterwards created a large monastery."

Here we are told of some kings, whose names are taken to correspond with the names of certain Gupta kings. Particularly, Sakrāditya is taken to be Kumāragupta I or II. Now this statement records that these kings came *soon after* the death of Buddha. Scholars generally put Buddha's death in the 6th century B C. and put these Gupta kings in the 5th century A. D. In that case how

can we explain this statement that these kings came soon after Buddha's death ? But, we have earlier seen that in the days of Hieun Tsang various dates about Budda's death were current, latest of them being 243 B. C. Now according to my scheme of chronology, Kumāragupta I will be placed from c. 209 B. C. to 167 B. C. In that case the above statement of the Chinese pilgrim can be well explained. This statement, therefore, lends support to my scheme of chronology for the Guptas.

(5) Hieun Tsang says, "Some centuries previously a king named Mo–hi–lo–ku–lo (Mihirakula) ruled over this city (Sakala)." (Watters, I. p. 288–90).

According to the present chronology Mihirakula is placed in c. 529 A. D. In that case, the words 'some centuries previously' can, by no stretch of imagination, be explained, as the distance between Mihirakula and the Chinese pilgrim will hardly be of one century. But according to my scheme, the Guptas had ended in c. 90 B. C. Therefore, Mihirakula, who was defeated by the last Imperial Gupta would be placed in c. 90 B. C. This date of Mihirakula can very well be described as some centuries earlier.

(6) According to Jain Harivanśa Gupta rule had started 727 years after the death of Mahāvira. The generally accepted date of Mahāvira's death is 528 B. C. According to this date the Guptas will start in 727—528=199 A. D. which goes against the current dates for the Guptas. In the table (given in Part Two) about the various dates of Mahāvira's death, the latest date is 228 . C. According to this date the Guptas will start in 727—228=499 A. D., which, too, goes against the current chronology of the Guptas. But in my table, there is a date 1048 B. C. for Mahāvira's death. According to that date the start of the Guptas will be placed from 1048—727=321 B. C. And I have taken the Guptas to have started in c. 329 B. C. Thus this tradition preserved in Jain Harivaṅśa practically supports my dates for the Guptas.

(7) If we start the Guptas from 329 B. C. as I do, we find some corroboration of that date from Kashmir history also. According to the Kashmir chronology as reconstructed by me earlier in this volume, Pratāpāditya, who followed Blind Yudhiṣthira, came to the throne in 240 B. C. This Pratāpāditya is expressly called by Kalhaṇa to be a relative of Vikramāditya and Kalhaṇa emphatically says that this Vikramāditya was not

sakāri i. e. was not the founder of the era of 56 B. C. I identify this Vikramāditya with Ch II who, according to my scheme, ruled from c. 247—5 B. C. This synchronism thus upholds my chronology.

(8) Students of Arthasāstra of Caṇakya have felt that in some important respects Arthasāstra defers from the practices described by Megasthenes (See Mauryan Polity by Dikshitar). So far, only half-hearted and circuitous methods have been employed to explain away these disagreements But now the explanation becomes simple. Megasthenes was not a contemporary of Caṇakya or Ch Maurya but of Ch I and Samudragupta and therefore we need not be surprised at the disagreement between the two. The agreement between the two, also, need not surprise us for many of the practices current in the days of the Mauryas are likely to have been followed in the days of the Guptas also.

(9) Pliny (VI, 21, 22, 23) says that at the time of Alexander's invasion Andhras "were reputed to possess a military force second only to that of the command of the king of the Prasii. The Andhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants."

Now, I think, that this description of Andhra power cannot agree with Sandrocottus' identification with Chandragupta Maurya. When are the Andhras likely to have been, in point of military power only second to Magadha? Surely not in the days of the Mauryas. According to the unanimous statements of the Purāṇas, Andhras rose to power after the Kaṇvas. Even according to Vincent Smith Simuka rose to power in c. 220 B. C. i. e. full 100 years after the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Andhras, therefore, must have been political non-entities in the days of the Mauryas. It is however likely that as petty local chiefs some Andhra families might have existed in the days of the Mauryas and even earlier, but the descriptions of their power as given in the above passage can simply not apply to these petty Andhra chiefs. But it can very well apply to the days of Samudragupta and Ch I. In the days of Chandragupta I, the mighty Andhras had just gone down. Before the rise of the Guptas, Andhras were very powerful. In fact, according to the Purāṇas, Andhras were the Imperial rulers, who just preceded the Guptas. It was almost on the ashes of the Andhra empire, that the Guptas built up their empire. And yet the recently

fallen power-the Andhras would be only next to the Guptas in point of military strength. Therefore the above statement of the Greek writer about the military power of the Andhras makes it clear that he was not a contemporary of the Mauryas, but of the Guptas. That is the Guptas started in about 300 B. C.

(10) Strabo says that according to Megasthenes "the king in addition to his family name, must adopt the surname of Paliboth-ras, as Sandrocottus, for instance, did." (Macrindle, Ancient India, Strabo, 1901, p. 43). I do not think so far any scholar has attempted an explanation of this. This statement gives two details, (1) the king should adopt his family name and (2) in addition to that he must adopt the surname of Palibothras. Now the family name Maurya is not known to have been adopted by Mauryas. Of course, all of them could be called Mauryas, but Strabo says that they adopted the family name i. e. the family name will be a part of the personal name; and though today we call Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka Maurya, yet in the ancient literature we do not find so. But in the case of the Guptas, we know that every king attached the family name Gupta as a part of his personal name.

Moreover, Strabo says that king should adopt the surname of Palibothras. This only means that the king should be known as Pāṭaliputraka meaning so and so of Pāṭaliputra. The practice of distinguishing personal name of kings by the name of their capitals is found in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. when it says,

कौसल्यकमहेन्द्र महाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराज कैराल्यकमण्टराज पैष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रगिरि कौटुरक स्वामिदत्त etc.

Again, the Udayagiri cave inscription of Ch II of G E. 82 describes the minister Sāba as Pāṭaliputraka (l. 4).

This shows that what Megasthenes says is that the king was known as the king of a particular country or of a particular capital city. Thus Samudragupta will be called Pāṭaliputraka Samudragupta. The practice may have arisen for distingiuishing between the kings of the same name ruling at the same time in different countries. This practice might have obtained in the days of the Mauryas also, but that it did obtain in the days of Samudra-gupta is proved from his own inscription. This also may be taken to lend support to indicate contamporaneity of Samudragupta and Megasthenes

(11) Firdausi in his Shahnameh, while describing the rule of Behram Gur, the Sassannian king, says that the king of Kanauj, with the seven kings of Sind, Hind etc. was submissive to the Iranian emperor. This means that Behram Gur's authority extended upto Kanauj. Now the time of Behram Gur is put by scholars from c. 420–40 A. D. According to the current chronology, from 420-40 A. D. in India was ruling Kumāragupta I, and it is a fact acknowledged by all and attested by numismatic and epigraphic evidence that in the days of Kumāragupta I and even of Skandagupta, the Gupta empire had maintained its imperial character. Therefore in 420–40 A. D. Kanauj and other provinces named by Firdausi should have been under Kumāragupta I and not under Behram Gur. Therefore if the current chronology is accepted, we should either take Firdausi's account to be incorrect or the date of Behram Gur as incorrect. But we shall have to do neither, if we put the Guptas in c. 300 B. C.

(12) Greek writers talk of several embassies sent by Indian kings to Roman emperors. I shall quote these passages here.[1]

Strabo: (p. 77-8) "This writer (Nikolaos Damaskenos, a contemporary of Emperor Augustus) says that at Antioch by Daphne he met with Indian ambassadors who had been sent to Augustus Caesar (c. 21 B. C.) ......The letter was written in Greek on parchment and imported that Poros was the writer, and that though he was the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Caesar's friend, and was willing to grant him passage wherever he wished through his dominions, and to assist him in any good enterprise."

Several other writers confirm this embassy e. g. Suetonius, Florus Orsius, Dion Cassius.

Eusebios Pamphili (born 264 A. D. d. 340 A. D.) says, (p. 214). "Ambassadors from the Indians of the East brought presents...... which they presented to the king (Constantine the Great d. 337 A. D.) as an acknowledgement that his sovereignty extended to their ocean. They told him, too, how the Princes of India had dedicated pictures and statues in his honour in token that they recognised him as their autocrat and king." (MacCrindle notes

1. Quoted from '*Ancient India as described by Herodotus and others*' by MacCrindle, 1901.

that this embassy reached Constantinople in the last year of the emperor Constantine the Great i. e. in 336-37 A. D.

Ammianus Marcellinus (a native of Antioch in Syria, was living in 390 A. D. p. 93) says, "Embassies from all quarters flocked to him (the Emperor Julian in 361 A. D.), the Indian nations vying with emulus zeal in sending their foremost men, with presents as far as from Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (Ceylon)."

Sextus Aurellius Victor (c. 352–80 A. D.), "Yea, even the Indians, Bactrians, Hyrkanians sent ambassadors, having acknowledged of the justice of a prince so mighty (the Emperor Julian)."

Joannes Malada: "At the same time (530 A. D.) an ambassador of the Indians was sent to Constantinople."

These passages show that Indian kings in c. 21 B. C. and from c. 337-61 A. D. sent ambassadors to the Roman emperors. If we analyse these accounts, we find that the embassy sent to Augustus (c. 21 B. C.) was by a king of India who considered himself to be an equal of the Roman emperor, and in no way inferior to him. He himself was the overlord of 600 kings. But the embassies sent to Constantine and Julian seem to have been sent by Indian princes (there seems to have been no overlord then), who acknowledged the power of the Roman emperors. These embassies were sent from 336-367 A. D. Now these are precisely the years of the rule of the Great Samudragupta, according to the present day accepted chronology. If this chronology is correct, India in 336-67 A. D. was the most powerful country under Samudragupta, whose sphere of political superiority had extended upto the borders of Iran and practically the whole of India was under him. But the above evidence suggests a politically weak India (without any sovereign power) during these years. As in the case of Behram Gur, so here also there arises a conflict; and this can be removed if we put the rise of the Guptas in 300 B. C.

(13) Muni Kalyāṇavijayjī has given a synopsis of a Therāvalī, called Himavanta. Therāvalī. He has not obtained the original ms, but has given the synopsis from its Gujarati translation. The synopsis is published in Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā Patrikā (XI, 1, p. 7ff). The synopsis clearly shows and it is as much admitted by Kalyāṇa-navijayjī himself that in parts the Therāvalī is unreliable and there-

fore not genuine. It positively betrays the hand of a modern editor
who seems to have made several silent emendations in the original
text. And yet it contains a very curious statement to which I draw
the attention of the scholars. It is said,

और निर्वाण से २३९ वर्ष बीतने पर मगधाधिपति अशोकने कलिंग पर चढ़ाई की और
वहाँ के राजा क्षेमराजको अपनी आज्ञा मनाकर वहाँ अपना **गुप्तसंवत्सर** चलाया (p. 87)

According to this Asoka conquered Kaliṅga in 239 M. E.
(Mahāvīra Era) and forced the Kaliṅga king to use his Gupta Era.
Now this statement is at once strange and unique. There is no
other tradition (except the Piyadasi inscriptions) which has recorded
the conquest of Kaliṅga by Asoka. This is the only place where it
is noted. Again, the Therāvalī says that Asoka had conquered
Kaliṅga in 239 M. E. Therāvalī puts Asoka's acc. in 209 M. E.
therefore, according to this Therāvalī, Asoka had conquered Kaliṅga
in his 30th regnal year. But the edict tells that Piyadasi had
conquered Kaliṅga in his 8th regnal year. Thus, here, there is a
conflict. But the most curious part of the statement is that Asoka
made his Gupta Era current in Kaliṅga. Asoka Maurya, of whom
the Therāvalī is talking at this place, can have nothing to do with
the Gupta Era. It is a contradiction in terms to say that Maurya
Asoka had propagated his Gupta Era.

But, I think that, however, much the mutilation of the original
Therāvalī has happened and however much confusion there might
have been in the original Therāvalī itself, this seems to preserve
some original genuine truth. This statement could not have been
fabricated by any modern editor; for, which modern student of
Indian history would purposely say that Asoka Maurya had prop-
agated Gupta Era? It is definitely not a fabrication for there is no
purpose for such a fabrication. Therefore I take it that this statement
is genuine though confused. But it does preserve the memory of a
king named Asoka who was connected with Gupta Era and who
had conquered Kaliṅga. Now I have already said earlier that the
Piyadasi inscriptions (the principal ones) belong to Samudragupta
and it was he who had conquered Kaliṅga and he had adopted the
title Asokāditya. This statement of the Therāvalī supports the
above position to the full. For, under the context, Asoka of the
Therāvalī can be no other than Samudragupta Asoka. It is quite
clear that the original author knew of the tradition that one Asoka
had conquered Kaliṅga and had introduced his era (i.e. Gupta Era)

there. But he not knowing the Gupta Aśoka had attributed the exploit to Maurya Aśoka. Thus this statement, to my mind, shows that (1) Samudragupta had the title Aśoka, (2) that this Samudragupta Aśoka had conquered Kalinga, (3) that his family era was Gupta Era (4) and that he was in the habit of getting his era introduced in the conquered countries.[1] It is true that much cannot be based on a book which is positively handled by a modern editor. But I put this before the scholars for whatever it is worth. If it is acceptable, it would mean that the author of the Piyadasi inscriptions who talks of Kalinga conquest was Samudragupta Asoka; and therefore Samudragupta was a contemporay of the Hellenistic kings of the 3rd century B. C. Taerfore the Guptas are to be placed in c. 300 B. C.

(14) There is one other line of argument which indicates the same period for the Guptas. The Besnagar Garuda-dhvaja Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus shows this:

(i) Bhāgavata-dharma was current in the 1st and 2nd century B. C. in Gwalior region as the Garuda-dhvaja was erected there.

(ii) The same religion was current near Taxila and even the Greeks adopted it as their religion, as is clear from Heliodorus being called an inhabitant of Taxila and being clearly described as a Bhāgavata in that inscription.

If we follow the current chronology the 2nd to 4th centuries B. C. are occupied by the Mauryas and the Suṅgas. Neither of these dynasties had adopted Vaiṣṇavism, much less Bhāgavatism as the religion. Both the Mauryas and the Suṅgas are known to have adopted and propagated religions other than Vaiṣṇavism, and Bhāgavatism. How then was it that the Greeks adopted this religion in N. W. India in c. 125 B. C. — the date to which this inscription is ascribed ? What grounds, apart from this inscription, have we to beleive that Bhāgavatism was so flourishing and influential a religion in the days of the Mauryas and the Suṅgas, so that even the foreigners took to it? Under the circumstances Heliodorus following Bhāgavatism in c. 125 B. C. is an isolated instance, not at all fitting in the known religious condition of India of those days.

1. Therefore it is likely if he had made Seleukos to accept his era,

On the other hand if we place the Guptas from 312 B. C. as I do and consider the main Piyadasi inscriptions to belong to Samudragupta and further the religion preached by Samudragupta in these inscriptions to be elementary Bhāgavatism, we can well explain this inscription of Heliodorus. That Bhāgvatism was adopted as their own religion by the Guptas is an acknowledged fact of history. According to me Samudragupta, by means of his edicts, had propagated this religion in the whole of India and in all the neighbouring countries, including the Yona regions. I place Samudragupta from c. 305 B. C. After him during the reigns of three or four successive Gupta Emperors Bhāgavatism had highly flourished in India. That is why in c. 125 B. C. we find a Greek describing himself as a Bhāgavata. Thus the phenomenon of Heliodorus taking to Bhāgavatism would be quite natural in the 2nd century B. C.

Consider along with this one other point. Heliodorus had erected a pillar with a Garuḍa–dhvaja. Garuḍa–dhvaja was the royal ensign of the Guptas. Neither the Mauryas nor the Suṅgas are known to have Garuḍa–dhvaja as their flag. This may mean that the defeated Greeks had adopted the Bhāgvata religion as well as Garuḍa–dhvaja of the Guptas. The spread of Bhāgavatism in N. W. India and its adoption by a Greek in c. 125 B. C. together with the mention Garuḍa–dhvaja, to my mind, is only possible in Gupta or post-Gupta days.

In this connection, two more points may be noted here. King Bhāgabhadra mentioned in this inscription is usually identified by the scholars with the 6th or the 9th Suṅga king. None of these kings is called Bhāgabhadra in any ms. of any Purāṇa. Sixth king is called Oḍraka etc, and the ninth king is called Bhāga or Bhāgavata. In the inscription the king is not called Suṅga. So that there is absolutely no evidence, other than a false synchronism created on the authority of the present-day chronology, to identify this Bhāgabhadra with any of the Suṅga kings.

If Bhāgabhadra of this inscription is not a Suṅga king, the date of Heliodorus may not be round about 125 B. C. Heliodorus was sent by the Greek king Antialcides. Scholars are not agreed about the date of this Antialcides. After this discovery of this inscription and after identifying Bhāgabhadra with a Suṅga king, the scholars have taken this Antialcides to have flourished after

Eukratides. On the other hand, Von Sallet had said (CHI p. 554-6)
that a coin of Antialcides was restruck by Eukratides whose dates
are from c. 175 B. C. to 162 B. C. Thus Antialcides and therefore
Heliodorus may be placed earlier than c. 175 B. C. If he is put,
say in c. 200 B. C., the influence of the Gupta kings, with Bhaga-
vatism as their relegion and with Garuḍa-dhvaja as their royal flag
would be more living and strong and could be very well explained,
for in c. 200 B. C. ruled, according to my scheme, Kumāragupta II.

(15) On Udaygiri Hills in Madhya Bharat there are several
inscriptions. One of them as given by D. R. Patil in *Monu-
ments of Udaygiri Hill* reprinted from the *Vikrama Bi Millennium
celebration Volume* (English) p. 376-428, reads as under:

(1) नवा जीर्णोंभारि (2) कंन्ह प्रणंमति (3) बीष्णुपादौ नित्यं । (4) संवद्
१०९३ (5) चन्द्रगुप्तेन की (6) तंनं कीर्तितं (7) पश्चात् बीक (8) मादित्यराज्वं.

On this Mr. Patil writes: "The fourth inscription is in cave
No 19. It records that a pilgrim named Kanha visited the cave in
the year 1093 of the Vikrama Samvat (i e. 1036 A. D.). The
really interesting part of this record is the statement in lines 5-8
that the cave was made by Chandragupta and that the reign of
Vikramaditya came after that event. The name of the king referred
to in the inscription must certainly be taken to be that of the
Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II."

This very clearly states that Guptas ruled before Vikramā-
ditya i. e. before 56 B. C.

(16) From *Kathāsaritsāgara* it is clear that in *Bṛhatkatha* of
Guṇādhya, there was a story of Vikrama of Pātaliputra. Vikrama
of Pātliputra can only be Chandragupta II. Therefore this means
that the Guptas lived before Guṇādhya i. e. 1st century A. D.

All this points to Guptas having ruled before Christian era and
therefore my dates for the Guptas are likely to be true. But I,
here, want to point out that though I have no positive evidence,
yet it is likely that there are three different starting years of the
Gupta Era. The Gupta Era started in 312-10 B. C. was the Im-
perial Gupta Era. Then, as Al Beruni has noted there is a tradi-
tion that the Gupta Era was started from the end of the Guptas.
In an inscription the era is described as āguptāyikanam kalah; which
also will mean an era which goes upto the Guptas i. e. upto the

end (not the start) of the Guptas.[1] I have earlier suggested that Viṣṇuvardhana and Harṣa Vikrama are likely to have been taken as Guptabhṛtyas. Therefore, the era of 56 B. C., which we, now, call Vikarma Era is likely to be this āguptayikānām kalah. This era is referred to in Cāmuṇḍarāja's Inscription.[2]

Similarly, it is not impossible if the Gupta era was once more resuciated in 319-20 A. D.

Thus the Gupta era seems to have three beginnings (1) 312-10 B. C., (2) 56 B. C., and (3) 319-20 A. D. The first of these was the original Era and the other two are resuciated Gupta Eras.

1. This phrase is seen in the Gokkak plates of Dejja Mahārāja, published in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 21, p. 289.42. Mr. D. N. Mookerji has discussed these plates in *Journal of Indian History*, April 1939 pp. 94-98. Mr. Mookerji takes the era mentioned here as the same as Vikarma Era. He takes 'āguptayikānām' kalah' to mean era of those kings whose names ended in Gupta. I take this phrase to mean 'the era of the kings who go upto the Guptas' i. e. the era will start from the end of the Guptas.

2. See *Bharatīya Vidya*, (Hindi-Gujarati) Vol I. In that inscription the era is named as Gaupta and is positively the same as Vikrama Era.

PART FOUR

PART FOUR

C. One. — The Tiger

C. Two. — The Serpent for

C. Three. — How Chocolate

C. Four. — Enchantment Andina Decay

CHAPTER ONE

THE YUGAS

HERE I shall consider the question of the various senses of the word yuga and the number of years given to each yuga in our ancient literature. Usually the Purāṇas give the years for different yugas both according to mānava and divya (360 mānava years=1 divya year) measures thus:—

(1) *Mānava measure*

    1728000 mānava years = Kṛta Yuga
    1296000 mānava years = Tretā Yuga
     864000 mānava years = Dvāpara Yuga
     432000 mānava years = Kali Yuga
    _____

    4320000 mānava years = Mahāyuga or Caturyuga

(2) *Divya measure*

	Sandhyā	Sandhyāṅśa		
4800	(400 + 4000 + 400)	divya years	=	Kṛta
3600	(300 + 3000 + 300)	divya years	=	Tretā
2400	(200 + 2000 + 200)	divya years	=	Dvāpara
1200	(100 + 1000 + 100)	divya years	=	Kali

    _____

12000   divya years = mahāyuya
                                                       or caturyuga

It should be noted here that according to the general Purāṇic belief each yuga has 4000, 3000, 2000 and 1000 divya years respectively, but before and after the yuga proper there is an interim period, which is called sandhyā and sandhyāṅśa respectively and which has as many hundreds of years as there are thousands in the yuga proper. Thus after the 4000 years of the Kṛta, Tretā will not begin immediately, but there will be an interim period of 400 years which may be called Kṛta or may not be called Kṛta. Again before the start of Tretā proper there will be an interim period of 300

years which may not be called Tretā. Similarly in the case of
other yugas. This will show that in the above tables, the figures in
mānava years do not show separately the sandhyā and sandhyāṅsa
periods, but show the full totals of each yuga.

Number of years for different yugas as given above, is found
in most of the Purāṇas.[1] But there are certain noteworthy state-
ments about yuga calculations in some of the Puranic and astrono-
mical works. I shall now proceed to note down these.

(1) *Vishṇupuāṇa* (4, 24, 144ff) has the following:

> त्रीणि लक्षाणि वर्षाणां द्विऋ मानुषसंख्यया ।
> पञ्चिव सहस्राणि भविष्यत्येष वै कलि: ॥
> शतानि तानि दिव्यानां सप्त पञ्च च संख्यया ।
> निश्शेषेण गते तस्मिन् भविष्यति पुन: कृतम् ॥

Here Kali has been given 360000 mānava years or 12000 divya
years. If these verses are to be taken literally they will yield 300
mānava years for one divya year ($\frac{360000}{1200} = 300$). But it is
possible that the author has included here sandhyā and sandhyāṅsa
in the figure of divya years and has not done so in the case of
the mānava figures. I have noted these here because it is rather
unusual to give mānava years for a yuga without the interim
periods.

(2) *Skanda* (*Sahyādrikhaṇḍa*, Pūrvabhāga, 7, 4ff) has a greatly
confused statement about yuga-years,

> लक्षाश्च अयुता: प्रोक्ता: अयुते द्वे तथैव च ।
> अष्टौ वर्षसहस्रान्ते कले: कृतयुगस्य च ॥ ४ ॥
> लक्षाद्दश वै प्रोक्ता: सहस्र स्त्रियुता युता ।
> त्रेतायुगप्रमाणं च पुराणे परिकीर्तितम् ॥ ५ ॥
> अपि पञ्चिसहस्रं स्त्रैयाष्टप्रकीर्तितम् ।
> द्वापरं द्वियुगं तत्र पुराणे परिकीर्तितम् ॥ ६ ॥
> लक्षाष्टकमसाख्यातमयुते द्वे तथैव च ।
> अष्टवर्षसहस्रान्ते काले कलियुगाभिधे ॥ ७ ॥

1. *Mt.* 46, 26 ff; *Mt.* 142, 24ff; *Vy.* 8, 51; etc.—almost all the Purāṇas have
the same measures for the yugas.

This seems to mean that Kṛta has 10000'8000 years, Tretā has 31200000 or 1213000 years, Dvāpara has 860000 and Kali has 828000 years, But the text here seems to be highly confused and I give it up as hopeless; though the years for Tretā and Dvāpara are somewhat nearer to their usual figures, the years for the other two yugas are nowhere nearer the mark. Nor is there any scheme in the proportion between the various yugas.

(3) *Manusmṛti* has the following (1, 68ff):

ब्राह्मस्य तु क्षपाह्वस्य यत्प्रमाणं समासतः ।
एकैकशो युगानां तु क्रमशस्तन्निबोधत ॥ ६८ ॥
चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तु कृतं युगम् ।
तस्य तावच्छती संख्या सध्यांशद्ध तथाविधः ॥ ६९ ॥
इतरेषु ससंध्येषु सस्ध्यांशेषु च त्रिषु ।
एकापायेन वर्तन्ते सहस्राणि शतानि च ॥ ७० ॥
यदेतत्परिसंख्यातमादावेव चतुर्युगम् ।
एतद्द्वादशसाहस्रं देवानां युगमुच्यते ॥ ७१ ॥
दैविकानां युगानां तु सहस्रं परिसंख्यया ।
ब्राह्ममेकमहर्ज्ञेयं तावती रात्रिमेव च ॥ ७२ ॥

This yields the following table:

Kṛta :	400 + 4000 + 400	= 4800
Tretā :	300 + 3000 + 300	= 3600
Dvāpara :	200 + 2000 + 200	= 2400
Kali :	100 + 1000 + 100	= 1200
Caturyuga :		= 12000

12000 years = divya yuga

2000 divya yugas = Brahma's ahorātra.

Here the years are not characterised as divya and therefore they are taken as mānava years.[1] This passage preserves some distinct tradition because what is usually taken as caturyuga or Kalpa is here called divya yuga.

(4) *Mahābhārata* has the following : (*Vana parva*, 188, V, 12-28).

1. Cp. Tilak; Aiyer who quotes on this point the agreement of Roth, Wilking and others.

आदिना मनुजव्याघ्र कृत्स्नस्य जगत: क्षये ।
चन्वार्याहु: सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तत्कृतं युग्म ॥
तस्य तावच्छती सख्या सध्यांशस्तु तथाविध: ।
त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि त्रेतायुगमिहोच्यते ।
तस्य तावच्छती सख्या सन्ध्यांशतत: परे ॥
तथा वर्षसहस्रे द्वे द्वापरं परिमाणत: ।
तस्यापि द्विशती सध्या सं'ध्यांशथ तथाविध: ॥
सहस्रमेकं वर्षाणां तथा कलिद्युगं स्मृतं ।
तस्य वर्षशतं सधि: सं'ध्यांशथ तत:परं ।
एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्तिता ।
एतत्सहस्रपर्यन्तमहर्ब्राह्ममुदाहतम् ॥

Here also years are not characterised as divya or mānava and therefore as in the case of Manusmṛti, here also we should take the mānava years.

(5) *Nirukta* has the following: (14th adhyāya)

सा (प्रकृति:) स्वर्पिता युगसहस्रं रात्रिस्तावताहोग्रावञ्हं परिवर्तते सकाल्मस्तदेतदहमं-वति युगसहस्रपर्यन्तमहर्ब्रह्मणो विद् रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जन: इति ॥

Here Brahmā's day is said to have 1000 yugas. So has his night 1000 yugas. The word used is yuga and not caturyuga or kalpa or divya yuga.

(6) Alberuni (i. P. 373) quotes the following from Brahmagupta:

"Further Brahmgupta says that Āryabhaṭṭa considers the four yugas as the four equal parts of a caturyuga. Thus he differs from Smṛti just mentioned and he who differs from us is an opponent. On the other hand Brahmagupta praises Paulisha for he subtracts 1200 from the 4800 years of the Krita Yuga and diminishes the remainder still more, so as to get yugas which correspond with those of the Smṛti, but yugas without sandhyā and sandhyānśa.

There is a tradition that Paulisa in his Siddhānta specifies various new rules for the computation of these numbers, some of which may be accepted, whilst others are to be rejected. So in the rule for the computation of the yugas he puts 48 as the basis and subtracts one-fourth of it so as to get 36. Then again he subtracts 12, for this number is his basis of subtraction, and so gets 12. These 12 he multiplies by 100 and the product represents the number of divya years of the yugas."

(7) S. B. Dikshit, while giving details about Romaka Siddhānta has given the following quotation from Brahmagupta:[1]

युगसन्धनन्तरकल्पा: कालपरिच्छेदका: स्मृताश्चत:।
ब्रह्मणा रोमके ते स्मृतिजाग्रो रोमकस्तस्मात् ॥

Another quotation is given by Dikshit from *Pancasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira:[2]

रोमकयुगमर्केन्दोर्यण्याकाशपन्चवसुपक्ष: (२८५०) सेन्द्रियदिशां (१०५०)
ऽधिमासा: स्वरकुत्रिवियथाइव: (१६५४७) प्रलया:।

i. e. Romaka yuga is of 2850 years, its adhimāsas are 1050 and its pralayas i. c. tithikṣayas are 16547.

It will be seen that out of the various points of view recorded above, the following points of consideration emerge:

(1) What is the real sense of the word yuga? What particular time-unit did yuga represent?

(2) What is the reason of adding sandhyā and sandhyāṇśa periods?

(3) Why does the first Āryabhaṭṭa take equal number of years for all yugas?

(4) Why does Pulśla prescribe such a rule for the computation of yuga-years?

(5) Why does Romaka Siddhānta take a yuga to have 2150 years?

I shall consider some of these points here.

(1) The sense of the word yuga:

European scholars translate the word in the Ṛgveda by 'generation' or 'life'. But there are some Indian scholars who have examined the question of yuga-theory in some details. Rangacharya,[3] V. G. Aiyer,[4] Tilak,[5] S. B. Dikshit[6] and Shama-shrstry have discussed this question. All those scholars have

1. See his *Bhāratiya Jyotisaṣāstra*, 2nd eb., p. 155.
2. Ibid. p. 157.
3. See his *The Yugas* (as quoted by Tilak in *Arctic Home in the Vedas*).
4. See his *The Chronology of Ancient India*.
5. See his *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*.
6. See his *Bhrātiya Jyotisaṣāstra*.

come to the conclusion that even in Ṛgveda yuga means a period of time. Tilak takes yuga to mean 'a month' or 'a period from the first to the last dawn of the year i. e. less than one year. But they all agree that yuga at different times meant a period of a month or 5, 10, 100, 1000, 10000, years. *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* gives five years for yuga, so does Kauṭalya.

Dikshit has given the ordinary astronomical sense of the word yuga thus: (P. 24).

कव्हीएक नोष्ट कांहींएक कमानें एकदां घडून ती तशाच कालक्रमानें पुनः घडण्याचें जे एक कालपरिमाण तें युग.

The yuga is that time-measure of the recurrence of a particular phenomenon in the same order in which order it occurred.

Really speaking yuga seems to have meant any unit of time. For instance, even in Kālidāsa we have (Sākuntala, IV act):

युगान्तरमाह्लः सविता

where yuga would mean 'a quarter of the day'. Yuga meant one year also. In Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa the following occurs:

वर्षे पूर्णे नराणां च देवानां च दिवानिशम् ।
शतत्रये पष्टयधिके नराणां च युगे गते ।
देवानां युगे ह्येषा कालसंख्याविदां मतः ॥ ७३ ॥

Reading this passage in full context there, it will be clearly seen that yuga there means 'year' only. Even in *Ṛgveda* it is possible to find out cases where yuga means 'a year'.

R. Shamashastry writes, (*Gavām Ayanām* p. 128). "From the passage of the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* quoted above, we know that Kaliyuga is the name of the first year, Dvāparyuga of the second, Tretāyuga of the third and Kṛtayuga of the fourth and so on, in every cycle of four years. Accordingly it is clear that the word yuga was sometimes used in the sense of a year and sometimes in the sense of four years."

Thus, it seems, that yuga had so many senses:

(1) a quarter of a day   (Kālidāsa)
(2) a month   (Tilak)

(3) a period just less than a year   (Tilak)[1]

(4) one year   (Shamashastry)

(5) four years   ,,

(6) five years   (Vedaṅga Jyotiṣa)[2]

(7) ten years   (S. B. Dikshit)[3]

(8) 100 years   (Atharvaveda)[4]

(9) 1000 years   (,,)[4]

(10) 10000 years   (,,)[4]

Shamashastry has suggested that the first year was called Kali, second Dvāpara, third Tretā and fourth Kṛta. According to him the total of all these was four. This means that each yuga had one year and their total was four. This seems to have been one method of yuga-computation.

But it seems that there was another method of yuga-computation. In our usual figures of 1000, 2000, 3000 and 4000 = 10000 or 1200, 2400, 3600 and 4800 = 12000, the proportion between the different yugas is 1 : 2 : 3 : 4. If the same method i. e. the same proportion be allowed for the very first calculation, it will yield 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : = 10 years.

Thus there would be two possible methods of yuga-computation, one having the proportion 1: 1: 1: 1 = 4 and the other having the proportion 1: 2: 3: 4 = 10.

According to the second method the total will be arrived at thus. The first year will be taken by itself singly. That will be the first yuga. The next two years, which will bring the total to three years, will be the second yuga. Next three years, bringing the total to six years, will be the third yuga. Next four years bringing the total to ten years, will be the fourth yuga. Thus:

Kaliyuga (1 year, yuga meaning year, kali meaning one).

Dvāparayuga (2 years, not the 2nd year but next collection of 2).

Tretāyuga (3 years not the 3rd year, but next collection of 3).

Kṛtayuga (4 years, not the 4th year but collection of 4)
And the total of these four yugas will be ten years.

1. See his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* p. 179.177.
2. See *Bharatiya Jyotisasastra* by S. B. Dikshit, p. 24 ff.
3. *Ibid* p. 24 ff.
4. *Atharvaveda* VIII 2, 21; also Tilak, V. G. Aiyer, Shamashastry, Dikshit.

This means that we can take the total of four yugas to be four or ten years. In the former case, each yuga will have equal number of years and in the latter case the proportion of number of years will be $1 : 2 : 3 : 4$.

Let us follow up both these methods of yuga-computation.

This collection of ten years may also be taken as a yuga. So according to the first method, the first ten years will be the first yuga, next ten years (20 from the beginning) will be the second yuga, next ten years (30 from the beginning) will be the third yuga and the next ten years (40 from the beginning) will be the fourth yuga. Thus this group of forty years may be called a caturyuga.

According to the second method, first yuga will have 10 years, second yuga will have 20 years, third yuga will have 30 years and the fourth yuga will have 40 years. Their total will have 100 years.

Just as 10 may be taken as a unit of yuga, for bigger calculations, 100 years may be taken as a unit of yuga or a basic yuga. This, then, according to the above two methods, will give for four yugas 400 years and 1000 years respectively.

Again for bigger calculations, this 1000 years may be taken as a basic yuga, which would yield a caturyuga of 4000 years and 10000 years, according to the above two methods.

Thus there will be so many possibilities:

(1)			(2)		
	1	1		10	10
	1	2		10	20
	1	3		10	30
	1	4		10	40
	4	10		40	100
(3)	100	100	(4)	1000	1000
	100	200		1000	2000
	100	300		1000	3000
	100	400		1000	4000
	400	1000		4000	10000

Thus between different yugas the proportion may be $1 : 1 : 1 : 1 = 4$ or $1 : 2 : 3 : 4$. A basic yuga may have 1, 10, 100, 1000, 10000 and caturyuga may have 4, 40, 400, 4000, or 10, 100, 1000, 10000 years.

But out of these methods of yuga calculations which is the original? I shall make some suggestions about this.

I think that in this connection, words like Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā and Kṛta are significant. Kali is, of course, one, but what is the force of 'para' in dvāpara? Tretā again is distinct from all the other three terms inasmuch as it is a feminine word. Why is it feminine? Kṛta seems to be the oldest word. I think that originally the words kali, dvāpara, tretā and kṛta were not used for yuga-calculations, but the words like ekata, dvita (not dvāpara), trita (not tretā) and kṛta were used for that purpose. In ekata, dvita, trita and kṛtɪ, 'ta' is the ordinal termination. In Sanskrit we have 'ta' as well as 'ma' as the ordinal termination e. g. in tṛtīya and dvitīya the original words tṛ and dvi have ta added to them, 'iya' being possessive termination giving the sense 'of the third' 'of the second.' So also in caturtha (catur + tha), ṣaṣṭha (ṣaṣ + ṭha) it is 'ta', 'ta' in these cases being changed to 'tha' and 'ṭha' respectively. Aṣṭa has 'ta' changed into 'ṭa'. In prathama, pancama, saptama etc, the termination is 'ma'. Now out of these two ordinal terminations, 'ta' seems to have been the older termination. In fact 'ta' is Indo-European. We find it present in the English fourth (four + th), fifth (five + th) etc., upto nineteenth, where like caturtha, the 'ta' is found as 'th'. Thus the forms ekata, dvita, trita and kṛta may mean first, second, third and fourth and they seem to be the original terms. In kṛta, the word is kṛ which means four.

The second method of yuga-computation seems to have its origin in the game of dice. It is well-known that four different throws of dice were differently called kali, dvāpara, tretā and kṛta. There was one dice having four sides marked with 1, 2, 3, and 4. This would mean that when dice was thrown, if the side marked 1 came up, the player got one mark, if the side marked 2 came up, he got two marks etc. Total of all the four sides was ten. This game of dice will explain the terms dvāpara and tretā. The word for dice in Sanskrit was akṣa as well as akṣā (masculine as well as feminine). Thus three of the words were masculine (kali, dvāpara and Kṛta) and one (tretā) was feminine. Again each of these words meant 'a collection of one', a collection of two', etc. Dvāpara literally will 'mean 'next two

and it will be a word suitable to the game of dice[1] and therefore
to this second method of yuga-computation only.

If the above explanation of the words ekata etc., and kali etc.,
is correct it would mean that the original computation of yugas
was serial, taking each yuga to have one year only.

Thus we see that both these methods of yuga computation
are possible.

(2) It is said that first Āryabhaṭṭa takes all yugas to have
equal number of years. According to the usual calculation the
total of four yugas is 10000 or 12000 divya years. If now we
take each yuga to have equal number of years, each yuga will have
2500 or 3000 years. But this is attested by no evidence. Then
why did Āryabhaṭṭa make such a statement ?

We have seen above the possibility of two methods of yuga-
computation. Out of these two methods the second is the usual
practice, according to which the yugas will have the following year.

1000 (without स'ख्या॰)	1200 (with स'ख्या॰)
2000	2400
3000	3600
4000	4800
10000	12000

This method is the one accepted by the Purāṇas. But the
first method also seems to have been in vogue. According to that
method yugas will have the following years :

1000	1200
1000	1200
1000	1200
1000	1200
4000	4800

It seems that Āryabhaṭṭa had this method of yuga-computation
in mind, when he said that all yugas had equal number of years.
This would, incidentally, prove that what we have called the first
method was in vogue at some time. It is only on that assumption
that we can explain his remark about equal number of years for
all yugas.

1. cf. ekapara used for dice in the Gambler's hymn in *RV*.

(3) We have quoted Alberuni to show that Puliśa gives a method of yuga-computation, which takes 4800 as the basic figure and 1200 as the basis of subtraction. This also can be explained if we believe that Puliśa believed in the first method of computation of yugas. For if we take the second method, the total will be 12000 and there will be no point in taking 4800 as the basic number. Again subtraction of 1200 each time also shows that each yuga had 1200 years.

Tilak, Shamashastry and others have expressed the opinion that divya years for yugas in Purāṇas, are really mānava years. Therefore according to them yugas have 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 years or without interim periods 4000, 3000, 2000, and 1000 years respectively. It will be seen that they accept the second method. I accept that divya years of the Purāṇas are really mānava years, but stipulate that at first all yugas had equal number of years i. e. 1000 years only and then they came to have 1200 years. And it was very late that this second method of yuga-computation was adopted.

We have, earlier, seen ample and definite proofs in support of a yuga having 1000 and 1200 years. I shall, now talk of the sub yugas of 1200 years.

Caturyuga of 40 years was long known, but after the yuga was taken to have 1200 years, it, very conveniently, became a sub-yuga of a bigger yuga. Let us see how. Caturyuga of 40 years will have four basic yugas each of 10 years called Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, and the caturyuga of 4800 years will have four basic yugas each of 1200 years. Now we shall name the sub-yugas of the caturyuga of 40 years as laghukṛta, laghutretā, laghudvāpara and laghukali and the sub-yugas of the caturyugas of 4800 years as mahākṛta mahātretā, mahādvāpara and mahākali. Laghukṛta etc. will have 10 years each, mahākṛta etc. will have 1200 years each. Caturyuga of 40 years will be called laghu-caturyuga and the caturyuga of 400 years will be called mahācaturyuga.

Now each of the mahāyugas will have 30 laghu-caturyugas (1200÷40=30). That is, in mahākṛta etc. there will be 30 laghukṛtas, 30 laghutretās, 30 laghudvāparas and 30 laghukalis. Thus laghukṛta etc. will have 10 years each, laghu-caturyuga will have 40 years, mahā-kṛta etc. will have 1200 years and mahācaturyuga will have 4800 years.

Keeping in mind that such a system is possible only after the amended yuga system (of 1200 years) came in vogue, if we read the Purāṇas, several passages seem to corroborate such a system.

There are puranic passages in which Sumitra as placed in 29th Caturyuga. This is obviously the laghu-caturyuga of the amended mahākali. It refers to the 29th caturyuga after the 28 caturyugas or yugākhyās were over with or after Sumitra. Thus this mention of 29th caturyuga positively proves that the yuga of 1200 years had come into existence, for in a mahāyuga of 1000 years, the 29th caturyuga (of 40 years each) will never be possible.

But we have another reference. Almost all the Purāṇas, in one or the other way, say that Vyāsa Dvaipāyana lived in the 28th Dvāpara There are some Purāṇas which give avatāras, where they point out that Vyāsa Dvaipāyana and Kṛṣṇa also lived in the 28th dvāpara and Vyāsa Parāsara in the 26th dvāpara.

Now which dvāpara is this? Dvaipāyana Vyāsa lived at the Mahābhārata time and we know that real Kali ended 200 years later than Mahābhārata war. 28th dvāpara of this real Kali of 1000 years is not possible, as a mahāyuga of 1000 years will have only 25 laghuyugas. Therefore, this dvāpara refers to the amended yuga system.

Now amended Kali started and amended Dvāpara ended in 3176 B. C. So the 28th dvāpara of the preceding mahādvāpara will close 80 years earlier, i. e. in 3236. This is a possible date (of birth) for both Dvaipāyana and Kṛṣṇa if we take their lives to have been of more than 80 years. Similarly, 26th dvāpara of the mahādvāpara (i. e. 80 years earlier than Yudhiṣṭhira and Kṛṣṇa) is possible for Parāsara as he was a contemporay of Vichitravīrya who was three degrees senior to Abhimanyu.

Thus both these calculations are based on amended yuga system.

Again it is said that Rāma (Dāsarathi) lived in 24th or 27th tretā (more probably 27th tretā). This too refers to the amended yuga system. Rāma is usually placed in Tretā, i. e. in the 27th laghutretā of mahātretā. Therefore, according to the amended yuga system, Rāma will be removed from Manu by 30 laghu-caturyugas of mahākṛta and 27 laghu–caturyugas of mahātretā i. e. in all by 57 laghu-caturyugas. And we find that in the genealogies his real number was 57th. Again between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa usually one

mahāyuga is believed to have elapsed. If Kṛṣṇa and Dvaipāyana were in the 28th dvāpara of the mahādvāpara, Rāma must be in the 27th tretā of the mahātretā. But the difference between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa seems, at one time, to have been taken not of 1200 years but of (70−57=13÷40=520) about 500−525 years, as Kṛṣṇa, along with Yudhiṣṭhira was 70th. And, Rāma's date according to this calculation will be (3201+525=3726) cir. 3725-50 B. C.

These pieces of evidence should, I believe, prove beyond all doubts, that at some time of our Puranic traditions, a yuga of 1200 years and its sub-divisions into smaller yugas of 40 years were in vogue.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SAPTARSI ERA

STUDENTS of Indology have been aware, for a long time past of the existence of an era called Saptarṣi Era, and some scholars have studied its nature ere now. But I have found that there are some peculiar problems connected with this Era.

Saptarṣi Era or as it is variously called Pahāḍi Samvat, Laukikakāla, Sāstra sanvat, is a cycle of 2,700 years. As planets are in conjunction with the various rāsis and nakṣatras for a specific period, so, it is supposed that the Saptarṣis remain in conjunction with each of the 27 nakṣatras for 100 years. Thus they will take 2,700 years to complete a cycle. This is universally acknowledged to be the nature of this era. But about the initial point of this era there is some divergence of opinion. Cunningham says that Vṛddha Garga and the Purānas put the beginning of this era in 3177 B. C. and Varāhamihira and other astronomers put it in 2477 B. C. (Cunningham: *Book of Eras* p. 12). The era is even now prevalant in Kashmir and such other parts of India. Cunningham has noted (p. 6) that, " it is still used in hill states to the southeast of Kashmir between the Chenab on the west and the Jumna on the east'; and has further said that according to Alberuni 'the use of Sapta–Rishi Cycle had certainly extended to Multan and Sindh.' (p. 10). Moreover, Alberuni, whose guage year is Saka Era 952 or 1030 A. D., says (I p. 391) " I have read in the almanac for the year 951 of Saka Kal, which came from Kashmir, the statement that the Seven Rishis stand since 77 years in the lunar station Anurādha." If this is true we have here, a third initial point for this era, the first two being 3177 B. C. and 2477 B. C. According to this statement, Saptarṣis entered Anurādha in 951+78=1029—77=952 A. D. Then working backwards we find that they entered Maghā in 282 A. D. and before that in 2448 B. C. Thus 2448 B. C. will also be the initial point of of S. E. Again Stien has noted that according to Buhler the initial point of S. E. was 3077 B. C. (see Stien's Rājataraṅgini,

I Intr. p. 85). Thus we get four different initial years for S. E., viz 2448 B. C., 2477 B. C., 3077 B. C. and 3177 B. C. Which one of these is correct and how did other dates come into existence? I shall attempt an answer.

S. E. is related to Kali Era (K. E.). Cunningham writes (p. 12)' "The following is a translation of the reply which I received from the Brahmans of Kangra in A. D. 1859, regarding the Sapta Rishi Kal—'At the beginning of the Kali yuga the Seven Rishis (or Stars of Ursa Major) had been 75 years in one Naksatra (Maghā), and they remained in the same for 25 years longer. These 25 years are the amount of difference between the total number of Kaliyuga years elapsed and the number of centuries of years of the Hill Cycle (Pahari Samvat) up to the present date. Thus the present 1885 of the Christian Era, is the kali-yuga 4960 and 35 of the 60th Hill Cycle or exacity 25 years short of the number of Kaliyuga years." Cunningham further says that similar replies were received by him from Mandi and Bishar. Thus it is clear that Saptarṣis entered Maghā 75 years before the Kali started. Usual date for Kalistart is 3101 B. C. Therefore Saptarṣis had entered Magha in 3101+75=3176 or B. C. Thus one of the above four dates is explained. But how can we explain the years 2477 B. C. and 2448 B. C.? This date is based on a verse from Bṛhat-samhitā of Varāhamihira. In the 23rd adhyāya it is said.

सैरामलीच राजति ससितोत्पलमालिनी सहसेव ।
नाथवतीच च दिव्यैः कौबेरी सप्तमिमुनिभिः ॥ १
ध्रनमायकोपदेशात्परिनर्तवीतन्। अमदिष्ठ ।
वैद्यारमद् तेषां कथयिष्ये हृद्गमंतात् ॥ २
आसन्मघासु मुनयः श्रासति पृथ्वी युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ
षड्द्विरूपंचयुत: शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥ ३

The last verse, which is generally taken to be a quotation from Vṛddha Garga, but which may be a paraphrase from Vṛddha Garga's book, is usually taken to mean (1) Saptarṣis were in Maghā when Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling on this earth. (2) Saka Era is 2526 years from that king. And taking like this, they put Yudhiṣṭhira's date in 2526-78 = 2448 B. C. or 3101-2448=653 years after the start of Kali era as we have already seen in Kashmir chronology, And as it was believed that Saptarṣis were in Magha in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira, they seem to have taken that century of the

Saptarṣis, which included the year 2448 B. C. to be the century in which Saptarṣis were in Maghā. Thus they seem to have taken 2477 B. C. to 2377 B. C. as the period during which Saptarṣis were in Maghā. It is thus that they seem to have arrived at 2477 B. C, as the initial point of S. E. And some one has shifted the initial point from 2477 B. C. to 2448 B. C. Thus we can explain these two dates. But it should be remembered that these two dates are entirely based on the above interpretation of the verse āsanmaghāsu etc.

But the interpretation given above does not seem to be correct. The second line of the last verse, so far as I can see, can have only one sense and it is " The period (kāla) of the era (Saka) of that king is of 2526 years." Tasya rājnah can ordinarily mean 'of that king' not 'from that king'. However if it is taken as a Prakritism or if the word ' kalāt ' is supplied after ' rājnah ' the verse may mean as it is taken by Kalhaṇa and others. Thus this line has two possible senses. (1) The period of that king's era is of 2526 years. (2) Saka era is 2526 years from that king. I prefer the first sense. But taking that both these senses are possible, I shall explain both of them. According to the second sense, Saka era will be removed from Yudhiṣṭhira's era by 2526 years. Yudhiṣṭhira's era is usually taken to be the same as Kali era, which is generally taken to have started in 3101 B C. But Yudhiṣṭhira's death happened 25 years after the start of K. E. i. e. in 3076 B C. and if his era was taken to have started in that year then 2526 years from that year will come to 3076−2526 = 550 B. C. And we have seen that a Saka Era (followed by the W. Kṣatrapas) was started in about that year. Therefore, the Saka Era of this verse should refer to this Saka Era of c. 552 B. C. and not to the Saka Era of 78 B. C. But later writers took the verse in the second sense and not knowing the earlier Saka Era, releated Yudhiṣṭhira's Era to Saka era of 78 A. D. and thus brought down the date of Yudhiṣṭhira by 653 years or 753 years as is clearly seen in Kashmir Chronology. The above explanation of this verse refering to Saka Era of 552 B. C. is plausible and some scholars have already proposed it. But to me this second sense does not seem to be intended. The second sense fits only if we put the start of Y. E. in 3076 B. C. This year, though likely to have been misunderstood as the year of Yudhiṣṭhira's death is not seen so used elsewhere. To me, therefore, above second sense does not seem to have been

intended. I prefer the first sense. It means ' now upto the year
in which the statement is being made, 2526 years of Y. E. have
passed.' Now according to me Yudhisthira's coronation took place in
3201 B. C. Taking his era to have started in that year, 2026 years
will bring us to 3201—2526=675 B. C. Now I must point out
that it was in this year that the resusciated Krta era (used in
some of our inscriptions) had started. (1976—776—100=676 B. C,)
Therefore this statement of Vrddha Garga was made in 675 or 676
B. C. and it means that upto that year, 2526 years of Y. E. had
passed. That Y. E. was taken to have started in 3201 B. C. as
well as in 3101 B. C. is seen by us while considering the Kashmir
Chronology. This according to me is the correct interpretation.
The interpretation which relates Y. E. with Saka era of 552 B. C.
is plausible; but the interpretation which relates Y. E. with Saka
Era of 78 A. D., is absolutely incorrect.

But once the wrong interpretation was put on the verse either
by Varāhamihira himself or by someone else after him, the idea that
Yudhisthira died in 2448 B. C. gained currency. But this date
will come in conflict with several other facts. It was universally
known that Yudhisthira died either in the year in which K. E.
started or 25 years after it. Therefore they should have said that
Kali also started in 2448 B. C. or in 2448—25=2423 B. C. But
they could not do so, as the Kali-start was universally known to
be in 3101 B. C. or 3201 B. C. So they said that Yudhisthira
died 653 or 753 years after the Kali started. It is on this stand
that present Kashmir Chronology as given in Kalhana's Raj is
based. Thus taking 2448 B. C. as the date of Y. E. on the strength
of the above verse and taking also that Saptarsis were in Magha
in the days of Yudhisthira on the strength of the same verse, they
put the start of S. E. in 2477 B. C. or in 2448 B. C. This is, I
think, how these two dates as the initial points of S. E. have
come into existence.

Now let us see how the fourth date—3077 B. C.—has come into
existence. We have seen that Varāhamihira, following Vrddha
Garga, says that Saptarsis were in Magha in the days of Yudhisthira.
Cunningham's Kashmirian informant, as shown earlier makes this
statement more definite by saying that Saptarsis had completed 75
years in Magha at the start of K. E. and were for 25 years more
in Magha after the start of K. E. Now the start of K. E. is usually
put in the same year in which Moh war happend i. e. in the year

in which Yudhiṣṭhira was coronated. I have taken Yudhiṣṭhira's rule to have lasted for 26 years, i. e. Saptarṣis left Maghā in the year in which Yudhiṣṭhira died. But along with this, as we have seen earlier, the Purāṇas preserve another tradition that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in the days of Parikṣit. Here is a conflict. Parikṣit ascended the throne in the year in which Yudhiṣṭhira died, i. e. according to one tradition, in the year in which Saptarṣis passed out of Maghā, and yet another tradition says that they were in Maghā in Parikṣit's times. How can they be in Maghā in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira ānd Parikṣit, if they passed out of Maghā at the death of Yudhiṣṭhira i. e. at the accession of Parikṣit?

Let us see what must have actually happened? I have earlier given the various adjustments in the start of K. E. Accordingly Mbh war occurred in 3201 B. C. Now if Saptarṣis had entered Maghā in 3276 B. C., at that time, they will say that in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira they were in Maghā as they would be in Maghā throughout the period of his rule from 3201–3176 B. C. Now later on when they took 3201 B. C. as the date of the start of K. E., they said Saptarṣis were in Maghā for 75 years before the start of K. E. and were in Maghā for 25 years more in K. E. Thus at this time Saptarṣis were in Maghā from 3276 B. C. to 3176 B. C. This was correct. But what would be the position when they took 3101 B. C. as the date of the start of K. E.? They had the statement before them that Saptarṣis entered Maghā 75 years before the start of K. E. So, according to this new start of K. E., Saptarṣis must enter Maghā in 3176 B. C. and should remain in Maghā from 3176 B. C. to 3076 B. C. But how can this be? According to earlier traditions they were in Maghā from 3276 – 3176 B. C. Now they wanted them to be in Maghā from 3176—3076 B. C. What they did was this. They said that from 3276—3176 B. C. Saptarṣis passed through Maghā in forward motion, but from 3176—3076 B. C. they passed through Maghā in retrograde motion. That is, for 100 years from 3276—3176 B. C. Saptarṣis were travelling through Maghā and at the end of 100 years i. e. in 3176 B. C. they reached the end of Maghā. Then in 3176 B. C. they started retracing their course from the end of Maghā and in 3176 B. C. they reached the starting point of Maghā, after which they would enter Āśleṣā (according to retrograde motion), not Purvā Fhālguni (as in forward motion). Thus Saptarṣis will require 100 years for going forward in Maghā and 100 years more

for going retrograde in the same nakṣatra of Magha. Thus they
will remain in Magha for 200 years from 3276 B. C. to 3076 B. C.
Thus would start the retrograde motion of the Saptarṣis. Thus
there will be two starting points of S. E.-3276 B. C. and 3176
B. C. But this double crossing of Magha by Saptarṣis created fresh
complications. They knew that Yudhiṣṭhira died in 3176 B. C.
and Parikṣit came to the throne in the same year. Therefore the
first 100 years from 3276—3176 B. C. will fall in Yudhiṣṭhira's
days, but the next 100 years from 3176—3076 B. C. will fall in
Parikṣit's days. Thus two traditions would arise one saying that
Saptarṣis were in Magha in Yudhiṣṭhira's days and another saying
Saptarṣis were in Magha in Parikṣit's days. And they knew that
for 100 years before and for 100 years after the death of Yudhi-
ṣṭhira, Saptarṣis were in Magha.

Now in later days when 3101 B. C. was taken as the date of
Kali start and therefore of Mbh war Yudhiṣṭhira's death will be
put in 3076 B. C. At that time they will say that Saptarṣis were
in Magha from 3176–3076 B. C. (upto Y's death in forward
motion) and were also in Magha from 3076–2976 B. C. (in retro-
grade motion). Thus a new date viz 3077 B. C. will come into
existence for the start of S. E. And this is our fourth date of
Saptarṣi start.

Thus have come into existence four different dates, 3076,
3176, 2476, 2448, B. C. as the initial dates of S. E. To these four
dates, which are found in vogue, I have added one more 3276 B. C.
And I think that this is the correct date in which Sapatarṣis had
entered Magha. Usually the Saptarṣi cycle is taken to have started
75 years befor K. E. start with Saptarsis entering Magha. But I
suggest that just at that time one cycle of 2700 years was comple-
ted and another cycle of 2700 years had started. And this date
I put in 3276 B. C. I have put Manu Vaivasvata's date in 5976 B. C.
If the Saptarṣi Cycle had started in his days in 5976 B. C. with
Saptarṣis entering Magha, that cycle will be completed after 2700
years, in 5976-2700=3276 B. C. That this was the case is borne
out by another consideration also. One of Cunningham's informants
wrote to him that (P. 12) 'the Rishis had completed three revolu-
tions less 25 years in the Dwapara-yuga before the Kali Yuga
began; "This means that S-cycle had started 275 years before the
start of Kali: Now I have put the real start of Kali in 2976 B. C.,

which when adjusted will give 3001 B. C as the start of Kali, just 200 years less than 3201 B. C. If so, according to the above statement Saptarṣi Cycle must have started in 3001 + 275 = 3276 B. C. And that is what I have suggested above. Only, we should remember that it was the second cycle of S. E. which had started in 3276 B. C., the first having started in 5976 B. C.

Let us now understand the basic conception of this era. Pargiter's text (D K A) has this:

सप्तर्षयस्तु वर्तन्ते | सप्तविंशतिपर्वन्ते
यत्र नक्षत्रमण्डले | कृत्स्ने नक्षत्रमण्डले

सप्तर्षयस्तु तिष्ठन्ति पर्योण शतं शतम्
सप्तर्षीणां युगं ह्येतद्दिव्यया संख्यया स्मृतम् १५
मासा दिव्याः स्मृता पञ्च दिव्याब्दानि तु सप्त हि
हेम्यः प्रवर्तते कालो दिव्यः सप्तर्षीभिस्तु वै
सप्तर्षीणां तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्येते उदितौ निशि
तयोरमध्ये तु नक्षत्रं दृश्यते यत्समं दिवि
तेन सप्तर्षयो युक्ता हेगा ह्योम्नि शते समाः २०
नक्षत्राणां ऋषीणां च योगस्यैतभिदर्शनम्

This means that Saptarṣis were in conjunction, for 100 years, with that constellation, which is seen in the middle of those two stars of the Saptsrṣis, which are first seen arisen in the sky. And thus, by turn, they reside for 100 years in each of the constellations. Their yuga i. e. Saptarṣi-Yuga is calculated as 7 divya years and 6 divya months i. e. taking 360 mānava years to be equal to one divya year, a Saptarṣi-Yuga will have ($7\frac{1}{2}$ × 360 = 2520 × 180 =) 2700 mānava years.

This apparently presupposes a relative motion of the Saptarṣis and the constellations. The Saptarṣis according to this, should be actually seen to be in conjunction, for 100 years with each of the 27 constellations. But modern meteorologists, on inquiry, have affirmed that no such relative stellar motion is known to modern Astronomy. Therefore, this is a theoretical contrivance and not an era based on actual observation. But then why do the Puraṇas make such a categorical statement that Saptarṣis remain in conjunction with each of the Nakṣatras for 100 years and that they were actually in Maghā in the days of Yudhiṣhira? Were they really

seen to be in Maghā or was it through traditional handing down of the era that they said so ?

Let us, here, consider the question from the point of view of actual observation. According to the Puranic conception of this Era, the first two stars of the Saptarṣis, should be in conjunction with Maghā in the Mbh days. Which are these two stars ?

a ★ b ★

c ★ d ★
e ★
f ★
g ★

Naming the seven stars of the Saptarṣi constellation as a, b, c, d, e, f, and g as shown in the above diagram, one may say that a and b are the first two stars of the constellation. But if we draw perpendiculars at the points a and b, the field covered by these two lines so drawn, if sufficiently projected, will be seen to pass, even to day, through Kṛtika and Rohiṇī and not through Maghā. Then why did they say that Saptarṣis were in Maghā in Yudhiṣṭhira's times ? Were they actually in Maghā then and have they, now, through their motion come today in conjunction with Kṛttika ? I think an explanation is possible. If instead of taking a and b as the two stars meant, some one takes a and c as the stars meant and if perpendiculars are drawn at the point a and c the field covered by the lines so drawn, if sufficiently projected, will be seen to pass, even today, through Maghā. It must have been so seen even in Mbh days and it was probably seeing such a phenomenon that they took the era to be astronomically correct.

But when was it so taken? We have seen that Saptarṣis are taken to have been in Maghā in 5976 B. C. and then in 3276 B. C. and then according to retrogrode motion in 476 B. C. or 376 B. C. But such a phenomenon as described above was not taken as correct, for the first time, in 476 B. C. or 376 B. C. for, though, according to calculations, Saptarṣis were in Maghā then and though with bare eyes also the stars a and c will be seen to be united with Maghā then they knew that the era was traditionally handed to them, at least from the days of Yudhiṣṭhira. So they, in 476 B. C. or 376 B. C. did not first formulate the idea that stars a

and *c* were united with Maghā. Was it first formulated in the days of Yudhiṣṭhira? I think not. Saptarṣis were known to have entered Maghā 75 years before the Mbh war i. e in 3276 B. C. and in that year there was no particular occasion to start an era. Therefore, we have to go to 5976 B. C. I have taken that to be the date of Manu Vaivasvata. At that time there had been a terribly devastating flood, the people had to leave their original home as a result of that flood and Manu Vaivasvata had led his people to a new home; and it may be justly said that it was an occasion worth starting a new era. And they started the era–kṛtayuga era as well as the S. E. with Saptarṣis entering in Maghā. It was at this time, I think, that the two stars which are supposed to be in conjunction with each of the Nakṣatras by turn, were taken to be *a* and *c*.

But I think that the idea of the Saptarṣi Era was not formulated for the first time even in the days of Manu Vaivasvata. It was an era, which was handed down to them from their original home. I can point out two or three circumstances indicating the great antiquity of the era. The verse which gives the precise nature of the conjunction of Saptarṣis with the constellations, is this:

सप्तर्षीणां तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्येते उदितौ निशि
तयोरन्ध्वे तु नक्षत्रं दृश्यते यत्समं दिवि
तेन सप्तर्षया युक्ता श्रेया व्दाब्दिन शतं समा: ।

But Brahmāṇḍa has here a different reading in the first line. It reads

सप्तर्षीणां तु यौ पूर्वौ दृश्येते उत्तरा दिशि

And the phrase uttarā diṣi 'is Vedic and shows the great antiquity of the verse and therefore of the era. But of course, this by itself is not enough to show that the era was in vogue before Manu Vaivasvata. Let us consider another factor. The whole idea of S. E. is based upon the conception that like the planets Saptarṣis also remain in conjunction with each of the constellations by turn. But nowhere is it mentioned how Saptarṣis are united with the rāsis. This means that the conception of S. E. had taken shape probably before the rāsis became known to Indian astronomers. This also may point to the antiquity of the era. But the most decisive factor, so far as I can see, is this. The above verse talks of the first two stars. If the conception of the era was first formulated in 5976 B. C., then we shall have to say that the

formulators took the first two stars to be *a* and *c*. But every unbiassed observer will most unhesitatingly say that so far as the verse is concerned, the two stars meant could only be *a* and *b* and not *a* and *c*. They (*a* and *b*) are seen first rising in the sky. It is only by a stretch of imagination that we can take *a* and *c* to be the stars first rising. Thus if *a* and *b* are the stars meant in the verse, they are not seen now and could not be ever seen as united with Maghā, but are seen now and would always be seen united with Kṛttikā and Rohiṇi. Theirefore, I think that S. E. was first made current not in 5976 B. C., when Saptarṣis were known to be in Maghā, but in that year in which they would enter Kṛttikā. If from 5976 B. C. we trace the S-cycle back to Kṛttikā, we get 6676 B. C. as the date of their entering Kṛttikā. Therfore I think that S. E. was first started in 6676 B. C. In Vedic days Nakṣatra–beginning was made with Kṛttikā and not with Aśvini. And that being the first nakṣatra and also being the nakṣatra which was seen united with the Saptarṣis, they started the era then. Or it may be the other way. They wished to start such an era and they saw that Saptarṣis were seen to be with Kṛttikā. Therefore they took kṛttikā as the first constellation. At any rate, it seems most probable, on the strength of the above verse that the stars meant were *a* and *b* and not *a* and *c*, and as these are the stars (*a* and *b*) seen to be united with Kṛttikā and not with Maghā, the beginning of S. E. must have been made with Kṛttikā and not with Maghā. Therefore I take 6676 B. C. as the initial point of S. E.

But when in 5976 B. C., Manu Vaivasvata reconstructed all the traditions etc. as he must have done, he found that chronologically they were in the Māgā period of S. E. and as he must have desired to reorient S. E. he must have said that though the cycle of 2700 years was not over, yet the era should be taken as newly started in 5976 B. C. with Saptarṣis entering Maghā. And it must have been at this time that the two stars of th verse were taken to be *a* ard *c* and not *a* and *b*, as *a* and *c* with a slightly different construction would actually be seen united with Maghā. And it must have been at this time that the reading uttrā diśi instead of uditau niśi must have come into existence. But again in the days of Parikṣit etc, as I have suggested earlier, they had to change the initial point of S. E. from 3276 B. C. to 3176 B C. and at a still later period, to 3076 B. C. At this time they took their motion

author Harṣa here referred to is unmistakable as he is designated as Harṣa Vikrama. Therefore, Harṣa, the writer on dramaturgy, is not Harṣavardhana Silāditya of Kanauj, but is Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain, who is described in Rājataraṅgini.

Further, we have actual quotations given from the works of Harṣa and Mātṛgupta. Sāradātanaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* (a work on dramaturgy) and Abhinavaguptācārya in his *Abhinavabhārati*, the commentary on Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*, have quoted the opinions of Harṣa. In *Abhinavabhārati* Harsa's *vārtika* on *Nātyaśāstra*, is referred to and actual quotations from it are given. Three such quotations are found in the first volume of *Nātyaśāstra*, with Abhinavabhārati as printed in the Gaekwad oriental Series (pp 172-207 also see *Bhāvaprakāsa* p. 238). Similarly works of Mātṛgupta also are referred to and actual passages are quoted from them. Therefore, it is beyond any doubt that authors named Harṣa Vikrama and Mātṛgupta did actually exist.

Thus the historicity of both Harṣa Vikramāditya and Mātṛgupta is definitely established and we have seen that Mātṛgupta abdicated his throne in 56 B. C. and Harṣa Vikrama of Ujjain died in 56 B. C.

(2) His identification with Viṣamaśila of KSS

I further think that this Vikramāditya is identical with the Vikramāditya about whom certain stories are given in the last Lambaka of *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The Lambaka is named Viṣamaśila Lambaka and it describes the various exploits of the king Vikramāditya who is also called Viṣamaśila. That the king Vikramāditya was also named Viṣamaśila. is clear from the following verse of *Kathāsaritsāgara*:

नाम्ना तं विक्रमादित्यं हरश्चेनाकरोत्पिता ।

तथा विषमशीलं च महेन्द्रादित्यभूपति: ॥ XVIII, 1,51

Now I must here point out that Harṣa Vikrama, who is described in *Rājataraṅgini*, had a son named Pratāpaśila. While describing the digvijaya of Pravarasena II, Kalhaṇa writes that he i. e. Pravarasena, seeing that Pratāpaśila Silāditya the son of Harṣa Vikramāditya, was defeated and dispossesed of his throne by his enemies, conquered Ujjain and reinstated Pratāprśila on the throne. Kalhaṇa says:

वैरिनिर्वासितं पित्र्ये विक्रमादित्यत्व न्यधात्
राज्ये प्रतापशीलं स शीलादित्यापरानियम् ॥ III

This *śila* ending in the name of Pratāpaśila, I think, connects
him with Viṣamaśila (which name also ends in śila) Vikramāditya.

That Harṣa Vikramāditya was called Viṣamaśila is proved from
the following also. There is a subhāṣita. One poet gave the follow-
ing two quarters for pādapūrti:

अतसीपुष्पसंकाशं ....
न तेषां विद्यते भयम् ॥

another completed the verse thus:

अतसीपुष्पसंकाशं खे वीक्ष्य जलदागमे ।
ये वियोगेऽपि जीवन्ति न तेषां विद्यते भयम् ॥

On this verse *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (Peterson no. 572) has the
following remark:

अतसीपुष्पसंकाशं, न तेषां विद्यते भयमितिपादद्वयं समस्या ।

Now this whole verse is given under the signature of Meṇṭha
i. e. Bhartṛmeṇṭha in *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*. The same verse is given
in *Subhāṣitāvali* (no. 1718) under the signature of Viṣamāditya. It
is proposed by some to emend this to Vikramāditya but it is not
necessary. As I have suggested above Harṣa Vikrama was called
Viṣamaśila also. Here he is called Viṣamāditya. That this refers to
Harṣa Vikramāditya and not to any other Vikramāditya, is proved
by the following. The verse is alternately given under the name
of Bhartṛmeṇṭha. That only means that the verse had joint author-
ship. Probably, Vikramāditya or Viṣamāditya asked the two caraṇas
and Bhartṛmeṇṭha completed the verse and thus it came to be
known as composed by Meṇṭha or Viṣama. Now this Bhartṛmeṇṭha
was a contemporary of Mātṛgupta. Kalhaṇa has described the
incident in which Bhartṛmeṇṭha took his poem *Hayagrīvavadha* to
Mātṛgupta and and Mātṛgupta, after proper test, judged it to be a
worthy poem and rewarded Bhartṛmeṇṭha. Thus Mātṛgupta, Bhar-
tṛmeṇṭha and Harṣa Vikrama lived at the same time. Therefore
the name Viṣamāditya found under this verse shows that Harṣa
Vikrama was also called Viṣamāditya or Viṣamaśila. Peterson
(*Subhāṣitāvali* Intr. p. 118) remarks: "The Vikramāditya of
Rājataraṅgiṇī was also called Visamaśila. If it be not a mere

mistake of the copyists Vishamaditya may be another from of the name." I do not know on what grounds Peterson makes the statement that Vikramāditya of *Rājataraugini* was also called Viṣamaṣila. He has given no grounds but the statement corroborates me.

Therefore, I would take Vikramāditya of Ujjain who died in 56 B. C. and who is described in *Rāgatarangini* to be the same as the Vikramāditya who is described in the last Lambaka of *Ktahasaritsagara*. He would thus have three names: Vikramāditya, Harṣa and Viṣamaṣila. We need not be surprised at these three names of the same king, for we know that in ancient times, kings used to have many birudas.

Thus it is this king Viṣamaṣila Harṣa Vikramāditya, after whose name the era of 56 B. C. was founded and we now know that the era was founded from the date of his death.

(3) His Parentage

According to the chronological scheme accepted in these pages Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana of the Mandasor Inscription of the Mālava era 589 is to be put in 87 B. C. The inscription of Dakṣa, who was a contemporary of Viṣṇuvardhana is dated Mālava or Kṛta era 589. I put the initial point of this era in 676 B. C. Therefore the inscription's date will be 676 − 589 = 87 B. C. There are two inscriptions found in this connection. (1) The Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman and (2) The Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana dated 589 Mālava era. That the two inscriptions refer to the same person has, now, been generally accepted by all scholars.

We get the following information from these inscriptions (1) At first Viṣṇuvardhana was a subordinate chief under the Guptas, which is shown by the term guptanāthaih. (2) Later on he became independent of the Guptas. (3) He conquered lands which were not conquered by the Gupta or the Huṇas, before him. (4) As is clearly stated, his empire extended from the Lauhitya i. e. Brahmaputrā to the western ocean i. e. Surāṣtra and from the Himālayas to the mountain Mahendragiri (5) He had humbled the pride of Mihirakula (6) He seems to have been, at first, called janendra only i. e. an ordinary chieftain (perhaps a republican president,) but later he acquired for himself the titles rajādhirāja and parameśvara. (7) He was ātmavaṁśa i. e. he had not inherited any big empire, but had himself established an empire and thus started a dynasty and (8) His mark or royal emblem was aulikara (?)

The Mandasor Inscription, which is dated in 589 Mālava era, does not mention the defeat of Mihirakula and the one which is undated mentions it. It has been argued from this that Viṣṇuvardhana had defeated Mihirakula some time after 589 Mālava era, because if he had defeated him earlier, the fact would have been mentioned in the dated inscription. I must confess that I do not quite see the force of this argument. As far as I can see, there is nothing to stop us from taking it that he had defeated Mihirakula even before 589 Malva era. The undated inscription is a sort of direct royal record, like that of Samudragupta at Allahabad. Its purpose is to recount the achievements of the emperor and therefore the main achievements of his life should be included in it. The dated inscription, on the other hand, has the main object of recording the construction of a well by one Dakṣa, who was the brother of an officer of Viṣṇuvardhana. The name of the emperor comes in, there, only incidentally. Therefore, it is proper that it describes his achievements in general terms, by saying that he conquered kings in the east and in the north. There is no occasion for the particular incident of Mihirakula's defeat to be noted there.

I, therefore, think that the defeat of Mihirakula had occurred much earlier than 589 Mālava era. According to my calculations 589 Mālava era is equivalent to 87 B. C. I put the end of the Guptas in c. 93 B. C. I think that Mihirakula was defeated in the east by Bhānugupta Bālāditya II some time before 93 B. C., say in 94 B. C. Again Mihirakula was defeated and finally ousted from India by Viṣṇuvardhana, probably in the same year. And following upon this victory over the Huṇa, Viṣṇuvardhana must have declared his independence in c. 93 B. C. when according to my calculations Gupta empire definitely came to an end. Thus Viṣṇuvardhana might have ruled from c. 93 B. C. to c. 85 B. C. as an emperor and prior to that date, he must have ruled as a subordinate chief. Viṣṇuvardhana, thus, seems to have built up an empire for himself by slow degrees and therefore, he must have taken some time in doing so. We can, therefore, roughly put his period from 105 B. C. to 85 B. C. Thus this great conqueror, who raised himself to the position of the emperor of the whole India, by his own prowess, seems to have ruled as a subordinate chief upto c. 93 B. C. and then as an emperor from c. 93 B. C. to 85 B. C. He, thus built up a real empire on the ruins of the Gupta empire. We do not know anything more about him, but from the locality

where his inscriptions are found, we may say that his homeland was Malava.

Now, Harṣa Vikramāditya mentioned in *Rajataraṅgini*, died in 56 B. C. If we take that this Vikrama had ruled for about 30 years which is not impossible, his rule must have started in (56 + 30) c. 86 B. C. This would mean that Harṣa Vikramāditya's rule, came immediately after the rule of Viṣṇuvardhana. And I am, here tempted to make the suggestion that this Harṣa Vikrama was the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana. Kalhaṇa has noted that this Vikramāditya had another name beginning with Harṣa and if we restore the name to its original as Harṣa-vardhana, the vardhana-ending will tally with the vardhana-ending in the name of Viṣṇuva-rdhana. That kings, whose names ended in vardhana, actually ruled at Ujjain or Avanti, is proved by the following verse, which is found in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira. The section on Sakunasāstra, in Bṛhatsaṁhitā, opens with the following verses.

यच्छुक्रशाक्रवागीश्वकपिष्ठलगरुत्मताम् ।
मतेभ्य: प्राह णषमो भासुरेदे वलस्य च ॥ 86th १

भाग्द्राजमतं दृष्ट्वा यथ श्रीद्रव्यवर्धन: ।
आवन्तिक: प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजक: ॥ २

सप्तर्षीणां मतं यन्च संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च मत् ।
गानि चोक्तानि गर्गवैर्याग्राकारैश्व भूरिमि: ॥ ३

तानि दृष्टवा चकारेमं सर्वशाकुनसंग्रहम् ।
वराहमिहर: प्रीत्या शिष्याणां ज्ञानमुलनम् ॥ ४

Here, Varāhamihira declares that he has relied, for this collection of Sakunasāstra, on the different authorities like, Sukra, Sakra. Vāgīra, Kapiṣṭhala, Garutmat, Sridravyavardhana, Saptarṣis and Garga. Out of all these authorities, all, except Dravyavar-dhana are sages of old times. The verse seems to suggest that Varāhamihira knew the king almost personally. He notes the name of the king as Sridravyavardhana. He further notes that he had the title mahārājādhirāja and that he was the king of Avanti. I would fain emend the name Dravyavardhana to Harṣavardhana and say that here is a reference to Harṣavardhana Vikramāditya of Ujjain, particularly as Varāhamihira is already reputed to have lived at his court. But for want of any precise evidence, I shall not press the point. And, yet the verse in question, proves this much, beyond any shadow of doubt that there was a king, whose

personal name ended in vardhana, who ruled at Avanti and who was an emperor (mahārājā hirāja). And even if we do not take Varāhamihira to be a contemporary of the Vikramāditya of 56 B. C., this Āvantika king, referred to by him, must have ruled before 427 Saka era (noted by Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhān- tika*) i. e. before 505 A. D. At any rate, this verse proves that kings whose names ended in vardhana and who had attained to imperial position, did rule at Ujjain.

Therefore, my suggestion that Harṣavardhana Vikramāditya of Ujjain was the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana is not altoge- ther impossible. It is rendered more possible by the following. (1) Harṣa Vikrama's period, according to my chronology, follows immediately that of Viṣṇuvardhana. (2) The homeland of Viṣṇu- vardhana was Malva and same was the homeland of Harṣa Vikrama. (3) The personal names of both these are likely to have ended in vardhana, which may suggest family relation.

In *Rajatarangini*, it is said that Harṣa Vikrama had a son named Pratāpaśila Śilāditya. We have seen, earlier how it is possible to connect the name Pratāpaśila with Vṣiamśila of Katha- saritsāgara. We also find that both Harṣa and his son had titles ending in āditya (Vikramāditya and Śilāditya). I would therefore, suggest that Viṣṇuvardhana himself had assumed the title of Mahendrāditya. In Kathāsaritsāgara, in the Vṣamaśila Lambaka, Viṣamaśila has the title of Vikramāditya ,ānd his father is named Mahendrāditya. We have seen how Viṣamaśila is to be identified with Harṣa Vikrama. Therefore, these two kings ot Ujjain—the father and the son—as referred to in Kathāsaritsāgara, might thus be identified with Viṣṇuvardhana Mahendrāditya and Harṣavar- dhana Vikramāditya. Thus it is likely if Harṣa Vikrama was the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana.

These considerations bring out the following succession:

    Viṣṇuvardhana—Mahendrāditya

    Harṣavardhana —Vikramāditya—Viṣamaśila

        —Śilāditya   —Pratāpaśila

Here, I am emboldened to make one other suggestion. Jayswal has appended a text of *Āryāmanjuśrīmūlakalpa*, to his Imperial History of India. Under Viṣṇu dynasty he gives the following verse (p. 5 of the Sanskrit text).

ततो बिष्णु हस्थेब कुन्तसामाजित: पर: ।
ईशान सर्वप किय महसुबन अघापर: ॥ ६१२

Jayswal, commenting upon this passage, equates the following kings of the text with the following Maukhari kings (p. 27):

AMMK	Inscriptions etc
Ajita	Ādityasena
Iśāna	I'sānavarmā
Sarva	Sarvavarmā
Panki (i. e. Avanti)	Avantivarmā
Graha	Grahavarmā

Then he says: (p. 28) "Viṣṇu is the emperor Viṣṇuvardhana of the Mandasor inscription (GI p. 60) of 589 M. E. (533 A. D.). The other name Hara appears to be of his descendent. The grouping in the text would indicate that. Further there is no other imperial line under which it can come. Situated as he is, before the Maukharis and after Viṣṇu (vardhana), he very likely belonged to the line of Viṣṇuvardpana. "

I am, therefore, tempted to suggest that the name Hara of the text stands for Harṣa. Looking to the extremely corrupt language and metre of AMMK, this emendation proposed by me, is not at all, unlikely, particularly as it fits in with what I have suggested earlier. It would seem that some one, at a later date, has corrected the name Harṣa to Hara, probably thinking that Viṣṇu and Hara go well together. AMMK, as pointed out by Jayswal, is, here following the imperial line only. As we have seen Viṣṇuvardhana was a real emperor. His son (as I suggest) Harṣa (vardhana) Vikramāditya was also an emperor. But Harṣa's son Pratāpasīla who, as we have seen, was, at first, defeated by his enemies and was then a feudatory of Pravaraseena II, was not an emperor. Emperorship had, then passed on to Pravarasena II. And after Pravarasena II and his descendents, the emperorship passed on to the Kushanas, then to Raṇāditya and his descendents and then to the Maukharis. All these kings from Pravarasena II to Raṇāditya and his descendents (including the Kushanas), ruled over India from Kashmir or thereabouts. Therefore, after Harṣa Vikrama, till we come to the Maukharis, there was no emperor in India proper. That is why AMMK puts the Maukharis just after Harṣa or Harṣa Vikramāditya. If, then, the emendation proposed by me here (Harṣa for Hara) is acceptable, it furnishes a very definite and clear proof in support of my suggestion that Harṣa Vikrama was the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, the great emperor of India.
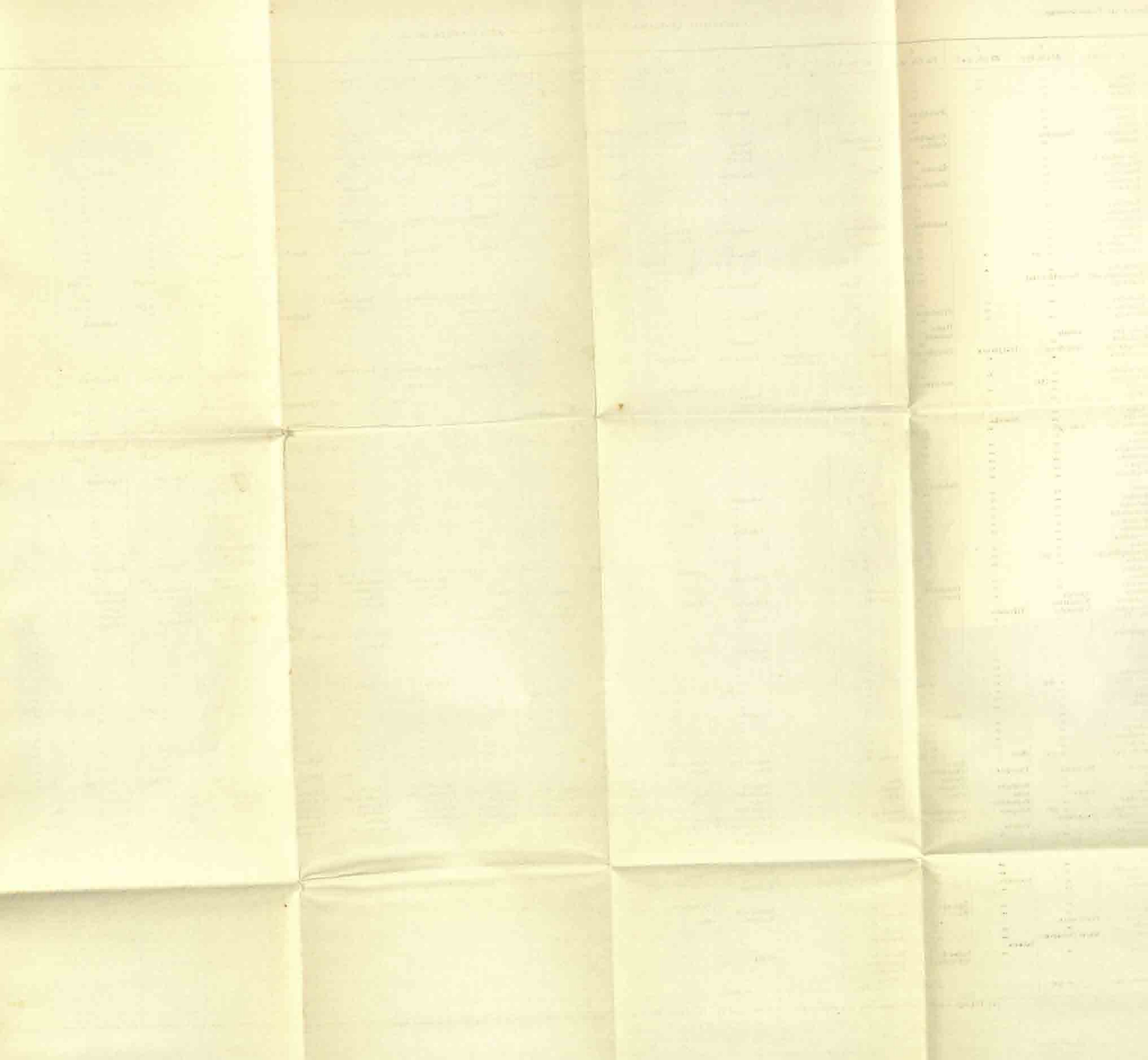
CHAPTER FOUR

PRE-MAHĀBHĀRATA AYODHYĀ DYNASTY

Here I shall reconstruct the pre-*Mahābhārata* Ayodhyā Dynasty as it stood in the days of the *Mahābhārata* war. My main object in so doing is to fix up the total number of steps from Manu Vaivasvata to the Solar kings who ruled at the time of *Mahābhārata* war.

I shall examine here the direct line from Vaivasvata Manu to Śaṅkhaṇa, Srutāyu and Bṛhadbala taking all the kings one by one and making a comparative study of the relevant texts from all the available sources, except Mbh and Rāmāyaṇa.

For this purpose I have made out an exhaustive comparative table noting down the pedigrees of each king as given by various *Purāṇas* and other sources. My method of examining this dynasty is to scrutinise and discuss the chronological order of each of the kings of the dynasty.

But before I take up this study I have to make one point clear. My estimate of the antiquity of the various Purāṇic texts, so far as this dynasty is concerned, is somewhat different from that of Pargiter. I shall, therefore, first explain my view regarding it. On casting even a cursory glance at the Table we find that the *Purāṇas* fall within three groups—(1) those that stop at Srutāyu—they are *Mt, Pm, Ag, Km, Lg, Sr,* (2) those that stop at Bṛhadbala—they are *Vy, Bd, Bg, Vn, Bh* and *Gd,* (3) those that stop at Śaṅkhaṇa—they are *Br,* and *Hr,* (*Br's* last king should be Śaṅkhaṇa and not Anala or Nala as the comparison with *Hr* text shows. Moreover *Hr* text seems to come down to Bṛhadbala, but it is evident that kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala are purely later additions there.) *Sv, Bhd, Kl,* are not taken into account in this grouping.

But though apparently we get these three groups, there are really two original groups only. Dr. Pradhan has very successfully shown that those *Purāṇas* that come down to Bṛhadbala wrongly append the king from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala after Hiraṇyanābha. He

	1 Vy (88th)	2 Bd (iii, 63)	3 Kl (iii, 3-4)	4 Vn (iv, 2-4)	5 Bg (ix, 6-1)	6 Brd	7 Bh	8 Gd (i, 38)	9 Lg (i, 65-68)	10 Sr (30th)	11 Km (i, 20-21)	12 Mt (12th)	13 Pm (v, 8)	14 Ag (273 rel)	15 Sv (vii, 60-61)	16 Br (7th)	17 Hr (11-15)	18 Rgh
1	Manu	=	=	=	=	=		=	=		=	=	=		=	=	=	
2	Ikṣvāku	=	=	=	=	=		=	=		=	=	=		=	=	=	
3	Vikukṣi	=		=	=		Ripuñjaya	=			=	=	=		=	=	=	
4	Kakutstha	=		Parañjaya				Purañjaya				=	Suyodhana			=	=	
5	Anena	=							Suyodhana		Suyodhana	=	=			=	=	
6	Pṛthu								=						Arinābha	=	=	
7	Vṛṣadaśva	Dṛṣadaśva		Viṣṭarāśva Candra	Viśvarandhi Candra		Viśvaga Ārdra	Viśvarāta	Viśvaka Ārdraka	Damaka Śaryāti	=	Viśvaga Indu	Viśvaga Ārdra	Viśvagāśva Āyu	Viṣṭarāśva Indra	Ārdra	Ārdra	
8	Andhra	=					Bhadrāśva											
9	Yuvanāśva I			Śāvasta	Śava				Śāvasta		Śāvasti		Śāvasta	Śrāvanta				
10	Śrāvasta	=					Śrāvastha					=	=	=				
11	Bṛhadaśva	=		Kuvalayāśva			=		=		=							
12	Kuvalāśva	=					=		=									
13	Dṛḍhāśva	=							Pramoda		Pramoda	Pramoda	Pramoda					
14	Haryaśva	=					=		=		=	=	=					
15	Nikumbha	=		Amitāśva	Barhaṇāśva		Saṅkaṭāśva	Hitāśva Pūjāśva	=		Raṇāśva	Akṛtāśva	Raṇāśva	Raṇāśva	Raṇāśva			
16	Saṁhlatāśva	=							=									
17	Kṛśāśva	=		Senajit					=									
18	Prasenajit	=					Ravanāśva		=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=	
19	Yuvanāśva II								Bindumahya									
20	Māndhāta (20)	= (20)	=	= (20)	= (20)		= (21)	= (19)	= (20)	= (20)	= (19)	= (20)	= (19)	= (19)	= (20)	= (20)	= (20)	
21	Purukutsa	=																
22	Trasadasyu (22)	Yuvanāśva (22)		= (22)	= (22)		Triṁśadaśva (23)	= (22)	= (22)		= (21)	Vasuda (22)	Sambhūta (21)	= (21)	= (22)	= (22)	= (22)	
23	Sambhūta	=							Bṛhadaśva		Viṣṇuvṛddha	=	Sambhūti	Sudhanvā			Sudhanvā	
	Anaraṇya	=	=				=	=			=							
	Trasadaśva	=	=	Pṛṣadaśva			Pṛṣadaśva											
	Haryaśva	=	=	Hasta Sumanā														
24	Vasumanā Tridhanvā	Sumati					Vasumān	=										
25	Raṇaprabhu	Trayyāruṇi	Trayyāruṇa	Trayyāraṇa	Aruṇa	Trayyāruṇa Tribandhana	Trayyāruṇa	Trayyāruṇa	Trayyāruṇa	=	Trayyāruṇa	Trayyāruṇa	Trayyāruṇa	Taruṇa	Trayyāruṇa	Trayyāruṇa	Trayyāruṇa	
26	Satyavrata	=	=	=			=	=	=			Satyaratha	=					
27	Hariścandra					=	=											
28	Rohita (32)	= (31)		Rohitāśva (32)	= (28)		= (32)	Rohitāśva (30)	= (32)		= (32)	= (29)	= (28)	Rohitāśva (29)	= (28)	= (28)	= (29)	
29	Harita	=		=		Cāpa	Hārita	=	Dhundhu									
30	Cañcu	=		=	Campa Sudeva		Cañcu	=	=									
31	Vijaya	=		=			=	=	Rucaka									
32	Ruruka	=	Bharuka	=	Bharuka	=	=			=						Ruru	Ruru	
33	Ghṛtaka (37)	Vṛka (36)		= (37)	= (34)		= (35)		= (37)	= (36)	= (33)	= (30)	= (29)	= (30)	= (29)	= (33)	= (34)	
34	Bāhu	=		Bāhuka			=											
35	Sagara	=		=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=				
36	Asamañjas	=		=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=	Pañcajana	Pañcajana	Pañcajana		
37	Aṁśumān	=		=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
38	Dilīpa I	=		=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
39	Bhagīratha	=		Suhotra	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
40	Śruta	=					Śrutasena	=	=		=	=	=					
41	Nābhāga	=			Nabha		=	=	=		=	=	=					
42	Ambarīṣa	=					=	=	=		=	=	=					
43	Sindhudvīpa	=					=	=	=		=	=	=					
44	Ayutāyu	=					Ayutāśva	=	=		=	=	=	Śrutāyu	Ayutāyurjit			
45	Ṛtuparṇa	=					=	=	=		=	=	=		Anuparṇa	Ārtaparṇi	Ārtaparṇi	
46	Sarvakāma	=					=	=	=		=	=	=					
47	Sudāsa	=					=	=	=		=	=	=					
48	Kalmāṣapāda (52)	= (51)		= (53)	= (46)		= (50)	= (50)	= (51)	= (50)	= (47)	= (43)	= (41)	= (42)	= (43)	= (48)	= (49)	
49	Aśmaka	=		=			Harivarmā	Aśvaka	=			Sarvakarmā Anaraṇya Nighna	Sarvakarmā Anaraṇya Nighna	Sarvakarmā Anaraṇya Nighna	Satvakarmā Anaraṇya	Sarvakarmā Anaraṇya Niglina	Sarvakarmā Anaraṇya Nighna	
50	Urukāma	=								Nakula	Nakula					Anamitra	Anamitra	
51	Mūlaka	=										Raghu	Raghu			Duliduha	Duliduha	
52	Śataratha	Iḍaviḍa		Daśaratha Ilavila	Daśaratha Aiḍaviḍa		Dilīvaya	Ailavila	Ilavila Vṛddhaśarmā	Ilavila Vṛddhaśarmā	Vilivili Vṛddhaśarmā							
	Aiḍiviḍa	Kṛśaśarmā																
	Viśvamahat	Viśvasaha	Viśvasaha	=	=		Viśvasaha	=	=	=	=	=	=		Niṣadha			
53	Dilīpa II	=	=	=	=							Ajaka	Ajaka					
	Dīrghabāhu	=		=	=		Sudarśana Dilīpa											
54	Raghu	=					=	=										
55	Aja	=		=	=		=	=	=			Ajapāla	Prajāpāla					
56	Daśaratha	=		=	=		=	=	=		=	=	=					
57	Rāma (65)	= (63)		= (64)	= (57)		= (63)	= (60)	= (63)	= (62)	= (58)	= (54)	= (51)	= (50)	= (51)	= (58)	= (59)	
58	Kuśa	=		=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
59	Atithi	=		=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
60	Niṣadha	=		=	=		Nibandha	=	=	=	=	=	=					
61	Nala	=		Anala	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
62	Nabha	=	=	=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
63	Puṇḍarīka	=	=	=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
64	Kṣemadhanvā	=	=	=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=	Sudhanvā				
65	Devānīka	=	=	=	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=					
66	Ahinagu (74)	= (72)	Hīna	Ruru = (73)	Aniha (65)		Ahīnaja (72) Kuru	Ahīnaka (68) Ruru	Ahīnara (72)		Km = (67)	= (63)	= (60)	Ahīnāśva (59)	= (60)	= (67)	= (68)	
67	Pāripātra	Pāriyātra	Pāriyātra	Pāriyātraha Devala			Sahasrāśva Candrāvaloka Tārāpīḍa	Sahasrāśva Candrāvaloka Tārāpīḍa	Mahasvān Candrāvaloka Tārāpīḍa	Candrāvaloka Tārāpīḍa	Sahasrāśva Candrāvaloka Tārāpīḍa	Sahasrāśva Candrāvaloka Tārāpīḍa	Sahasrāśva Candrāvaloka Tārāpīḍa	Sahasrāśva Vīrasena	Sahasrāśva	Sudhanvā	Sudhanvā	Sīla
68	Dala	= (70)	Balāhaka	Vañcala	Bala Sthala		Daśapāla Chadmakārī	Śāla	Candragiri Bhānucandra	Candragiri Bhānucandra	Candragiri Bhānuvitta	Candragiri Bhānuścandra	Candragiri Candra			Śāla	Anala	
69	Bala	Uluka	Arka	Utka	Arka		Uktha Vajranābhi	Uktha	Śrutāyu (78)		Śrutāyu (73)	Śrutāyu (69)	Bhānuratha Śrutāyu (66)	Śrutāyu (65)	Uktha	Uktha	Uktha	
70	Audraka		Rajanābha															Unnābha
71	Vajranābha	= (78)	Khagaṇa	Śaṅkhaṇa (80) Yuṣitāśva	Khagaṇa (71) Vidhṛti		Śaṅkhanābhi (79) Vyutthanābhi Viśvapāla Svarnanābhi	Gana (75) Uṣitāśva							Nala (72)		Śaṅkha (73)	
72	Śankhaṇa (90) Dhṛṣitāśva Viśvasaha Hiraṇyanābha	Vyuṣitāśva	Vidhṛta	=												Vyuṣitāśva		
																		Kosala Brahmiṣṭha Putra
	Puṣya	=		=	=		Puṣpasena	Puṣyaka										
	Dhruvasandhi	=		=	=		=	=										
	Sudarśana	=	Syandana	=	=		Apavarmā									Arthasiddhi		
	Agnivarṇa	=		=	=		=	Padmavarṇa								=		
	Śīghra	=		Śīghraga			Śīghragantā	Maru								=		
	Manu	=		Maru	Maru		Marupāla									Maru		
	Prasuśruta	Prabhusuta		=			=											
	Susandhi	=		=	Sandhi		=									=		
	Amarṣa	Marṣa (Sahasvān)	Sahasra	=	Amarṣaṇa		=											
	Viśrutavān	=		Sahasvān Viśvabhava	Mahasvān Viśvasāhva Prasenajit Takṣaka		Mahāśva											
	Bṛhadbala (94)	= (92)		= (95)	= (87)		= (92)											

has shown that these kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala belong to Lava branch of Srāvasti Ikṣvakus and form a collateral branch to the main Kuśa line running upto Saṅkhaṇa. For reasons to be discussed later, I take out the two or three kings usually put after Saṅkhaṇa and before Puṣya in these lists (Vy: Bd, Bg, Vn, Bh Gd). I, therefore, suggest that all these Purānas originally stopped at Saṅkhaṇa. Therefore there are only two origianl groups of Purānas those that stop at Srutāyu and those that stop at Saṅkhaṇa. Really speaking all the Purānas stopped originally at the Mahābharata war. Srutāyu and Bṛhadbala were killed in that war, therefore they must be at the same step from Manu. Saṅkhaṇa too must have taken part in the war as his grandfather Uktha was still living at the time of the war. Thus all the lists originally stopped at the same step and they formed two original groups.

I shall call the first group the Ag-Mt group and the second group the Br-Vy group. After thus knowing that all the Purānas of the Br-Vy group originally formed one group, we can further sub-divide that group into two. These two sub-groups will have (1) Those that stop at Saṅkhaṇa, they are Br-Hr sub-group, and (2) those that stop at Bṛhadbala, they are Vy-Bd sub-group.

Again, on examining the texts of all the Purāṇas we find that out of the Ag-Mt group, Ag, Mt and Pm have more or less the same version, but Km and Lg differ greatly. They go sometimes with the Ag-Mt group and sometimes with the Vy-Bd sub-group. About Lg we find that (1) it follows Mt upto Sambhuta, (2) then it follows Vy-Bd sub-group upto Ahinagu and (3) then it follows Mt upto Srutāyu. About Km we find that (1) it follows Mt upto Sambhūta, (2) then it follows Vy-Bd upto Rohita, (4) then it follows Mt upto Kalmāṣapāda, (4) then it follows Vy-Bd upto Ahinagu and (5) then it follows Mt upto Srutāyu.

Again the text-collations show that Sv (which really stops at Ahinagu though two more kings are given after him in the present text) goes with Br-Hr sub-group, Bdh goes with Bg. Rgh and Kl go with the Vy-Bd sub-group. Sr follows Lg. Thus we have the following groups:

Group I. Ag-Mt group comprising Ag, Mt, Pm, Sr, Km, Lg: but out of these Km and Lg and therefore Sr also sometimes follow this group and sometimes Vy-Bd sub-group. Ag-text is more akin to Br-Hr texts at many places, but on the whole it has greater

affinities with *Mt* and *Km*. In fact it seems to be the original of this group.

Group II: *Sub-group* I. *Br-Hr* sub-group having *Br, Hr, Sv,* and *Sub-group II—Vy–Bd* sub-group having *Vy. Bd, Vn, Bg, Bh, Gd Bdh, Rgh, Kl.*

Out of these various groups, so far as the version of the Pre-*Mahābhārata* Ayodhyā dynasty is concerned, I find that the Br-Hr Sv versions are most reliable, and it is natural. For, from another point of view it is possible to divide the *Puranas* into two broad groups of (1) those that give the Kali dynasties and (2) those that do not give the Kali dynasties. Out of these, those that do not give the Kali dynasties are more likely to be earlier. We find that *Br, Hr, Sv, Ag, Pm, Km* and *Lg* do not give the Kali dynasties, while *Vy, Bd, Bg, Vu, Bn, Gd,* and *Mt,* give the Kali dynastes. But so far as the pre- *Mahābhārata* Solar dynasty is concerned *Mt* goes with the first group above, because in that *Purana* the Kali dynasties are not dealt with in continuation of pre-Kali dynasties. For, in the *Mt* the pre-Kali dynasty stops at Srutāyu and the Kali dynasty starts with Brhadbala. This discrepancy by itself, and also the fact that the dynasty upto Srutāyu is dealt with in the Adhyāya 11-12, and the Kali dynasties are dealt with in the Adhyāyas 271 ff, go to show that these dynasties are compiled by two different hands and at two different periods.

But even out of those *Puranas* that give the pre-Kali dynasties only, I have found that *Br, Hr-Sv* texts are the best and the earliest.

All this will show that in fixing the authenticity of a king or kings in these lists, we can take this as the general rule that a king who is attested by any two groups out of the above three groups (Group I and two sub-groups of Group II), may be taken as genuine, and a king who is supprted by only one group may be taken as spurious. In what follows now, I shall take this as the general guiding rule, though exceptions are likely to occur.

Keeping all this in mind we shall now examine this dynasty in details. In so doing it will be convenient, if we divide the whole line into the following groups of kings: (as given in the first column of the Table).

> (1) From Manu to Trasadasyu
> (2) From Trasadasyu to Rohita
> (3) From Rohita to Vṛka
> (4) From Vṛka to Kalmāṣapāda
> (5) From Kalmāṣapāda to Rāma
> (6) From Rāma to the end.

(1) Let us consider the group from Manu to Trasadasyu. It will be seen that Trasadasyu's number is 22nd in all the *Puranas* except *Bh*, *Km*, *Pm* and *Ag*. On examining these 21 or 22 kings we find the following noteworthy points:

(a) *Bh* is aolne in putting Ripuñjaya between Vikukṣi and Kakutstha; and as this insertion is not warranted by any other text, we can set it aside.[1] The mistake is likely to have arisen thus: Some *Puraṇas* give Parañjaya or Purañjaya as an epithet of Kakutstha.[2] That epithet is here changed to Ripuñjaya and taken as a separate king-name.

(b) At the fifth step we meet with a difference in name. The *Ag* group calls the king Suyodhana and the *Br* group calls him Anenā. But the names are not material to my enquiry, which is chiefly concerned with the order and number of the kings.

(c) There are many variations of the names of the 7th and the 8th kings. Even the *Puraṇas* of the same group differ in their spellings. This is evidently caused by the scribes and we may adopt any name.

(d) Once again *Bh* is alone in inserting Bhadrāśava between Ārdra and Yuvanāśva I. Bhadrāśva, therefore, is to be dropped.

(e) The name Srāvasta is variously spelt; but we know that the real spelling should be Srāvasta.

(f) Then there comes a real difference at the 14th step. Here the *Ag-Mt* group (with *Ag's* exception) makes Pramoda the son of Dṛḍhāśva and Haryaśva to be Pramoda's son. But in this, those that add Pramoda are wrong. Their mistake is caused by misunderstanding the original text, which is preserved in *Ag*. *Ag* reads (273rd).

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1. *Bhaviṣya* published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, which is the only printed edition of the *Puṛana* available, is not a genuine *Purāṇa* and therefore generally no weight should be attached to its statements.

2. See particularly *Bhāgavata* which is quite explicit on the point.

धुन्धुमारात्त्रयो भूता इदाश्वो दण्ड एत्र च ।
कपिलोऽध इदाश्वस्तु हर्यश्व प्रमोदकः ॥ २२
हर्यश्वाच्च निकुम्भो etc.

Evidently according to Ag. both Haryaśva and Pramoda (ka) were the sons of Dṛḍhāśva. But the other Purāṇas misunderstanding the text, have made out three kings where originally there were only two. Therefore Pramoda is to be dropped from the direct list.

(g) Apart from the variations in the names of some of the kings, we find that there is a sharp difference between the groups about Prasenajit. Ag-Mt group along with Gd, omits him and Br-Hr sub-group as also the Vy-Bd sub-group (minus Gd) retains him. As two out of the three groups retain him he is to be retained.

(h) Then from Yuvanāśva II to Trasadasyu all agree, except Gd which introduces Bindumahya between Māndhātā and Purukutsa. This insertion is solitary and unwarranted by all other Purāṇas[1] and therefore is to be taken out. The error seems to have arisen thus: Some Purāṇas mention Bindumati as the queen of Māndhātā. And this name is probably misread as Bindumahya and treated as a separate king.

Therefore we can safely say that Trasadasyu's real number is 22nd as almost all the Purāṇas agree.

(2) We shall now take up the second group of kings from Trasadasyu to Rohita. Here there is a great deal of divergence and following are the points to be considered:

(a) Sambhūta is to be retained as he is found in all the three groups except in some Purāṇas belonging to the Vy-Bd sub-group.

(b) Pm is alone in putting Sambhūti as the son of Srmbhūta and Ag and Hr alone in putting Sudhanvā as the son of Sambhūta. Both Sambhūti and Sudhanvā are therefore to be dropped. (Probably Sudhanvā and Tridhanvā were brothers.)

(c) Then we come to the group of four or five Kings—Viṣṇu-vṛddha, Anaraṇya, Trasadaśva, Haryaśva, and Vasumanā (with variations like Prasadaśva, Bṛhadaśva, Hasta and Sumanā). These

1 See *Brahma. Hari* and *Bhagavata.*

are mentioned by the whole of the *Vy-Bd* sub-group and also by *Km* and *Lg* from the *Ag-Mt* group.

Out of these Viṣṇuvṛdha of *Km* is unwarranted as *Lg* is clear on the point *Lg* makes Anaraṇya and Viṣṇuvṛidha to be the sons of Sambhūti and *Km* has evidently turned the two brothers into father and son, as the *Puraṇas* often do. So Viṣṇuvṛddha is to be ruled out.

But regarding the other kings we find that the authorities are more of less equally divided. My own idea is that the *Vy* group is not justified in putting these kings here. I would reconstruct this part of the dynasty this:

Trasalasyu

|

Sambhāta

Anaraṇya	Viṣṇuvṛldha (*Lg & Km*)	Sudhanvā (*Ag*)	Tridhanvā (*Br, Hr, Mt,* etc.)
Bṛahadaśva			Trayyāruṇa
Haryaśva			
Vasumanā			
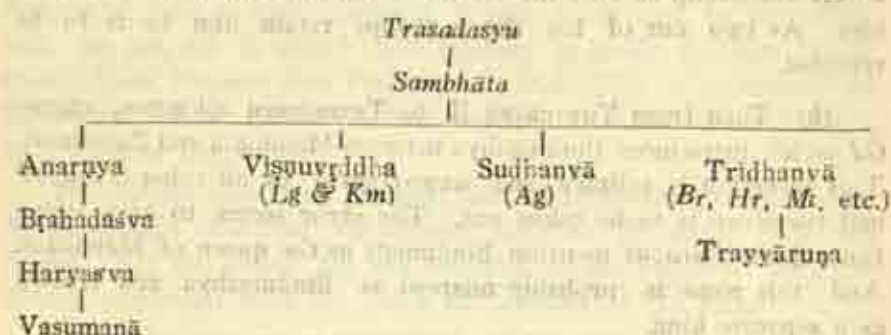
Thus so far as I can see, kings from Anaraṇya to Vasumana formed a collateral branch but instead they are made lineal, just as *Km* has turned the two brothers into father and son. My main reason in omitting these kings from the direct line is this that though the authorities seem to be equally divided, in reality, both the *Br-Hr* sub-group and the *Ag-Mt* group omit them, for *Km* and *Lg* are not reliable generally, and particularly at this portion they have adopted *Vy-Bd* version.

(d) *Bg* is alone in omitting Tridhanvā and he is to be retained.

(e) Satyaratha is omitted by all except by *Mt, Pm* and *Ag* and, therefore he is be dropped. *Br* and *Hr* give Satyaratha as the name of the wife of Satyavrata, and that name is here changed into Satyaratha and made up into a separate king.

(f) Then upto Rohita there is no difference.

Therefore, the number of Rohita is 28.

(3) Let us now consider the third group of king from Rohita to Vṛka. Here the following points are to be considered:

(a) *Bg* is alone in putting Sudeva, and we find in other *Purāṇas*[1] that Vijaya and Sudeva were 'brothers. They are, as usual, here turned into father and son. Sudeva therefore is to be dropped.

(b) Kings from Harita to Ruruka are omitted by the *Ag-Mt* group and by *Sv*, and are retained by both the sub-groups. They are otherwise famous and known to us from other sources, and therefore are to be retained. The omission represents a real lacuna in the *Ag-Mt* texts.

Thus Vṛka's number is 33rd.

(4) The fourth group of kings is from Vṛka to Kalmāṣapāda. Texts here are fairly unanimous, but the following points are to be considered. From Vṛka to Bhagīratha there is no difference.

(a) *Vn* is alone in inserting Suhotra, and he is to be dropped.

(b) *Sruta* is omitted by the *Ag-Mt* group only and is retained by others. He is therefore to be retained.

(c) Ambarīṣa is dropped by *Bg* and *Km*: but he is famous and all the other *Purāṇas* retain him. He is therefore to be retained.

(d) Sarvakāma and Sudāsa are dropped by the *Ag-Mt* group only. They are to be retained.

Thus Kalmāṣapāda's number is 48th.

(5) Then we have to consider the group of kings from Kalmāṣapāda to Rāma. Following are the points of consideration.

(a) Let us take the three kings after Kalmāṣapāda. *Vy* is alone in mentioning Urakāma and he is to be dropped. Then there is a set of three kings. *Vy*, *Bg*, *Vn*, *Gd*, *Bh*, *Lg* name them as Aśmaka, Mūlaka and Sataratha (with variations in names), while *Mt*, *Pm*, *Ag*, *Br*, *Hr*, and *Sv* name them as Sarvakarmā, Anaraṇya and Nighna: but all are unanimous in giving these three steps here. Therefore there is no change in the total of number of kings. I would reconstruct this portion thus.

1. E. g. *Hr.* and *Vy*

```
                         Kalmāṣapāda
                              |
        ┌─────────────────────┼─────────────────────┐
      Aśmaka               Urakāma             Sarvakarmā
        |                                           |
      Mūlaka                                     Anaraṇya
        |                                           |
     Saratratha                                   Nighna
```

(b) Out of those *Purāṇas* which follow up Sarvakarmā line,
Mt and *Km* make Raghu as the son of Nighna, and *Br* and *Hr* make
Anamitra as the son of Nighna. *Ag* drops this step altogether, and
Sv drops Nighna and his son. Now, collation of text shows here
that according to *Mt* and others, Raghu and Anamitra were brothers.
Mt clearly says that Nighna had two sons named Raghu and
Anamitra, out of whom, Anamitra went to the forest and Raghu
came to the throne. This last is not mentioned in *Br* and *Hr*;
but even they say that Raghu and Anamitra were brothers. There-
fore both Raghu and Anamitra represent the same step. Thus the
table will be.

```
                         Kalmāṣapāda
                              |
        ┌─────────────────────┼─────────────────────┐
      Aśmaka               Urakāma             Sarvakarmā
        |                                           |
      Mūlaka                                     Anaraṇya
        |                                           |
     Saratratha                                  ┌───┴───┐
                                             Anamitra  Raghu
```
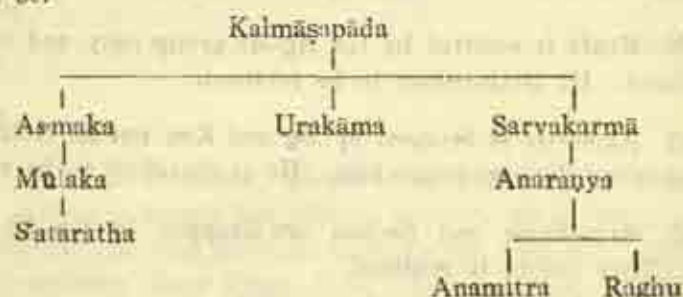
(c) Then comes Aiḍiviḍa who is variously spelt. I shall consider
his case presently, but just now I shall take up the cases of
Vṛidhaśarmā and Viśvasaha who are put by some between Aiḍiviḍa
and Dilipa. *Vy. Bd, Km* and *Lg* insert both these kings, but *Bg. Vn,*
and *Gd* insert only one Viśvamahas or Viśvasaha. But both these
are unwarranted, as they are omitted by the *Br-Hr* sub-group
and also by the *Ag-Mt* group. They are to be dropped. Therefore
Dilipa is to be put just after Aiḍiviḍa.

(d) We may now consider the case of Aiḍiviḍa. The word is
variously spelt as Aiḍiviḍa (*Vy, Bg, Bd,*) Valiviḷa (*Km*), Ailaviḷa
(*Gd*), Ilavila (*Km* and *Lg*) and Duliduha (*Br, Hr*). The correct
form seems to be Ailaviḷa, as it is a metronymic from Ilaviḷā as

pointed out by Pargiter[1]. He is omitted only by *Ag*, *Mt* and *Pm* and is mentioned by all others. But my idea is that though he is mentioned by so many *Purāṇas* as a separate king, he is really not a separate king. Ailavila so far as I can see, is an attribute of Dilipa Khaṭvāṅga. My reasons are these:

(1) *Mbh* mentions a king Dilipa Ailavila Khaṭvāṅga, where very clearly Ailavila is given as a metronymic adjective of Dilipa.[2]

(2) I think that the mistake has happened due to some misunderstanding of the text. Let us compare the texts from *Br* and *Hr*. in this connection.

> *Br* अनमित्रसुनी राजा विद्वान्दुलिदुहोऽभवत् ॥ ८,८४
> दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामस्य प्रपितामह: ।
>
> *Hr* अनमित्रस्य धर्मात्मा विद्वान्दुलिदुहोऽभवत् :
> दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामप्रप्रपितामह: ॥ १५,३४

Here we find that *Br* text is evidently wrong. *Br* calls Dilipa to be Rāma's *prapitāmaha* but he is really Rāma's *praprapitāmaha* as *Hr* reads it. I also think that the change of '*anamitrasya*' (*Hr*) to '*anamitrasuta* (*Br*) is not warranted. It is possible to reconstruct the *Hr* reading thus:

> तस्य अनमित्रस्य तनय: धर्मात्मा विद्वान् रामप्रप्रपितामह: ऐलबिल: taking दुलिदुह as scribe's error) दिलीप: अभवत् ॥

Thus Ailavila will become a metronymic adjective of Dilipa. I therefore, take the line to stand thus:

```
                      Kalmāsapāḍa
                           |
       _____
      |                    |                           |
    Aśmaka              Urakāma                    Sarvakarmā
      |                    |                           |
    Muluka                                         Aneraṇya
      |                                                |
   Sataratha                                        Nighna
                                                       |
                                           _____
                                          |                        |
                                       Anamitra                  Raghu
                                          |
                             Ailavila Dilipa Khaṭvāṅga
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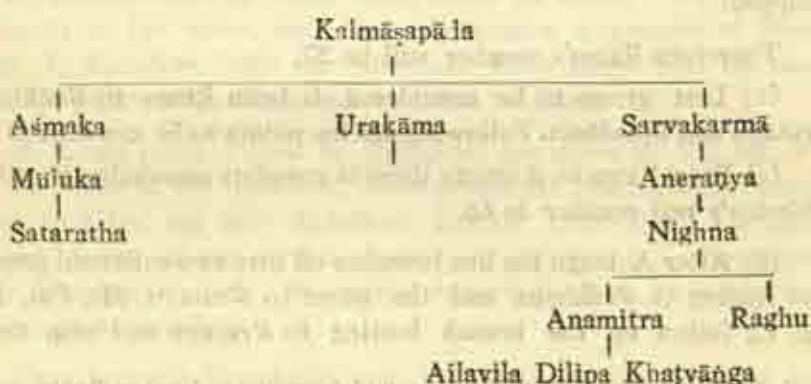
1. *Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 39, and 241.
2. See *MBh*, VII, 55, 2170 to 70; XII, 29 910.1037.

Thus there will be four steps between Kalmāṣapāda and Ailavila Dilīpa Khaṭvāṅga[1] II. It is probable therefore that *Vy* has added Urakāma and made four steps. It is thus significant that *Ag*, *Mt* and *Pm* omit Ailavila altogether.

Thus the number of Dilīpa 11 will be 52nd.

(e) Ajaka is inserted between Dilīpa and Dīrghabāhu by *Mt*, but it is evidently a mistake as it is not supported by any other *Purāṇa*.

(f) Dīrghabāhu is recognised as an independent king by almost all except by *Br*, *Hr*, *Ag*, *Sv*; and though both Pargiter and Pradhan are in favour of recognising him as an independent king, I think that he is really not a separate king. The mistake has arisen from the misreading of the *Br* and *Hr* texts, both of which make Dīrghabāhu as an adjective of Raghu. The texts read thus :

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुनस्निा सुतोऽभवत्। Br ८, ६५

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुनाम्नाऽभवत्सुत: ॥ Hr ५५, २५

अनरण्य तु निघ्नोऽथ दिलीपस्तत्सुतोऽभवत्।

तस्य राज्ञो रघुर्जे तत्सुतोऽपि अजोऽभवत् ॥ Ag. २७२, ३२–३३.[2]

Moreover Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* omits him. Evidently Kālidāsa follows the *Vy-Bd* sub-group as he goes upto Agnivarṇa. He does not follow *Br* or *Ag* group and yet out of the *Vy*-group list he omits Dīrghabāhu. That can mean only one thing that in the days of Kālidāsa, *Vy*-group had no Dīrghabāhu as an independent king. He is therefore a later addition and therefore is to be dropped.

Therefore Rāma's number will be 57.

(6) Last group to be considered is from Rāma to Saṅkhaṇa, Śrutāyu and Bṛhadbala. Following are the points to be considered :

(a) From Rāma to Ahinagu there is complete unanimity, therefore Ahinagu's real number is 66.

(b) After Ahinagu the line branches off into two collateral groups, one leading to Saṅkhaṇa and the other to Śrutāyu. *Mt*, *Pm*, *Km*, *Ag*, *Lg* follow up the branch leading to Śrutāyu and stop there.

1. I take this Dilīpa 11 to be the son of Anamitra and not of Raghu on the evidence of *Br*, and *Hr*. Pradhan also has done the same thing. Later genealogy will be : Anamitra—Dilīpa 11—Raghu—Aja—Dasaratha—Rama.

2. It will be seen that *Ag* omits Dīrghabāhu altogether.

Br follows up the line leading to Saṅkhaṇa and its last king is not Anala but Saṅkhaṇa as is proved by the *Hr* text. *Hr* also follows up the line leading upto Saṅkhaṇa, but adds some stray kings : but this attempt is so half-hearted that it evidently betrays the hand of a later interpolater. *Gd* prematurely stops at Amarṣa. *Vy, Bd, Bg, Vn, Bh* follow up the line leading to Saṅkhaṇa and go even further. We shall, therefore, first examine the kings from Ahinagu to Saṅkhaṇa and Srutāyu.

(c) There we find that Ruru, who is added by *Vn, Km* and *Bh* is unwarranted and therefore is to be dropped.

(d) Then the *Ag* group has six kings from Ahinagu to Srutāyu. Thus Srutāyu's number will be 72.

(3) Out of the others that came upto Saṅkhaṇa, *Br, Hr,* and *Bh* have five kings after Ahinagu (Ruru being omitted) and others have six after Ahinagu. But Pradhan has reconstructed this portion, and *Br* version seems to be correct. Even *Rgh* testifies to this, there being only five kings after Aninagu. Therefore Saṅkhaṇa's number is 71.

(f) Pradhan has singled out the kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala as belonging to Lava branch and therefore as running collaterally with the kings from Kuśa to Saṅkhaṇa. I shall discuss this point presently.

(g) But between Saṅkhaṇa and Puṣya, we find two or three kings inserted by the *Vy* sub-group. They are Vyuṣitāśva, Viśvasaha and Hiraṇyanābha. Out of these three kings, *Bg* omits Viśvasaha and *Hr* omits all the three. *Hr* makes Vyuṣitāśva a synonym of Saṅkhaṇa ; I, therefore, take out all these three kings from the main line. Therefore after Saṅkhaṇa we come to Puṣya.

(h) Kings from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala are given by *Vy, Bg, Vn, Bh. Gd* stops in the middle at Amarṣa and *Hr* interpolation comes down to Maru and puts Bṛhadbala directly after him. Therefore we shall leave *Gd* and *Hr* out of the consideration. All others agree upto Viśrutavān (only *Bh* omits Agnivarṇa, but he is too well known to be omitted).

Then between Viśrutavān and Bṛhadbala, *Vn* has one king and *Bg* has three kings. Therefore from Puṣya to Bṛhadbala, we have 11 *or* 12 *or* 14 kings. Now Pradhan has very ably and conclusively

proved that these kings run parallel to the kings from Kuśa to
Sankhaṇa. Therefore if we follow upwards from Saṅkhaṇa, putting
Bṛhadbala at the same step as Saṅkhaṇa we come (taking five kings
after Ahinagu and not six) either to Nala or to Nabha or to Kuśa.

Any way, we should put Bṛhadbala alng with Saṅkhaṇa and
therefore his nnmber will be 71.

Thus we find that all the sources, which give us the Pre-
Mahabharata Ayodhyā dynasty can be easily harmonised. At the time
of the Mahābharata war, we have kings of three Solar branches
ruling, out of which Bṛhadbala and Saṅkhaṇa are given as 71st
and Srutāyu as 72nd from Vaivasvata Manu.

Before closing I wish to clarify one point. Dr. Pradhan has
(see his CAI, p. 145 ff) proved that kings from Kalmāṣapā́da to
Raghu were originally of Southern Kosala line and are interpolated
in the main line at some late period. I think Dr. Pradhan is right
in saying so. I also know that this whole dynasty is made up of
several collattral brances. But I have shown them as linear because
at the time of the Mahābharata war this interpolation was already
an accomplished fact and I am here concerned with the number
of kings as was fixed in the days of Mahābharata.

ERRATA

Page	Line	Correct	Page	Line	Correct
11	33	C. Mable	111	4	37, not 38
13	14	1598	112	24	1919
15	21	possess	114	3	2120
31	2	मनुष्याइरब	,,	5	2120
,,	18	4089271428·4	,,	6	201
,,	23	302400000	,,	10	201
,,	30	4089271428·4	116	26	180
,,	31	302400000	,,	28	G I
36	29	341897102·9	120	17	813
37	9	2592·9	121	1	term not true
44	3	युगरूया	128	25	(5). not (4)
74	4	40 not 46	133	10	755
76	14	Kṣatraujāh at all	,,	20	755
		places	140	36	discussed for
83	1	1986			described
,,	2	1486	144	5	1148 A. D., not:S E.
89	8	post-Nanda,	149	—	Against Durlabhaka
		not post-Mbh			in column fifth read
91	8	850, not 150			511, not 571
107	28	78, not 71	160	30	561 for 558
109	4	3201, 3101	167	18	years of the
,,	10	placed; 2348	,,	last or	1723 or 2023
,,	20	with G I	174	9	2066
,,	23	G III	,,	10	2066

194	36	41 for 40	255	13	shall have
196	20	year	,,	24	really the son of
197	12	2051	,,	34	omen etc,
200	7	40 for 242	269	7	one of the four
,,	21	229-30 for 219-220	272	17	allowed them to rule
,,	23	but *for* i. e.	,,	18	inscription
201	35	124 for 194	,,	27	older orthodox
207	36	years for kings	273	5	names
212	2	son of	277	20	inscriptions to
219	4	first king	,,	22	history of
,,	16	881 B. C.	279	13	Buddhism,
220	13	3001 B. C. as the date of	3 3	19	Pulisa
			323	20	or 3177 B. C.
233	17	Maurya, there	332	2	3076 B. C.
255	2	equate it with			

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