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HISTORY OF

PRE-MUSALMĀN INDIA

BY

V. RANGACHARYA, M.A.

VOL. II

VEDIC INDIA

PART I

THE ĀRYAN EXPANSION OVER INDIA

MADRAS
THE INDIAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
1937

MADRAS:

PRINTED BY SRINIVASA VARADACHARI & CO.

190, MOUNT ROAD.

This Volume

is Dedicated to

my revered teacher

Prof. K. SUNDARARAMA AIYAR,

whose high character, profound learning and exemplary virtues

have always been an inspiration to me

as a humble student of History.

FOREWORD.

The first volume of the Pre-Musalmān India dealing with the pre-historic back-ground of Indian History appeared as long ago as 1929. Various circumstances have prevented me from publishing the subsequent volumes as rapidly as I have desired. One of these causes, I may point out, has been the enlargement of the size of the different volumes. Vedic India which I hoped to deal with in a single volume of 300 pages or so, has swelled into two parts of nearly 600 pages each. Part I of this volume deals with the expansion of the Āryans over India, and Part II, which is about to be given to the Press, with the *Vēdic Culture*. I hope that Providence will enable me to carry out my plan much more rapidly than I have been able to do in the past.

A single word in regard to the title of this volume, which forms Volume II of the Pre-Musalmān India. I have called it 'Vedic India,' dividing it into the two parts of 'Āryan Expansion over India' and 'Vedic Culture'. It is the view of many that the lessons of ethnology, anthropology and other branches of 'Indology' necessitate an angle of vision quite different from that of the 'Āryans'. They believe that the Āryan theory is a myth ; that there was no single race as 'Āryan' ; that the history of India is, at all events, more non-Āryan' than 'Āryan'. A perusal of this volume will, I am sure, convince the reader that I am as much a believer in the synthetic and composite character of the Indian civilization as the most inveterate opponent of 'the Āryan theory'. But, after allowing for all extraneous elements, it seems to me that the fundamental bases and ideals of Indian culture can be best expressed in terms which are generally associated with the 'Aryans'. There is an individuality, a basic ideal, which cannot be better expressed than by the time-honoured expression, and I have therefore clung to it,

The diacritical marks adopted in this book differ from the usual signs in one respect. *ch* stands for च and *chh* for छ.

The bibliographical notices are given in regard to Chapters I and II. The authorities for the other chapters are given in full in the footnotes themselves. The references to the various journals, Indian, European, American, and other, are given in the second part of this volume.

I am indebted to Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar of the Madras University for the preparation of the topical index at the end of this part.

V. RANGACHARYA.

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CHAPTER I.

THE EVOLUTION OF VĒDIC LITERATURE.

It is a recognized fact that the history of the Āryans in India has to be constructed solely from the literary works which they have left in elucidation of their religious principles and observances. These works cover a very long period and further give a clue to the manner in which the Āryans expanded throughout India and constructed their civilization and culture. These literary works are known by the name of the Vēdas. The term Vēda means knowledge, and the Āryans have called their earliest religious treatises the Vēdas or books of wisdom and knowledge. The most valuable contribution, perhaps, of oriental scholars to the study of Indian history is the evolution they have traced, on the basis of internal evidences, of the different literary layers of the Vēdic literature, layers which give an eloquent clue to the history and progress of the Āryan race and civilization in India. Orthodox pandits do not grant the correctness of a theory of evolution in regard to the Vēdas. They consider them to be beginningless and endless. They believe that the different sections of the Vēdic literature are Śrutis, divinely revealed and communicated to the vision-power of the Rshis (literally seers, prophets), and therefore incapable of being expressed in terms of human origin or achievement. This position, of course, can hardly be accepted by the modern historian. Nor does the natural and correct theory of evolution, we suppose, really conflict with the requirements of true orthodoxy. It is the opinion of educated India that the belief in the evolution of the Vēdic literature is no treason to its claim to allegiance and veneration. However it might be, it is held by students of sober history that the extensive literature of the Vēdas was the result of the gradual development of the Āryan

religion; and as this evolution was partly the result, and partly the cause, of the Āryan expansion throughout India, we have in it an indisputable evidence of the Āryan secular history too.

THE RG-VĒDA.

Consistent with this theory of evolution it is the opinion of all scholars that the earliest portion of the Vēdic literature is the Rg-vēda, reputedly one of the four Vēdas into which the Vēdic texts (Samhitas) have been classified by the Āryans. From the fact that the Rg-vēda forms the nucleus of the other Vēdas, that its Rks or psalms have been simply taken over and modified for some special purposes by the other Vēdas, it has naturally been inferred that the Rg-vēda was the earliest of the collection. As we shall presently see, the geographical and other references in it are also supposed to give the clue to a time when the Āryans were confined to the extreme north-west of India, the area now covered by the Punjab, Kashmir and Afghanistan, and that it was from here that they gradually spread towards the interior of India. Indeed, there is no strong divergence of opinion among the most opposing scholars in regard to this fact. Those who advocate the theory that the Āryans came from outside India and settled here, accept the Punjab to be the the home of the Rg-vēda; and those who dispute the foreign theory and believe the Āryans to be autochthons are of the same opinion, more or less. However it might be, the Rg-vēda has been described as the earliest literary document which the Āryan race has produced. It is "an isolated peak of remote antiquity" and affords the earliest picture of the civilization which the Āryan race developed in any part of the world. Its historical value is incalculable; for, being the earliest Āryan work in existence, it throws a flood of light not only on the Indian Āryans but the Āryans in general, that is, on the myths, religious faith and feelings of the most advanced type of humanity. It shows how, unlike the

less happy races of the world, the Āryans—the intellectuals among them at any rate—always turned to the brighter and pleasanter aspects of nature, and sang songs of praise, gratitude and worship, which have ever since been the bases of religion. The Ṛg-vēda gives a clue, again, to the process of evolution by which the human mind is led from nature to nature's god. Its value as a document illustrative of the progressive development of human thought and religion, of the making of the human myths and morals, is unrivalled. Instinctively the ancient Āryans of India realised this, and so have kept the work free from violation in later times. While the other Vēdas were formed into collections for some special purposes, the Ṛg-vēda has always been what it is. It has not changed its original form. We find it in the latest period in the same form in which it was at the earliest. Its integrity, in fact, was safeguarded, very early in history, by the construction of a special literature in the form of Jaṭa, Ghana and Anukramaṇikas.

The Ṛg-vēda is a collection (Samhita) of poetry, a body of elaborately[1] composed hymns of praise addressed to a medley of gods. But while its form is poetic, it was not primarily intended to be poetry. Its psalms were only intended to be accompaniments to certain sacrifices performed by the Āryan priests; for the early religion of the Āryans was as much a religion of sacrifices as of nature-worship. The offerings were made to the different gods, believed to preside over the different objects of the world-phenomena; and they were made by means of ghee in fire, the Fire-god being supposed to be both a god and a messenger to the other gods. The prayers of the Ṛg-vēda were intended to be uttered while these sacrifices and rituals were going on. It was therefore a sacerdotal work.

[1] The elaboration is obvious in the metres, and indicates many many centuries of earlier linguistic development and history. The metres have therefore afforded bases for chronological discussions in the hands of Weber, E. V. Arnold, A. B. Keith and others.

But, while intended to be a set of sagas for sacrificers, it is characterised by a naturalness, a simplicity, an artlessness, which is at once charming, refreshing and instructive. Though, as a set of invocations to personified phenomena of nature, it is a poem, occasionally at least, as Professor Macdonell observes, of immense beauty, noble imagery and astonishing literary excellence for the age in which it was composed, still it is strikingly unaffected and has, indeed, been called the babblings of a just-awakening child-nation. The words in it do not cover, as a rule, more than two members. The thought is direct and unsophisticated as that of a child. Verbal puns and enigmatic phrases are very rare.

This extreme simplicity is due to the fact that the Rg-vēda is but the part, the fragment, of a wide popular literature. It is the special work of 'intellectual enervation,' 'of the exclusive circles of the priestly sacrificial experts' as Oldenberg would say; but the adaptation, selection or compilation by the spiritual or intellectual leaders has sacrificed neither the original naivety nor the secular portion in entirety. Many passages in the Rg-vēda indicate this popular basis. They show that, to use Hillebrandt's language, it is above, not outside, the people; that it reflects the faith of the Āryan Indians as a whole. Many prayers are the out-pourings of popular poets. There are 'pearls of lyrical poetry' which take us to a world far different from the sacrificial hall. Some of the metaphors indicate a busy, buoyant and observant life in the midst of nature's glories. The human life portrayed in the work is very often not the narrow life of the priest but of the everyday man and woman, with all the little vanities of a life satisfied with the world. Some of the prayers propitiate popular deities or demons. Some are dialogues, semi-epic and semi-dramatic. Some are popular ballads containing the germs of the epic, the narrative and the drama. Some Rks deal with marriage customs, some with funerals, some with cremation, some with spells, incantations and magic formulas against evil eye, diseases, dreams, wizards and witches, enemies, poison, etc. Some of the Rks, again, are purely

secular poems, dealing with mundane ambitions. Some give clues to amusements like gambling and some to riddles or puzzles. Some again praise gifts, and some preach morals. Only one inference is possible from these miscellaneous contents, namely, that the Rg-vēda, while primarily intended for priests, presupposes an extensive popular literature. It is a very important fact to be remembered in connection with the discussion of the chronology of the work ; for, it is obvious that if, with its advanced grammar, vocabulary and thought, it has to be regarded as the earliest monument of the Āryan race, it should have been preceded by many centuries of development. Such a period of preliminary development cannot indeed be estimated in centuries; it seems to indicate thousands, rather than hundreds, of years.

But even taking the Rg-vēda as it is, it is obvious that it was not the work of one era, or of one poet. Its ten maṇḍalas (literally circles) which, on the whole, make up more than 1000 Sūktas or hymns, were visioned and sung by different families of priests and singers, or Rshis as they were called, whose names we get from the Brāhmaṇas and the Vēdāṅgas. The first book is said to have been composed by a number of Rshis or rather their families; the second by Gṛtsamada; the third by Vis'vāmitra ; the fourth by Vāmadēva; the fifth by Atri; the sixth by Bharadvāja; the seventh by Vasishṭha; the eighth by Kaṇva and Aṅgiras; and the ninth and tenth by a number of sages.[1] All these sages figure largely in later legendary literature; and it is difficult to say how far they really figured in Vēdic authorship. We may believe that the progenitors of these were among the earliest singers of the hymns.

The books of the Rg-vēda belonged to different ages. It is regarded by many scholars that Books II to VII,

[1] The Rg-vēda is also divided into eight Ashṭakas, each Ashṭaka into eight Adhyāyas (literally, readings) and each Adhyāya into Vargas (*i.e.* sections) usually five in number.

generally named 'Family Books' from the particular families to which they are said to have been revealed, were composed earlier than the others; for they possess a regularity, a uniformity of arrangement, and a definite hymnal enumeration, which are not possible but for comparative antiquity. The first, eighth and ninth books are believed to have followed in order, and the tenth last. All writers agree that the tenth maṇḍala was the latest; for its composers knew the other parts of the work. Its gods are transitional between the gods of the Ṛg-vēda and the later gods of the Brāhmaṇas. It also contains deification of abstract ideas in addition to advanced ideas on cosmogony, philosophy and society. Linguistic evidences like changes in letters, inflections and vocabulary, also show transition to a later Vēdic period.

It must be pointed out here that, in addition to the ten maṇḍalas thus far described, the Ṛg-vēda has got some additional parts of a somewhat supplementary character. One set of these are known as *Khilas*, literally supplements. Book VIII, for example, has got eleven hymns, called Vālakhilyas, of this type. It is not known why these Khilas have not been included in the general text. There is no reason to believe that they were all later in date. It might be that they were originally left in the original Samhita and then added as 'Khilas.' Of similar antiquity are the 'Nivids,' little formulas[1] of sacrificial litanies which, being in prose, may be regarded as the germs of the later Brāhmaṇas.

It has been concluded from a detailed study of both matter and form that there must have been hundreds of generations between the earliest and latest Ṛks. Some portions show close kinship with the Iranian Avesta. Those who believe that the Āryans came to India from outside believe that the parts showing affinity to the Avesta are older and so judge the chronology of the Vēda from

[1] To the same age perhaps belonged the *Praishasūktas* (literally, directions) and Suparṇa hymns.

these. Those who believe that the Āryans were autochthons are of opinion that the resemblance to the Avesta is due to the Āryan expansion from India to Iran.

THE LATER VĒDAS.

The fundamental fact to be realised in connection with the early history and progress of the Āryans is that they attributed every good they had to the potency of their sacrifices. They ascribed their progress against enemies and against economic and other difficulties to the favour of the gods; and they gave a tangible expression to their gratitude by offering sacrifices of different kinds to them. These sacrifices were at first small in number, but in course of time they increased. Further, while they were at first regarded as the means to win the grace of the gods, they came in course of time to be regarded as powerful enough to compel divine favour. Instead of being prayers, they became commands. The gods were not only pleased to reward the sacrificers, but bound to do so. They were more the servants than the masters of their votaries. The old Vēdic hymns were given new interpretations in accordance with these new ideas. The Rks were arranged in particular forms, particular verses, and particular metres; and it came to be believed that even the mere strings of the words and sounds gave a magical power to the sacrificer and enabled him to achieve spiritual as well as temporal results. The words of the sacrificer could, like weapons, slay foes, or like prayers, win over the gods. They could do anything. If kings won, it was because of the priests' prayers and oblations. If rains fell, it was because of the priests' prayer. By sacrifices men could overcome and control nature.

The immediate result of the elaboration of the sacrificial cult was an enormous increase in the number and variety of sacrifices as well as the formulation of highly minute rules regarding the method of performing them. Not only had the yāgas to be performed in plenty, but they had to be performed in the right times and on the right lines. A mistaken procedure made the sacrifice futile. The details were all-important.

It was the necessity to understand these details that led to the extensive later Vēdic literature. This is, as their internal characteristics amply prove, divisible into four distinct layers; namely, (1) the later Vēdas; (2) the Brāhmaṇas corresponding to each Vēda; (3) the Āraṇyakas; and (4) the Upanishads corresponding to each Vēda and Brāhmaṇa. The later Vēdas are the well-known Yajus, Sāma and Atharva. On the whole, they are only readings of the Rg-vēda, altered and adjusted to sacrificial purposes.

THE SĀMA-VĒDA.

The Sāma-vēda, which contains about 1,550 verses, was mostly compiled from the eighth and ninth maṇḍalas of the Rg-vēda. They are in two metres called Gāyatri and Pragātha[1], thus indicating that they were intended to be sung. For this reason the Sāma-vēda has been described as the earliest musical treatise of the Āryans. In the ritual-singing of the psalms, the correct melody and notation had to be observed. The word *Sāman* refers as much to the verse as to the tune in which it was sung. Some verses in fact came to be associated with particular tunes. In consequence of this, the idea that particular tunes were *born* from particular stanzas came into existence, as the result of which the latter were called *Yōnis*. Without a knowledge of the psalms and the method of singing them, it was not possible for the Sāmaga to discharge his functions properly.

The texts of the Sāma-vēda are in two parts, called the Archika and Uttarārachika. The former consists of about 585 single psalms according to the metre or the gods on whose behalf the sacrifice was made. As Prof. Winternitz suggests, it may be regarded as a text of the first stanzas in each psalm which was designed to aid the memory of the singer. The second part consists of about 400 chants, each of which contains three or more stanzas as they were sung

[1] The Gāyatri and Pragātha metres as well as the technique of the *Sāma* or musical chant are described briefly by L. D. Barnett in his *Antiquities*, p. 153 (foot-note) and p. 155.

in the different sacrifices. The latter may be regarded, with the same scholar, as a complete book of psalms arranged from a different standpoint, namely, the standpoint of the sacrifices.

The most difficult problem in connection with the Sāma-vēda is the method of singing which was adopted in those days. The Sāma-vēda is of course sung by many Brāhmaṇs in different parts of India; but there is no agreement amongst them in regard to the number and character of the tunes in which each Sāma is sung. The Tanjore texts, for instance, indicate a different style when compared with those of Poona. A family of Śrautis who belonged to the Tanjore Mahratta court tried to bring about a harmony between these, but we cannot say how far the Poona style reproduces the old style. The problem affords a practically unexplored field for research.

Another problem concerns the origin of the Sāmans. As the existing Sāman texts are only in their spoken forms and as the tunes were taught to pupils only orally from generation to generation, we cannot say how they originated and developed. It is true that, later on, some Gāna or song-books came to be composed, describing the technique of singing each syllable, word and sentence in the form of *Stōbhas* or sounds like *Hōvi*, *Hūva*, *Hōi*, etc. The notes were designated by numbers and indicated by movements of the hands and fingers. The Gāna books were divided into village ones, and forest ones, and classified in other ways too. Apparently, a very large number of melodies were conceived. These are referred to in the later Brāhmaṇas; and some of them came to have even symbolical and mystical meanings. The most important of such melodies, for instance, are the Bṛhat and the Rathāntara. The melodies were probably the outcome of popular songs, of magic hymns which are bound to figure largely in primitive religions. The close relation between the Sāma-vēda and magic is indicated by the later Sāma-vidhāna-Brāhmaṇa which is, in fact, a hand-book of Sāman-magic. Perhaps this is the reason why the

rule came into existence that the Rg-vēda and the Yajur-vēda should not be recited when the sound of Sāman is heard. Thus, the Sāma-vēda is of great value for the construction of the history of the Indian sacrifice, magic and art; but as a literary production and as a source of the more important aspects of history it holds a minor place. The Sāma-vēda came to have many readings, thousands in fact according to tradition, in course of time; but only three of them can be said to be important, and even of these only one, namely, the collection of the Kauthumas, is known well.

THE YAJUR-VĒDA.

The Yajur-vēda, half of which reproduces the Rks, was compiled not to be sung but to be *recited* by one class of priests called the Adhvaryus. The function of these priests was to actually conduct the sacrifices. The Yajur-vēda is historically invaluable. It exists in five main texts or schools, four of which are styled Krshṇa or black, and the fifth Śukla or white. The former (known as the Kāṭhaka, Kapisthala-Kaṭha, Maitrāyaṇī and Taittirīya) contain not only verses but explanatory prose passages, called *Yajus*, in between them, while the latter (which is generally known as Vājasanēyi in two slightly varying sub-forms in the names of Kāṇva and Mādhyandina) contains verses only. The former, in other words, contain the Mantras as well as the explanatory discussions (Brāhmaṇas), while the latter contains the Mantras alone, the Brāhmaṇas forming distinct treatises. It is believed that the former were earlier than the latter. There are also different chronological layers in each work. The sacrifices referred to in this Vēda are classified and described in a later chapter; but here it may be pointed out that, from the historical standpoint, it is valuable for giving a clue to the part played by kings and priests in war and peace, in sacrifices and amusements. Very curious pieces of information illustrative of the thought and emotions of the people, many of which are inexplicable, are afforded by them; and these are referred to in a later chapter. It is enough to say here that, in order to under-

stand the evolution of the later religions as well as institutions, its value is indispensable. For understanding the science of human religious thought, particularly Indian thought, in its many-sidedness and wide range, it cannot be ignored.

THE ATHARVĀ-VEDA.

The third supplementary Vēda is the celebrated Atharva, literally the Vēda of the Atharvan or magic formulas. In some respects, this Vēda is the most remarkable from the historian's standpoint. One very obvious thing in the evolution of the Vēdic religion is that, side by side with the growth of a sacerdotal literature, there was a parallel growth of a highly complex popular cult. Throughout the centuries of the Aryan life and development reflected in the Rg, the Yajur, and the Sāma Vēdas, there was, parallel to the sacrificial cult, the development of a lower cult, a cult of the masses, of magic, superstitions and charms. The Rg-vēda and its Yajur and Sāman developments were embodiments of a higher spiritual culture. Though not quite free from magical formulas, charms and incantations, they still regard these as secondary, in fact as very auxiliary fractions of bigger ceremonials. But there were cults which were based primarily on the witchcraft, the germ of the white and black magic, which had prevailed from the pre-vēdic times onward. The cult had an attraction to the Iranian Aryans too, whose priests called themselves Athravans or fire-cult men. Evidently, there were a special class of priestly sacrificers, the Angirases, who were disposed to attach greater importance to this popular cult. These did not differ socially from the other priests. They were not less ancient or venerable than the latter. They were indeed probably equally orthodox. The more popular cult which they officiated in, did not exclude the Vēdic cult. Only, it was more extensive. Its exclusive elements were not quite condemned by the generality of the spiritual aristocracy. The Atharvāngirasa hymnists were not opposed to the Rg-vēda. They in fact accepted

the language, the metre and the major portions of the Rg-vēda and regarded them as parts of their Vēda. Only they included additional hymns based on the popular beliefs. With a career as ancient as that of the Rg-Vēdic Hōtā, but with a capacity for adaptation and expansion in accordance with historic environment, the Atharvan had a continuous existence throughout the age when the Rg-vēda and its later developments were being composed. The form in which the Atharva-vēda now exists shows that it was compiled into a Samhita comparatively late, in fact, after all the other Vēdas were compiled. This is clear from its internal evidence. It shows, for instance, that the Āryans were far advanced into Hindusthan, as far as Behar. It refers to the tiger of west Bengal and to the banyan, the tree of the east in preference to the western As'vattha. It mentions kingdoms, peoples and social divisions of entirely different geographical environment and it describes habits and customs which may be traced to the aboriginal tribes of the Vindhyan borders.

It follows from this that the Atharvan hymns were in some cases contemporary with the earlier hymns of the Rg-vēda, in some cases with the later hymns of the Rg-vēda and in still other cases with those of the later Yajur and Sāma Vēda recensions. Some of the Atharva hymns were probably later than the latest of the hymns of the other Vēdas just as some are earlier than the earliest of the Rg-vēda itself. The literary forms of the Atharva hymns indicate the same long and composite development. This is the reason why, even though the Atharvan priest was as indispensable in a sacrifice as the Rg-vēdin, the Sāma-vēdin and the Yajur-vēdin, he was still given a sort of inferior place among the conductors of the sacrifice. The fact is, even the most advanced Āryans were not unwilling to employ the weapons of the Atharvan school for safeguarding the sacrifices from dangers. When an enemy had to be killed, they would not have been reluctant to enlist the Atharvan's services. That is why they made the Atharvan as important as the Adhvaryu, the Udgātri

and the Hōtā. But academically they did not, owing to the character of the subject-matter of the Atharva-vēda, recognize its equality with the other Vēdas. This is clear from the expression *Vēdatraya* which has always been current in ultra-orthodox language. It is also evident from the mild protest raised by one of the Atharva-vēda Brāhmaṇas to the effect that, just as a carriage cannot move on three wheels, an animal cannot walk without its fourth foot, similarly a sacrifice cannot be perfect without its fourth Vēda.

The Atharvan hymns, which have to be recited by the priest who superintends the later rituals of a yāga from various dangers, are on the whole 730 in number, consisting of 6000 individual verses. The whole Vēda is divided into twenty books, the last of which, as well as a seventh of the other portions, is taken from the first, eighth and tenth maṇḍalas of the Rg-vēda, and suited to magical purposes. It may be that the twentieth book of the Samhita was included with a view to reconciliation with the more orthodox of the Vēdas for equal participation in yāgas.

One feature of the Atharva-vēda is that it is very carefully and methodically edited. The first seven books consist of hymns which range only from four to seven verses. Book V consists of hymns each of which runs from eight to sixteen verses. All the succeeding books up to the eighteenth, except the fifteenth and the major portion of the sixteenth, which are in prose, have got hymns which consist of more than sixteen verses. The nineteenth book is more or less an appendix and the twentieth has almost been, as has been already said, bodily taken from the Rg-vēda. A sort of rough classification is thus made according to the number of hymns, while at the same time, the subject-matter is not neglected; for hymns on the same topics are sometimes placed together; on the whole, the first seven books contain short hymns of miscellaneous contents, the next five books contain long hymns of the same character, and the next six have uniform contents. For instance, book XV contains marriage prayers and book XVIII, funeral hymns.

To the historian of India, the Atharva-vēda is of pre-eminent value as a store of raw materials. As has been already said, it gives a clue to the Āryan expansion over North India and facilitates the construction of a contemporary picture of the Āryan and Āryanised peoples. It embodies the religious tenets and principles of the masses, the spells and charms, the omens and superstitions, sometimes in the very words of the original, adapted and modified by the Rshis. Incidentally therefore it contains a lot of hymns about the ceremonies of birth, marriage, death; the crowning of kings; about the eradication of diseases; and all sorts of experiences, secular and spiritual. These are given in detail in a later chapter.

THE BRĀHMANAS.

The Brāhmaṇas (literally, sacred knowledge) obviously form the next type of Vēdic literature. These are prose works explaining to the sacrificial priest the *vidhis* or directions for particular sacrifices and the *Arthavādas* or explanations for the same. They are sometimes accompanied by the Upanishads or philosophical speculations, which however were afterwards developed into a special class of literature. Being completely liturgical and ritualistic, the Brāhmaṇas are "priestly documents in the narrowest and most exclusive sense of the the term." They give a lot of mechanical, 'dreary and monotonous' injunctions on the most trifling details[1]. They have naturally been condemned, sometimes in unmeasured and unmannerly terms, by orientalists who see in it the very acme of the conditions which were dominant in their country a few hundreds of years ago and to destroy which their ancestors shed no small quantity of blood. The condemnation has become a

[1] Max Müller, for example, says: "The greater portion of them is simply twaddle and what is worse, theological twaddle. No person who is not acquainted beforehand with the place which the Brāhmaṇas fill in the history of the Indian mind, could read more than ten pages without being disgusted." (*Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I).

formula repeated *ad nauseam* by many Indian[1] writers as well. But to the historian these voluminous treatises are likely to be of perennial interest for two reasons. In the first place they indicate the ingenious method adopted by Brahmanism to make itself supreme in the social polity of the India of that age. They are, as Prof. Winternitz[2] observes, "indispensable to the understanding of the whole of the later religious and philosophical literature of the Indians, and highly interesting for the science of religion... for the history of sacrifice and priesthood, as the Samhitas of the Yajur-vēda are for the history of prayer." Secondly, they are immeasurably valuable in throwing light on the historical development of Sanskrit language and literature. They are not only the earliest prose works in Sanskrit but, to use Prof. Keith's language, "perfect mines of philological specimens. They show a great variety of forms which are transitional between the language of the Rg-vēda and the later classical Sanskrit; and as being together with the prose portions of the Yajur-vēda, the oldest examples of Indo-European prose, they afford materials for the study of the development, from its very beginnings, of a prose style and of a more complicated syntax than is feasible in ordinary verse. Thus we find, existing side by side in India at the same period, an ancient poetry no longer primitive in character but elaborated by many generations of bards, and a rudimentary prose, which often reminds us of the first attempts of a child or an uneducated person to express his thoughts in writing."[3]

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS.

Each Vēda came to have Brāhmaṇas attached to it and the Brāhmaṇas of each Vēda increased in number as there

[1] *E. g.*, Sankar Pandurang Pandit in his "The Veda, the Origin and History of Religion." He would call them "the most puerile speculation on commonplace matters and the most pitiable perversions of beauty and caricatures of simplicity." They indicate "the fall of the Hindu mind" just as the Upanishads show its regeneration.

[2] 'A History of Indian Literature,' Vol. I, p. 187.

[3] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

arose different schools devoted to the study of it. The Rg-vēda, for example, came to have the Aitareya (composed by Mahidāsa Aitareya) and Kaus'ītaki (composed by Kaus'ītaka or Śāṅkhāyana) Brāhmaṇas.[1] The Sāma-vēda has, according to orthodox tradition, eight Brāhmaṇas. These are enumerated by the commentator Sāyaṇāchārya in his work Sāma-vēda-brāhmaṇabhāshyam in these verses:

अष्टौ हि ब्राह्मणा ग्रन्थाः प्रौढं ब्राह्मणमादिमं ।
षड्विंशाख्यं द्वितीयं स्यात् ततः सामविधिर्भवेत् ॥

आर्षेयं देवताध्यायो भवेदुपनिषत्ततः ।
संहितोपनिषद्वंशो ग्रन्था अष्टाविती रिताः ॥

Of these, the Praudha which was also known as the Great (*mahā*), the Tāṇḍya, or Pañchavims'a Brāhmaṇa, consists of 25 Prapāṭhakas or books, as the last title indicates. It was apparently the work of a class of teachers named after a sage, Tāṇḍa by name. It incidentally gives a number of old legends and the rituals for purifying the Vrātyas. The Shadvims'a or '26th Brāhmaṇa' is really a supplement to the Pañchavims'a and has five Prapāṭhakas. The last part of this is the Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇa, a treatise on omens and miracles. The Sāmavidhāna, Ārshēya and Dēvatādhyāya have respectively five, three and five Prapāṭhakas. The Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa is in two parts, the first of which consists of mantras, and the second the philosophic work known as the Chhāndogyōpanishad, probably named after the metrical method of singing its basic Sāmans. It has got ten books. The Samhitōpanishad is divided into five Prapāṭhakas; and the Vams'a consists of two Paṭalas, the first of which is divided into six, and the second into three Khaṇḍas

[1] The names of the authors are patronymics of Itara and Kusītaka, the original teachers who enunciated the doctrines. The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa consists of 40 Adhyāyas divided into 8 Pañchakas. The Kausītaki consists of 30 Adhyāyas. It has been concluded from internal evidence that the latter is a later but a more uniform work than the former. They deal with the Sōma sacrifice, Rājasūya, food-sacrifice, new and full moon sacrifices, etc., dealt with in a later chapter.

To this list of eight Sāma-vēda Brāhmaṇas, Prof. Max Müller adds three more, the existence of which is obvious from other sources. The first of these is the Talavakāra or Jaiminīya-Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa, which really forms an Āraṇyaka of the Jaiminīya school and part of the Kēnōpanishad. It is regarded by scholars as even older than the Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa. It "is of special interest for the history of both religion and legend," but exists in too fragmentary a form to be edited. Like Chhāndoga, Talava is a term of musical significance. The two other Brāhmaṇas mentioned by Max Müller—the Śaṭyāyana and the Ballavi—are lost.

The Kṛshṇa-Yajur-vēda has the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and the Śukla-Yajur-vēda, the Śatapatha. As has been already said, the former, which was probably named onomatopoetically after the bird Tittiri of variegated plumage, is combined with the Samhitas or Mantras. It is interesting for the light it throws on the Purushamēdha, the symbolical human sacrifice, and consequently the development of 'the science of sacrifice.' The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, literally the Brāhmaṇa of the 100 paths (*i.e.*, Adhyāyas or lessons), is the most extensive of this kind of literature and gives a clue to the manner in which such literature grew in the hands of theological speculators. It exists in two texts, namely, the Kāṇva and the Mādhyandina, the former having seventeen books and the latter twenty. The Kāṇva school of teachers was very ancient and had indeed composed the eighth, and part of the first, book of the Rg-veda. The Mādhyandina might have been an allied priestly clan. We get from this Brāhmaṇa endless details of the sacrifices to be performed at the full moon, the new moon, and other lunar positions; of the sacrifices in the spring, the rainy season, the autumn and other times dependent on the position of the sun; of domestic rituals like the maintenance of the sacred fire, the Agnihōtra, the milk libations during mornings and evenings and the oblations to ancestors; of the different kinds of sacrifice like the Sōma, the Purushamēdha, the As'vamēdha, the Rājasūya, etc., and of the changes

therein; of the method of building the fire-altar which involved the minute study of rules and proportions and which, on account of its duration for twelve months, involved interesting discussions on topics like the creation of the universe, the fire-altar as the divine body of the sacrificer, the Upanayana and Vēdic studies, the death-ceremonies, etc. Extensive discussions on the different items of the sacrifices are given. The etymologies of words, often inaccurate, are explained. The details of the identification of the sacrifice with Vishṇu, the Creator, the year and Agni are worked out. Incidentally light is thrown on moral and social conditions. Numerous anecdotes occurring in the Arthavāda sections—for example, the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, the flood-legend, the renewal of the human race through Manu, the stories of Harischandra and Sunahkshēpa, the origin of castes and other institutions—are given in the form of Itihāsas, Ākhyānas and Purāṇas, germs of later special literatures. The last six Khāṇḍas of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa form the Bṛhadāraṇyakōpanishad, one of the earliest and most famous of the Upanishads. Various things are obvious from the Brāhmaṇas of the Yajur-vēda. There was in the first place the transition from the Mantras to the Brāhmaṇas and from the Brāhmaṇas to the Upanishads. Secondly, there was a many-sided progress of the Āryans, political, social, moral, economic and intellectual, in consequence of new geographical environment. Thirdly, there were new types of literature foreshadowed, types which became very extensive in the post-vēdic age.

The Atharva-vēda has the Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa. This is considered by many scholars to be a very late addition and even not belonging to the age of the Brāhmaṇas proper. Some trace a few of its speculations to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and its explanations of Śrauta rituals to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. It deals with the defects in sacrifices and points out how these can be removed by hymns, verses and formulas. It refers to two kinds of sacrifice, the ritualistic, which was done in public, and the intellectual or mental, which was done by the Brāhmaṇa in thought alone.

In the mention of the intellectual aspect of the yāgas we find the transition from the Brāhmaṇic ritualism to the Upanishadic rationalism. The Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa exists in two parts, the first part containing five Prapāṭhakas and the second incompletely ending in the middle of the sixth. The first part gives a unique theory of creation which is referred to in a later chapter.

A NEW RELIGIOUS ERA.

It is quite obvious from portions of the Brāhmanic literature that the enormous extent to which the sacrificial cult was developed by the Brāhmaṇical leaders and their Kshatriya or Vais'ya followers had a natural reaction on the popular mind, and gave rise to a school of religious thought which questioned whether religion was identical with sacrifice and whether it did not consist of other elements than the mere outward performance of rituals. Discontent with formalism led to the questionings of the mind. These questionings were not entirely new. They had existed earlier, but in a comparatively auxiliary manner. Men now asked : What use was there in costly sacrifices? What could be achieved by them? The sacrifices were obviously intended to propitiate the gods. But what was the aim of such propitiation? Could the mere satisfaction of the gods satisfy man? It was felt that man should have a higher aim, a higher ambition, *viz.*, to *know* that God, to realise Him, to be with Him, to become one with Him. This revolution in the conception of man's goal was accompanied by a revolution in the conception of the method of realising it. It came to be held that such a union could not be achieved by sacrifices alone. Again, the new ideal involved the investigation of many new problems. What is life? What is death? What is the relation between life and death? What is the body? What is the nature of the indescribable something, the ego, the soul, which is within the body, which makes it live, move, enjoy, suffer, and die? What is the relation between matter and spirit, between this world and the next? What is man's relation to God? What is the nature of God? Why are men born to die?

And why are they subject to different vicissitudes? What takes place after death? These and similar questions came to be put by thoughtful sections of the Āryans among themselves; and as a result of it, they founded a new religion, based on thought and reason and with *distinct* theories regarding the functions of the body, the soul, the condition after death and the final goal. It is possible that the new philosophic school was at first in a way antagonistic to the sacrificial school; but if so, its antagonism was short-lived; for with that genius for compromise and adaptation which the Brāhmaṇical leaders have always displayed, they themselves took the lead of the new ethical and rationalistic movement and composed, in elucidation of it, the two famous and special kinds of composition called the Āraṇyakas (literally, forest treatises) and Upanishads (literally, treatises learned at the feet of teachers.)

THE ĀRANYAKAS.

These forest treatises were so called because they were composed by Rshis who lived in the hermitages of the forests of the North Indian plains. The most remarkable feature of the Aryan history in this period, it is obvious, was that a large number of its most advanced spiritual leaders were men of simple life and high thinking who took to life in forests instead of in the village or the town. The Āryan culture of India thus developed under conditions quite opposite to those of the modern age. Indeed, it is impossible to find any other civilization of the ancient or mediæval period in any other part of the world developed under similar circumstances. Each Vēda and Brāhmaṇa came to have a corresponding Āraṇyaka. The position assigned to some of the Araṇyakas as component parts, as appendices, of the Brāhmaṇas shows the place of the former in the evolution of Vēdic literature. The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, for example, has the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka; the Kaus'ītaki-Brāhmaṇa has the Kaus'ītaki-Āraṇyaka; and so on, though we have not got all the Āraṇyakas in an orderly, systematic form.

THE UPANISHADS.

The new kind of 'mental sacrifice' enunciated by the Āraṇyakas was carried to perfection in the Upanishads, though some of the Upanishads were not preceded by the Āraṇyakas. The Upanishads, as their name signifies, were either the doctrines or the treatises embodying the doctrines taught by specially-versed teachers to disciples advanced enough to learn them in secret, sitting at their feet (*Upanishad*, sitting near or around). Each Vēda came thus eventually to be conceived as consisting of the Rk, the ritualistic Brāhmaṇas and the philosophic Āraṇyakas and Upanishads. The Upanishads of the Ṛg-vēda, like its Brāhmaṇas, are called Aitareya and Kaus'itaki; those of the Sāma-vēda are known as the Chhāndogya and Kēna or Talavakāra; those of the Kṛshṇa-Yajur-vēda are known as the Kāṭhaka, the Śvetāsvatara, the Taittirīya and the Mahā-Nārāyaṇa; and those of the Śukla-Yajur-vēda, as the Is'a and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishads. To the Atharva are attached the Muṇḍaka, the Pras'na and the Māṇḍūkya. The Brāhmaṇas form the Karmakāṇḍa of the Vēdas and the Upanishads, the Gñānakāṇḍa. A true, all-round Vēdic scholar cannot neglect any part at the expense of the others.

The Upanishads which are usually described as the products of the deepest workings of the Indian mind, and as marking the culminating heights of the Indian speculative thought, have been the bases of all the subsequent philosophic systems of India. Some of these are diametrically opposed to each other; but all acknowledge the Upanishads as their fountain-source. Even Buddhism owed some of its basic teachings to them. The Upanishads made the earliest and the most daring attempt to construct a theory of the universe. There have been more systematic and reasoned systems in later times; but none of these can equal the Upanishads in freshness, originality and comprehensiveness of range. They cover a very extensive field investigated by the Hindu mind. Matter and spirit, life and death, the present and future, God and Man, the indivi-

dual and world souls, the meaning and methods of salvation—all these topics are dealt with in a manner at once elevating and appealing. The doctrines are described in a later chapter.

THE SŪTRAS.

We now come to the third and last portion of the development of Vēdic literature, namely, the Sūtras. By the time that the Upanishads were composed, Vēdic literature, with its Mantras, its Brāhmaṇas, its Āraṇyakas and its Upanishads, had become very voluminous. Each Vēda had its Śākhās, and each of the latter its Charaṇas or schools with their own elaborate sacrificial rituals and philosophic speculations. To keep up all this unaided in memory became a very great strain; and the necessity was felt for devising special measures to enable the students to do it with success. The Sūtras were composed as a result of this. The term *Sūtra* means *thread*. Metaphorically it came to be applied to an individual aphorism or precept or a string of aphorisms and precepts. Just as individual threads are woven into a fabric, so the precepts came to be woven into systems of instruction. Such systems or treatises of instruction came also to be called Sūtras. The individual Sūtras are the shortest aphorisms imaginable. They contain the most substantial and comprehensive meanings in the world's literature. Every word, every syllable, every letter, has its designed place. Not a single letter is superfluous. The same principle is observed in a Sūtraic treatise. The precepts or sentences are detached, connected only by the absolutely necessary particles. Multiplicity is avoided by the coining of compound words—a feature which became common in all subsequent literature.

The Sūtras (treatises written in the Sūtra style) are the natural and necessary products of an age when the art of writing was not very common. The Āryans, moreover, refused to admit written treatises as the means of spiritual education lest they should, in that case, violate the canon regarding the Guru-s'ishya relation which they regarded

as the *sine qua non* of all religious instruction. Book-lore, in their view, could never be efficient. The knowledge imparted orally by a Guru alone could be true knowledge. In fact there is a tradition that there are eight ways in which the Vēdas could be retained in memory. The Sūtras were manuals composed to perpetuate and facilitate this system of oral education[1]. They form a species of literature, characteristically Brāhmanical and Brāhmanical alone.

THE VĒDĀNGAS.

The religious works which were composed in the Sūtra style go by the collective name of the six Vēdāṅgas,[2] namely, Śikshā, Nirukta, Chhandas, Vyākaraṇa, Jyōtisha and Kalpa. Śikshā is the phonetic study of the Vēdas dealing with the correct pronunciation, conjunction and separation of the Vēdic letters. The Nirukta deals with the etymology of the Vēdic words,—their origin, changes, synonyms, etc. Chhandas is the scientific investigation of the Vēdic metres. Vyākaraṇa deals with Vēdic grammar. Jyōtisha or astronomy explains the exact periods of the Vēdic ceremonials and sacrifices. Lastly, Kalpa forms the practical code explaining the modes of the Vēdic ceremonies; and is, in turn, of three kinds; namely, Śrauta or sacrificial, Gṛhya or domestic, and Dharma or secular. Besides these, there were composed a special class of Sūtras called the Prātiśākhyas, the object of which was to serve as phonetic manuals of instruction and to preserve the texts, first of the Rg-vēda and subsequently of the other Vēdas, intact and free from future violence. One of the most interesting anomalies

1 Prof. Winternitz points out that "The frequent quotations from the Brāhmaṇas in the oldest Sūtra-texts, and even when there is no direct quotation, the many Brāhmaṇa-like passages in the midst of the Sūtras, make it apparent that the Sūtra style was developed from the prose of the Brāhmaṇas." (Hist. Ind. Liter., p. 271.)

2 The earliest reference to the six Vēdāṅgas is in the Muṇḍakōpanishad. After referring to the four Vēdas it gives the Vēdāṅgas in this order : शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिषं. The order of treatment adopted in this work is different, for convenience sake.

in Indian progress is that, as the Aryans advanced more and more into India, as they became more and more diversified in customs, ideals and practices by settlements in new climatic and ethnological environment, they vied with one another in worshipping the Vēdas and in taking extraordinary and ingenious precautions to guard them against mutilation or loss. These precautions are of various types. First, the Samhitas were arranged into divisions and sub-divisions, so that the Vēdic student could remember and quote them with ease. Without such Samhitas the religious studies and sacrificial formularies would have been practically impossible. Each Samhita or text, again, was analysed into *Padas* or words. A study of the Pada-pāṭha will at once enable a student to put the Samhita together. The next step was taken in the Krama-pāṭha or 'step-text.' "Here every word of the pada text occurs twice, being connected both with that which preceded and that which followed. Thus the first four words, if represented by *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, would be read as *ab*, *bc*, *cd*. The *Jatapāṭha* or woven text, in its turn, based on the Krama-pāṭha, states each of its combination three times, the second time in reversed order (*ab*, *ba*, *ab* ; *bc*, *cb*, *bc*.) The climax of complication is reached in the *Ghana-pāṭha* in which the order is *ab*, *ba*, *abc*, *cba*, *abc* ; *bc*, *cb*, *bcd*, *dcb*, etc." The text-books of each and every Śākhā or recension of the Vēdas came thus to be fixed and they are known by the technical name of the *Prātiśākhyas*. Finally there were *Anukramaṇikas* composed to index the contents and to furnish calculations of the number of hymns, verses, words and even syllables. Every Vēda and Śākhā came to have its writers in all these numerous departments. The authors most connected with the Rg-vēda are Śaunaka and Śākalya. Āśvalāyana and his disciple Kātyāyana are associated with the Śukla-Yajur-vēda ; and Vālmīki with the Kṛshṇa-Yajur-vēda. The fact that one of the teachers of the Prātiśākhyas was Vālmīki seems to show that the germ of the Rāmāyaṇa must be looked for in this period.

ŚIKSHĀ, NIRUKTA AND CHHANDAS.

The definition of the Vēdic texts by pada, krama, jaṭā, ghana, prātiśākhya and anukramaṇi, highly facilitated the study of the science of Vēdic phonetics; and special treatises in it called Śikshās[1] came to be composed. These dealt with the letters, the accents, the stress (*i.e.*, number of syllables), the melody and the combination of the Vēdic words in continuous chanting. The names of Śaunaka, Kātyāyana, Bharadvāja, Vyāsa, Vasishṭha and Yāgñavalkya are well-known in connection with this 'Brahmavidyā.' As regards Nirukta (etymology), it arose in this manner. The Vēdic studies included, from very early times, the classification and analysis of the Vēdic words under the headings of particular ideas, themes, gods, and grammatical, obscure or difficult forms. Such studies or glossaries were called *Nighaṇṭus*. A large number of such Nighaṇṭus or lists of words composed by different authors and lost now, gave rise to the enquiry into their etymology, an enquiry which was necessary for the proper understanding of the Vēdic texts and was therefore dignified by the name Dēvavidyā. Only one important work, however, of this class remains, namely, the Nirukta of Yāska, who, it is recognized, was earlier than Pāṇini, the great grammarian. As a commentator on the Nighaṇṭu glossaries with a view to elucidating the Vēdic texts, he represents a school which had a long past and which reached perfection by his time. Similarly, much of the earlier literature on Chhandas or metrics is lost. Only two treatises on Chhandas are now available, namely, one on the Rg-vēda and the other on the Sāma-vēda. The former is at the end of the Śikshā and the latter, which is known as the Nidhānasūtra, is in a separate form. A treatise on the metres of the Rg-vēda and Yajur-

[1] The literal meaning of Śikshā is instruction, that is, instruction in reciting the Vēdas. It therefore deals with correct pronunciation, accentuation, etc., of the texts. It therefore pre-supposes the Samhita and padapāṭha at least of the Vēdas. The earliest reference to the Śikshā is in the Taittirīya-Upanishad (I, 2).

vēda by Piṅgaḷa is generally ascribed by scholars to a much later period; for it deals also with the metres of later classical poetry.

VYĀKARAṆA.

As regards Vyākaraṇa, which was called the Vēda of the Vēdas, the position can be best expressed in the succinct language of Professor Winternitz. "The old Vēdāṅga texts on grammar are entirely lost. This science too certainly originated in connection with the Vēda-exegesis, and proceeded from the Vēda schools. For, already in the Āraṇyakas we find isolated grammatical technical terms. But the oldest and most important text-book of grammar that has come down to us, that of Pāṇini, metes out to the Vēdic language only casual treatment; it no longer stands in close relation to any Vēda school, and altogether belongs to a period at which the science of grammar was already pursued in special schools independent of theology.....For, in India also.....science has detached itself more and more from theology, within which it was originally included, almost completely."

The object of the original Vyākaraṇa-Vēdāṅgas was to deal with the roots of the Vēdic words, their derivatives, and the changes they underwent in combinations and in the expression of different meanings. During the centuries which saw the Āryan expansion over Hindusthān, there obviously arose, as the result of the fusion between the languages of the conquerors and the conquered, a number of Prākṛts or popular dialects. These vernaculars were naturally of different kinds in different parts of the country. One of these, the dialect of the Madhyadēśa, was adopted by the Brāhmanical writers as the vehicle of their literature. They used and polished it, calling it Samskṛt or polished, in contrast to its popular, unperfected Prākṛt form. It was in this newly-polished Samskṛt which was, of course, considerably different on the one hand from the Vēdic language and, on the other, from the popular tongue of the Madhyadēśa,

that the Sūtras were written. Many generations of grammarians, poets and writers devoted themselves to the study and definition of this new literary vehicle and the formulation of rules as to its correct form; but the names of a few of these alone, like Śākaṭāyana,[1] and Śākalya, are available. The greatest of them all, indeed the greatest grammarian the world has ever produced, is the renowned Pāṇini. He was evidently the last in a long list of writers. He wrote a text-book called the *Ashtādhyāyi* which superseded all previous works on the subject. His great service was to fix, in a permanent and unalterabl form, the structure and genius of Samskṛt. The immense significance of his achievement can be realised from the fact that all literature came from this time to be regulated by his system. It may be mentioned that, by the time of Pāṇini, Samskṛt ceased to be a spoken language. It was the language of the upper classes alone; and even amongst these it was not in colloquial usage, but confined to the "grammatical schools which fed themselves on the rich patrimony of previous illustrious ages."[2]

JYŌTISHA.

The next Vēdāṅga is Jyōtisha or astronomy. This science, which was also known as Nakshatravidyā or Nakshatradarśa, came to be studied by a special class of scholars or Gaṇakas, as they were called, in consequence of the necessity to observe the proper times for the performance of the Vēdic sacrifices. The Vēdic Āryans performed the sacrifices

[1] The term means 'the descendant of Śakaṭa'. Probably the Śākaṭāyanas were a family of grammarians. Śākalya, a descendant of Śakala, is closely connected with the phonetic studies of the Ṛg-vēda.

[2] Aufrecht in Ind. Antq., Vol. IV, p. 281. He draws attention to the analogy of the Rabbinic language "which is also traced back to the endeavours of religious scholars to endue, with new life, an idiom rapidly dying out."

called Sattras according to seasons.[1] A regulation of time was indispensable for the sacrificer. He who knew the regulation of time knew the sacrifices. Now, the seasons could be understood only by following the course of the sun ; and by observation they came to understand the sun's northern (Uttarāyana) and southern (Dakshiṇāyana) courses, the equinoctial and solstitial days. From practical observation, in other words, they divided the solar year into two distinct parts, each consisting of 180 days, with a Vishuvan (that is, the equatorial or central day), cutting the whole into two halves. "The ceremonies in both halves were exactly the same ; but they were in the latter half performed in an inverted order. This represents the increase of the days in the northern and their decrease in the southern progress ; for both increase and decrease take place exactly in the same proportions." (HAUG). The Āryans of this period did not know the solar zodiac. Their knowledge of the sun's movements exhausted itself with the definition of the two *Ayanas* and the fixation of the equinoctial and solstitial days. No sacrifice could be begun in the Dakshiṇāyana. Some sacrifices lasted for one year and were in close imitation of the sun's course. In addition to solar movements the lunar movements were observed during the period ; for some sacrifices had to be performed under some constellations and in some months. The observation of the lunar movement resulted in the fixing of the lunar zodiac of the 27 Nakshatras. The Yajur-vēda, the Atharva-vēda and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa clearly refer to this. Another result was the division of the solar year into months, the names of which were given after the Nakshatra in which the moon happened to be full. A luni-solar year, in other words, came into existence, divided into months named after the full-moon constellations and lasting from 30 to 31 days. A purely lunar month would be only 28 days ; but the necessity to combine the solar and lunar

[1] The number of the seasons into which the year was divided affords a very interesting theme for study ; and is dealt with in a later chapter.

observations led to the luni-solar months current now. Various other interesting studies were made in this line. The Vēdāṅga-Jyōtisha is a small treatise, still obscure in points, consisting of 43 verses in the Yajur-vēda recension and 36 in the Ṛg-vēda one. It is believed by many scholars to be a comparatively late work in contents and in form; but it is very doubtful whether all the *contents* can be brought down to the age when the work was given its present *form.* The degree of acceptance or scepticism amongst scholars in the department of Vēdic astronomical lore is naturally very wide, as is shown elsewhere.

THE KALPASŪTRA : THE ŚRAUTASŪTRAS.

From the fact that some portions of the Brāhmaṇas are like Sūtras in form, it has been suggested that the earliest of the Sūtras were those devoted to the explanation of the rituals to be observed during sacrifices. They are collectively known as Kalpa. The Kalpasūtras are practical codes of religion and are in three varieties called Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma. They are known as Smṛtis in contrast to the Śrutis or revealed literature, consisting of the Vēdas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads. The Śrautasūtras are guides for the application of the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa to the actual sacrifices which are enumerated in another chapter. There are Śrautasūtras for each of the Vēdic Samhitas and Śākhās. The Ṛg-vēda has the Āś'valāyana, Śāṅkhāyana and Śaunaka; the Sāma-vēda has the Mas'aka, Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyana; the Taittirīya or Black Yajur has the Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Satyāshāḍha, Hiraṇyakēśi, Mānava, Bharadvāja Vādhūla, Vaikhānasa, Kāṭhaka and Vārāha. The Vājasanēya or White Yajur-vēda has got a Śrautasūtra by Kātyāyana and the Atharva-vēda by Kus'ika and Vitāna (a late work). Most of these Śrautasūtras have practically perished. They are known only from quotations by the later Sūtrakāras of the different schools. The Śrautasūtras are indispensable as mirrors reflecting the nature and development of religion, particularly the sacrificial cult.

THE GRHYASŪTRAS.

The Grhyasūtras devote themselves to the rules, ceremonies and practices of Āryan domestic life. They describe in detail the various observances which had to be made from before birth to after death. As the Āryans had already developed the theory that the life in this world is only a mission to spiritual perfection, the life of every house-holder came to be subjected to various Samskāras or purificatory processes. These Samskāras began with the child in the womb and ended with the death ceremonies and in fact continued even after that in the cult of the souls and ancestors. "We thus find in these works a larger number of genuinely popular customs and usages treated in detail, which refer to conception, birth, the mother and the new-born child, the name-giving, the first outing and the first feeding of the child ; we find exact directions for the shaving of the boy's head, the introduction of the pupil to the teacher (Upanayana or *initiation of the pupil*), the mode of life of the Brahmachāri or Vēda student, the relationship between pupil and teacher, and the dismissal of the pupil from the service of the teacher. The customs at wooing, betrothal and marriage are presented in an especially detailed manner." The religious duties of the house-holder are described in detail, together with such customs and ceremonies "as referred to house-building, cattle-breeding and farming, also those of the magic rites which are to serve for averting diseases and unpropitious omens, as also exorcisms and rites for love, magic and such like. Finally the Grhyasūtras deal also with the funeral customs and the ancestral sacrifice (Śrāddhas) which, however, assumed such importance that they were soon treated with their minutest details in special texts (Śrāddha-kalpas)." The Grhyasūtras are not quite important from the literary standpoint; but as the reservoirs of ancient Indian life they are invaluable. To quote Prof. Winternitz again, "they are in truth a real treasure for the ethnologist. One need only remember how laboriously the student of classical antiquity has to collect the reports on the daily life of the ancient Greeks and

Romans from the most diversified works. Here in India we have the most reliable reports, we may say reports of eye-witnesses, upon the daily life of the ancient Indians, in the form of rules and precepts in these apparently insignificant Sūtra texts. They are, as it were, the *Folklore Journals* of ancient India. It is true, they describe the life of the ancient Indian father of the family only from the religious side, but as religion permeated the whole existence of the ancient Indians to such an extent that actually nothing could take place without an attendant religious ceremony, they are for the ethnologist most invaluable sources for the popular customs and usages of that ancient period. The numerous parallels in the manners and customs of other Indo-European peoples, which have been discovered long ago, with the usages described in the Gṛhyasūtras, make these documents all the more important. In particular, the comparison of the Greek, Roman, Teutonic and Slavonic marriage customs with the rules contained in the Gṛhya-sūtras, has shown that the relationship of the Indo-European peoples is not limited to language, but that these peoples, related in language, have also preserved common features from pre-historic times in their manners and customs."

THE DHARMASŪTRAS.

The Dharmasūtras deal with the Āryan rights, duties and customs, *i.e.*, their secular as well as religious laws and institutions. Incidentally they deal with castes and their duties as well as the different stages or Ās'ramas of life. They are highly interesting as documents describing the regulations framed by Brāhmanism for its control over the Indian world. Unfortunately, most of them, except the so-called Gautama-dharma-s'āstra, have been lost; but it is clear from the later Dharmasāstras that they are historically invaluable as the first legal treatises. The Dharmasūtra of the Ṛg-vēda was composed by Vasishṭha; that of the Sāma-vēda by Gautama, that of the Yajur-vēda by a number of writers of whom Manu, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and Hiraṇyakēśin are the most renowned.

It has been inferred from internal evidences that the earliest of the Sūtrakāras was Gautama. The work which exists in his name is in the form of a Śāstra and not Sūtra; but it has been pointed out that its form and contents indicate that it was in reality a part of the Kalpasūtras. Gautama's treatise indicates some modern features, like reference to Śiva and to mixed castes including the Yavanas. It is also Pāṇinīyan in language. But these are, points out Bühler, due to later additions, tamperings and interpolations; and the original was very early indeed, to judge from the methodical and careful arrangement of the Sūtras. We have clear reasons to believe that Gautama was one of the numerous Gautamas figuring in the Brāhmaṇas as teachers and students of the Sāma-vēda. One of his chapters on penances is in fact a bodily reproduction of one of the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāma-vēda. It is full of quotations, moreover, from the Sāma-vēda. Gautama takes the initial Mantras of some sacraments from the same source. He was thus originally an authority for the Sāma-vēdins, but subsequently became an authority for all sections of the Āryas.

Another famous Sūtrakāra was Baudhāyana. As in the case of Gautama's work, we find some modern features in his treatise too. His language is late and purāṇic or classical. He uses the *Anushtubh* metre more often than the archaic. Not only is his language and phraseology that of the metrical Smṛtis, but the manner in which he divides his treatise, his repetitions and his ritualistic details are believed to indicate lateness, some scholars (*e.g.*, Bhandarkar) going so far as to place him later than Āpastamba or Bharadvāja. But Bühler, who does not ignore these features, would attribute them to later adjustments and place the original kernel of the Baudhāyana-sūtra second only in date to Gautama's and anterior by several generations, if not centuries, to Āpastamba. Baudhāyana was originally an authority for the Taittirīya-vēdins of the Kṛshṇa-Yajur-vēda, but he became, like Gautama, an authority for all in course of time. He belonged to the

Kaṇva-gōtra, in consequence of which he was also known as Kaṇvāyana. Baudhāyana refers to the prejudice of the southern Brāhmaṇs against sea-voyage. He has the largest number of adherents and students in the Dakkan. The manuscripts of his Sūtra also are found in larger numbers here than anywhere else. For these reasons Bühler suggests that Baudhāyana was a native of the land south of the Vindhyas, though the Sūtrakāra regards it as un-Ārya, un-worthy to be visited by the Āryas. The great commentator Sāyaṇa, it may be noted, was a Baudhāyana. The complete set of Baudhāyana's Śrauta, Grhya and Dharma Sūtras is not available. The Sūtras of Bharadvāja too, who was probably next in date, are available only in part.

Equally authoritative with Baudhāyana is the Sūtrakāra Āpastamba. His work is remarkably valuable to the historian as it has been found in integral connection with his Śrauta and Grhya Sūtras, affording thereby a clue to the evolution of the different types of Sūtras. Āpastamba was also a writer of the Taittirīya school of the Krshṇa-Yajurvēda. His work must have been at first, in consequence, an authority for the Adhvaryu priests; later on, Āpastamba became, like the other Sūtrakāras, a general authority. Āpastamba belonged to the same school as Baudhayana though differing from it in certain respects. Bühler draws attention to the fact that Āpastamba regards himself not as a child of the golden age but of a degenerate period. Like Baudhāyana, Āpastamba belonged to the Dakkan. His school claimed the same ancestry as that of the Baudhāyanas. His Sūtras were, in some cases at least, identical with those of the other. For all these reasons, Bühler suggests that Āpastamba clearly borrowed from the other and lived at least a few generations after him. Āpastamba's style, his puritanism in matters like the marriage of a son, the food of the Brahmachāris, and the laws of inheritance, are given by Dr. Bühler as evidences of this. It is true that Bhandarkar would place Baudhāyana *later* on the ground that he refers to some rites unknown to Āpastamba, but in Bühler's view these portions are interpo-

lations, and the other evidences sufficiently indicate the comparative antiquity of Baudhāyana.

Probably next in date to Āpastamba was Satyāshāḍha Hiranyakēs'iṇ. Bühler places him a century after the former. The followers of Hiraṇyakēs'iṇ utter the same Saṅkalpas as the Āpastambīyas. Further, Hiraṇyakēs'iṇ's Sūtras are adaptations of the Āpastambīyan ones in some cases. It is clear from these facts that Hiraṇyakēs'iṇ belonged to the same school and supplemented its work.

The next great Sūtrakāra was Vasishṭha. It is probable that he was originally an authority for the Rg-vēdins alone, though afterwards his institutes were universally recognised. Vasishṭha's work has some archaic features. For example, his doctrine regarding the position of sons and daughters is believed to indicate an early age. But his quotations from the Vēdic writings and the other Dharmasūtras are given as evidences to prove that he wrote at a time when the Dharmasūtras of the three Vēdic schools were already known. Vasishṭha refers to the works of Yama, Manu, Gautama and, probably, Baudhāyana also. He is believed to have taken his 22nd chapter bodily from Gautama. It may be pointed out that Prof. Jolly thinks that Vasishṭha borrowed from the Vishṇusmṛti indicating thereby that he lived after the latter was composed. But Bühler questions this on the ground that the references are to quotations, and not originals, and that the parts of Vasishṭha where they occur were clearly later additions. Another reason from assigning a comparatively late date for Vasishṭha is that he mentions a mixed caste called Rōmaka, which is believed to indicate the age of political relations between India and Rome or Byzantium. But Bühler disputes this on the ground that some manuscripts have Rāmaka (not Rōmaka) and that tribes called Rāma and Rāmaka figure in the Purāṇas. Still another reason assigned for Vasishṭha's lateness is his reference to written documents; but Bühler points out, that, as for that matter, no other Dharmasūtra refers to writing, and that the argument of silence cannot

be depended upon as the Sūtraic society was too advanced to have got on without writing. One other interesting point to be noted regarding Vasishṭha is that, in Bühler's opinion, he was, unlike Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, a northerner; for he shows acquaintance with the north-west and the northern recensions of the Vēdas.

SUPPLEMENTARY SŪTRAS.

Such is the development of the Kalpasūtra literature in its three main branches of Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma. To these three types we have to add certain supplementary types. One of these is the Śulvasūtra which is attached to the Śrautasūtra and which contains rules for measuring and building the altars, from which the historian can draw conclusions as to the development of geometry and science in ancient India. Another is the Śrāddhakalpa and Pitṛmēdhasūtra, containing rules for the ancestral sacrifices. It is attached to the Gṛhyasūtras. Then again there are the later Pariśishṭas (literally additions) dealing with certain things in greater detail. Still later come the Prayōgas, then the Paddhatis (outlines), and then the Kārikas or versified treatises on rituals. All these works belong to different Vēdic schools and formulate supplements, elaborations and specialisations of the original Kalpasūtras. Many of these are post-vēdic and do not deal with the developments of religion in the period with which we are dealing in this volume; but, on the other hand, there is nothing original in them; and they only elaborate what is contained in the earlier works.

OTHER KINDS OF LITERATURE.

Such is the evolution of the Vēdic literature down to the age when the next epoch in Indian history, the epoch of Buddhism and Jainism, came into existence. Side by side with the development of the different types of the religious literature which we have sketched, there grew up, in the latter part of the Vēdic period, certain semi-secular types of literature which, though they came to have a

finality of form in later times, had their germs as well as some at least of their institutions, in the period with which we have been dealing. As the history of Vēdic India can be constructed adequately only with the data contained in these, we shall now proceed to analyse them. It is only then that we shall be able to discuss the chronology of this extensive literary output and the historical lessons we can draw from it.

The clue to the rise of this semi-religious and semi-secular literature is obtained from two passages in the Atharva-vēda. The 24th Rk of the 7th Sūkta of the 11th Kāṇḍa of the Vēda says: "From the residuum of the Rks, the Sāmans, the Yajus and the Purāṇa, the Gods and the Pitṛs are born." The 4th Rk of the 6th Paryāya of the 15th Kāṇḍa of the same Vēda says: "He (the Lord of Creation) moved out...After him moved both of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa and the Gāthas and Nārāsamsi. Verily both of the Itihāsa and of the Purāṇa and of the Gāthas and of Nārāsamsis doth he become the dear abode which knoweth thee." Itihāsa is narrative literature, corresponding to the Epic. Gāthas are songs of minstrels and Nārāsamsis are eulogies of courts, kings or nobles. The Purāṇas are works on *old* religious traditions mixed with secular events. All these were at first religious in origin, but secularised in course of time; and thanks to the activities of special, professional men and the Prākṛtic medium in which they were at first encompassed, they became those special kinds of literature which they now are. But in the period with which we are now dealing, they were in the form of germs and still undeveloped, though they had reached a stage and dignity sufficient to entitle them to be mentioned by the Atharva-vēda and Gauthama Dharma sūtra as distinct works.

The circumstances under which these literary works developed have been skilfully traced by Prof. Pargiter and others. We have already seen that, as the result of the Āryan expansion over Hindusthan, there arose, in consequence of

the contact and mixture beween the language of the conquerors and the spoken tongues of the conquered, a series of popular dialects or Prākṛts in different parts of the country. These Prākṛts were employed both for common and literary purposes, both by the Brāhmaṇical and non-Brāhmaṇical classes. Pargiter points out that there must have been in vogue records, in these popular tongues, of political and temporal events composed by the Sūtas or professional bards and panegyrists in the courts of kings and nobles. The narration of the princes' exploits and actions was the birth-right of the Sūtas even in preference to the Brāhmaṇs. Sūtas like Lōmaharshaṇa became illustrious like the Rshis and, on important sacrificial occasions, when a number of Rshis were gathered, they used to enlighten them 'in a way as to make their hair stand on end.' At first, these narrations were probably vocal; but when writing became common, they came, thanks to the encouragement of the kings and nobles, to be kept in permanent records, though even after the popular use of writing, more Sūtas perhaps depended on memory than on written record. "Records must have been kept by secretaries and chroniclers in the royal offices, and as those men would not always have been Sanskrit scholars, the language they used would presumably have been as elegant a Prākrit as their courtly surroundings and predilections required. There must have been ample written material concerning the dynasties from the 7th century B.C. from which metrical chronicles could have been composed by bards, minstrels and reciters in the same kind of language, to entertain not only their royal and noble patrons but also those who found an interest in hearing of former times." We shall later on see how Magadha, being the chief centre of political activity during these ages, was rich in such traditional accounts, as the result of which the Magadhans became celebrated as minstrels. The traditions were naturally in verse rather than prose and gave a great incentive to the growth of literary Prākṛt. It was these Prākṛt ballads that were afterwards sanskritised and grammatically

perfected and reduced to their present forms in the early centuries before and after the Christian era.

The first of these auxiliary kinds of literature was the *Purāṇa*. The original Purāṇas are lost, and there is no definite evidence as to what they exactly contained; but it is generally accepted that some at least of the legends and traditions contained in them must have, owing to the continuity which such things have always commanded in India, been incorporated in the later works side by side with later accretions, additions and accumulations. The modern Purāṇas contain traditions which belonged to the Vēdic as well as post-vēdic periods down to their compilation in their *present* forms in the 3rd century A.D. Some of the traditions refer to thousands of years before Christ, some to later times, and some to the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era. There is considerable difficulty in separating the old from the new, and the historian, unless he is quite sure of his ground, is likely to arrive at false inferences as to the order and time of events. But that is no argument against the value of the Purāṇas for constructing the history of ancient periods. In any case, it can hardly be denied that the legends of the floods, of the deities which bear close resemblance to those of Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and possibly of the Sindh valley, and similar things were transformed and mutilated into those stories which are now in vogue and which seem to be so absurd, fantastic and singular to modern eyes.

The next type of auxiliary literature which arose in late Vēdic times was, as has been already said, the Itihāsa, or Epic. It is well known that the Hindus have got two great Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, which differ from the other great Epics of the world in their enormous influence on the every-day life of the people. They have shaped the religious and secular life of the millions of India for the last so many centuries. The heroes and heroines of these Epics are known to all Hindus. They have been adopted, together with those of gods, as the personal names of men and women. The places associated

with their stories are remembered in every part of the country. Every sacred temple, tank, river, mountain, is associated with some episode or other of the Epics. The process of nationalisation of Hinduism has been promoted by the Epics to a larger extent than the Vēdas. It is very difficult indeed to imagine what the life of the people would be but for their having been saturated with the spirit of the Epics. The secret of this remarkable influence lies in the fact that the Epics embody some of the earliest traces of the Āryan expansion and progress. In the midst of much later additions they contain ores of early history. Though it is difficult to separate the ore from the encrustations, it has to be done by the historian. The circumstances of the origin and development of the Epic literature are similar to those of the Purāṇas and need not be repeated.

It is acknowledged by every scholar that the Māhābharata describes a historical background exactly identical with that of the later Vēdic literature. It indicates a time when the Āryans were still engaged in struggle for the mastery over the western parts of Āryāvarta, a time reflected in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads. Some scholars see in the poem an account of the early struggles amongst the Āryan tribes and the eventual welding of these tribes and their aboriginal allies into one people, with "new physical characteristics as well asa new and unique civilization which is known as Brāhmaṇic." The story of the Mahābhārata, which is traditionally attributed to B.C. 3102 but the date of which we shall discuss in the next chapter, is believed by this school to describe the conflict between the Pāñchālas, one of the immigrant Āryan tribes, and the Kurus who belonged to the earlier Āryans, with the result that both eventually mixed and assumed the ancient and common name of the *Bharatas*, from which the country itself took the name *Bhāratavarsha*. It is true that the Mahābhārata gives much more information than this. It deals with the careers, the fortunes and rivalries of the Kauravas and their Pāṇḍava cousins, assigning to the Pāñchālas only a subordinate position of alliance with the latter; but historians

believe that the Pāṇḍava element is a later addition to the Epic; that the real kernel of the poem was the struggle between the Kurus, who had migrated from the Punjab and founded the kingdom of Hastināpura, and the Pāñchālas who came direct from beyond the Himalayas; that the struggle was for both political and social purposes, as the Pāñchālas had imbibed the Dravidian customs, which the more orthodox and earlier settlers disliked; that the Pāñchālas were evidently successful at first, for they succeeded in pushing through the territory between the Kurus and the Kōsalas, thus establishing themselves further south, with Kāmpilya for their capital; that this settlement was followed by the war with the Kurus in which the Pāṇḍavas, the cousins of the latter, became their allies in consequence of their polyandric marriage with the Pāñchāla princess; and that the war resulted, as is known to every student of the Epic, in the victory of the Pāṇḍavas and the Pāñchālas. The war is construed, in short, as a struggle for the victory of the principle of Aryo-Dravidianism over orthodox Āryanism, of the principle that the Āryans should not always be a rigidly superior and exclusive caste, having nothing to do with the non-Āryans, but conciliate the conquered, civilize them and mix with them. It laid the foundations of that social synthesis on which Indian civilization has been built up.

What the Mahābhārata is for the Āryan kingdoms of the West, the Rāmāyaṇa is for those of the East. The poem deals primarily with the Kōsalas who ruled over the land between the Ganges and the Gaṇḍak, the region covered by modern Oudh, and with the Vidēhas further East. It is true that the poem gives much more matter. It narrates the adventures of Rāma, the Kōsala prince—his exile in the Daṇḍakāraṇya, the abduction of his wife Sīṭa, his alliance with the monkeys of Kishkindha, his fight with Rāvaṇa, his victorious return and assumption of the crown. It also mentions a number of principalities of the Dakkan and South India which could not have been ancient, which in fact presuppose a long period of Āryan settlement and

culture. The passage which indicates Vālmīki's knowledge of the political and physical geography of the south is the one where Sugrīva gives instructions to his followers to search for Sītā. Beginning with the Vindhyas, Vālmīki first refers to the succession of the rivers Narmadā, Gōdāvari, Kṛshṇavēṇi and Varadā. He then mentions—without clearly indicating their topography—the lands of Mēkhala and Udgala, the cities of Dāsarṇa, and then, in order, the peoples of Aśvavanti and Avanti, the Vidarbhas, the Rishikas, the charming Mahishakas, the Vaṅgas, the Kaliṅgas and the Kauśikas. He then reverts to the Daṇḍakāraṇya with its mountains, rivers and caves. The Gōdāvari is referred to here ; and then are enumerated the Āndhras, the Puṇḍras, the Chōḷas, the Kēraḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. Reference is next made to the divine, limpid and auspicious Kāvēri, visited by crowds of *Apsaras*, and beyond it, to the Ayōmukha or Malaya hill, at the summit of which Agastya had his residence. The poet then gives a short but beautiful description of the Tāmbraparṇi. He compares it, with its sandal-wooded islands and its torrential course towards the sea, to a young lady, adorned with sandals, rushing to her sweetheart. In the language of Sugrīva, the poet then says: "Then, O monkeys, you will see the Kavāṭa of the Pāṇḍyas, golden, divine, and adorned with pearls and gems.' Then, he tells them, having reached the sea, they could see the Mahēndra mountain, dipping into the ocean, the mountain which was deposited by Agastya and which was full of golden splendour and picturesque trees.

These references sufficiently indicate a state of things long after the Āryan invasion of, and settlement in, the south. There are also various other modern features in the poem,—the metre and language, the devotional cult and the doctrine of avatāra, the mention of later social and religious institutions, the reference to the Yavanas (Greeks), etc.

But the historian who sees below the surface can clearly realise that the passages referring to them are inconsistent with those indicating the Dakkan as a place of forests and

a scene of individual Āryan adventurers and sages of whom Agastya is a symbol; that the kernel of the poem indicates a very early period, a period when the Āryans were confined to East Āryāvarta and when they were just attempting to penetrate into the mysterious land south of the Vindhyas. The kernel of the poem does not mention Pāṭalipura, though Rāma is said to have passed over the very place where it stood. Again, it makes no mention of the Empire of Magadha which, ever since the middle of the sixth century B. C., played the most important part in the history of Hindusthān. On the contrary, the kingdoms mentioned in the poem are very small in area. Even Kōsala is traversed in a two days' journey. Each petty state is full of palace intrigues, and no practical imperial rule is mentioned, though Daśaratha is said to have been the master of the universe. The capital is called Ayōdhyā, not either Sākēta or Śrāvasti (Sāvatthi) as among the Jains, the Buddhists and the Greeks. The seventh book of the Epic, in fact, tells us that Ayōdhyā was deserted after Rāma's rule and that Śrāvasti, the capital of the Buddhistic age, took its place. All these facts show, as Prof. Jacobi observes, that Vālmīki lived in the pre-Buddhistic age when the Ikshvākus were in power. The non-mention of Mithilā and Vaisalī as separate states is another corroborative fact. The patriarchal polity of the Rāmāyaṇa and the primitive and unexplored character of the Daṇḍakāraṇya forest are other evidences of an archaic age. The astronomical and literary data also indicate a period going back to the period of the Upanishads and the early Sūtras. The poem in short gives a clue to the fact that the Dakkan, South India and even Ceylon came to be subject to the Āryan settlement and culture during the *pre-Buddhistic* period. While there are many later features, the *kernel* of the poem indicates the manner in which the Āryan civilization expanded throughout India in later Vēdic times.

We have thus far studied two kinds of auxiliary literature in the Vēdic period of Indian history, namely, the Purāṇa and the Itihāsa. The later Vēdic works mention a

number of other types of literature too. These are the Rāśi (science of numbers); the Daiva (science of portents); the Nidhi (science of time); the Vākōvākya (logic); the Ēkāyana (ethics); the Bhūtavidyā (demonolatry); the Kshatravidyā (military science); and the Sarpa Dēvajana-vidyā (science of serpents and genii). We have already seen how there were also Gāthās and Nārāśansis. The Gāthā style spread to Persia on the one hand and to the other parts of India on the other and became the fashion in the Buddhistic period. The Ākhyānas or ballads, the dialogue-hymns, the magic-songs, the folk-songs, the monologues, the Dānastuties (gift-songs), the lays of the dicer, gambler and man of riddles and mystery, the spells on diseases and other things found in such plenty in the Atharva-vēda and other works, indicate incidentally how special kinds of literary works originated and grew in Vēdic India. Almost all these special works are lost; for they have been incorporated in later works of their type. But that they had their beginnings in the later days of the Vēdic period can hardly be doubted. They show in an unmistakable manner how rich and variegated Vēdic culture was, and how almost every field of later literary specialisation was anticipated in the age of the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Sūtras.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF VEDIC RESEARCH.

It is a remarkable fact that the history of Vēdic research begins with a fraudulent production. In 1761 an official from Pondicherry gave to Voltaire, and he presented to the Royal Library in Paris, a work called ***Ezour Vedam*** which has been supposed and denied to be the work of the well-known missionary Robert de Nobilis (seventeenth century). It was put in French garb in 1778 and in German in 1779. Voltaire regarded it as a great authority on ancient Brāhmaṇical wisdom. But the whole was later on discovered to be a fraud. To one who is accustomed to the general vilification of the Brāhman which has been going on for the last one and a half centuries—a vilification in which most respectable scholars have too often taken part—it seems to be almost natural that a claim for investigation into his intellectual achievement should begin with a fraud! And like all frauds, it was eventually

exposed! See Adolf Kaegi's *Rig Veda*, Arrowsmith's translation, 1886, p. 95, note 1, for the bibliography of this forgery. Also Winternitz' *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 8, p. 13, note.

The second work to be published (1801-2) in the department of Vēdic literature was, if not a fraud, a fearful jargon, as Max Müller called it. It was the *Oupnekhat* of M. Anquetil du Perron. It was a Latin translation of the Upanishads originally rendered into Persian by Dara, the son of Shah Jahan. It was partly translated into German in 1808. It was terribly inaccurate and wide of the original; but it is wonderful that it was this mutilated version that gained the encomium of German scholars and stimulated the research into Indian literature.

The first true account of the Vēdic literature is that of Henry Thomas Colebrooke in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 8 (1805), reproduced in the Madras edition of his Essays in 1872 and translated into German in 1847; and the first reliable translations into English as well as publications of select originals were those of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy in 1816—1819. In the years which followed, Vēdic literature did not progress much as the attention of scholars was directed more to the classical Sanskrit literature and to philology. The only Vēdic productions were fragments of Upanishads by Othmar Frank in *Chrestomathia Sanscrita* (1820-21) and in an essay on Vyāsa between 1826 and 1830.

The real epoch of Vēdic publications began in 1838 when Friedrich Rosen gave the Rg-vēda, with a Latin translation, to the world of orientalists in London. It did not cover the whole Vēda but, on account of the author's premature death (1837), only one-eighth of it. The endeavours of the French orientalist, Eugene Burnouf, created a school of Vēdic research at this time. As the result of it, Rudolf Roth published his *Literature and History of the Vēda* in Germany in 1846, inaugurating a German school. Prof. Max Müller, another pupil of Burnouf, carried this school to England and founded the school of Vēdic studies there.

From this time individuals and institutions have carried on Vēdic research, side by side with researches in other departments, and issued a staggering mass of publications, textual, critical and historical. It is still going on and likely to go on for many generations to come before it

can be justifiably charged with mere pedantry or futility. As there is no field of human improvement for which the Vēdic literature is not indispensable, as religion, law, society, art, language, science, every aspect of human intellectual endeavour, involves its study, it is, in spite of the fact that it is nearly a hundred years old, still in its infancy. Many countries have prosecuted its studies and many master-minds have devoted their life-long labours to it. Historians, philologists, sociologists and seekers of every branch of truth have dived deep into it and given the fruits of their labours to the world. Still there are fields practically unexplored. Many passages in the Vēdic literature are too obscure to be explained ; and researches in regard to their meaning and origin are likely to occupy the minds of scholars for many years.

The bibliography of Vēdic literature is for these reasons very extensive. It covers a number of publications in European and Indian languages. It includes a large number of special journals, some of which are extinct, and a large number of scientific catalogues of manuscripts issued by the different libraries and academic bodies of the West and East. The loss of manuscripts to India has been one of the tragedies of her intellectual history. Literary remains which are usually conserved by legislation in independent countries, have gone away from India. To a large extent Indians themselves have been responsible for this. Not only have they been indifferent but amazingly reckless in presenting valuable materials to foreign bodies and individuals. Legislation to prevent this lamentable loot has failed to receive the support of government. But it must be confessed that, to a large extent, the robbery has been justified. Many manuscripts would have perished in the denationalised India of the early and middle nineteenth century if they had remained here. They have been preserved in the libraries of Western academies and societies with scientific care. They have been catalogued and often been published with excellent textual criticisms, emendations, readings and notes. But Indians have awakened to their duties and worthily followed the example of occidental savants. They have formed libraries and institutions in the country and published detailed catalogues, translations, texts and notes. A pride in the preservation of manuscripts has been inculcated; and many institutes, museums and libraries are jealously searching for and preserving them. The enormous service rendered in this line can be realised from the fact that, when A. Wilh. V. Schlegel wrote his essay on the condition of Indian philological

studies in Europe in 1819, he was aware only of a dozen books. In 1830, when Friedrich Adulung published in St. Petersburg his *Study* on the literature of the Sanskrit language, he referred to 350 works. In 1852, Albrecht Weber referred to more than 500 works in his *monumental History of* Sanskrit Literature. When Theodore Aufrecht *compiled* his *Catalogus Catalagorum* in 1891—1903, he was in a position to enumerate thousands of authors and works. And after Aufrecht's time, there has been new discovery almost every day in the different parts of India. A list of the various academic bodies and early catalogues which have stimulated Vēdic research is given elsewhere.

It is better, for the sake of lucidity, to adopt from this point onwards the topical method of treatment in sketching the history of the Vēdic studies. Such a treatment means the ignoring of chronological sequence as between the different branches ; but what is lost in one way is more than gained in another. There is not much loss after all in giving up the chronological sequence, as there has been continuous work in each branch throughout the last three quarters of a century.

Taking the Rg-vēda, the work of Friedrich Rosen was taken up on much more ambitious lines by Prof. Max Müller ; and he completed in Sanskrit characters a two volume edition of the text (1873), and a magnificent edition of the Hymns with Sāyaṇa's commentary in six volumes at Oxford between 1849 and 1875. The work appeared gradually throughout this period, and the story of its progress is a great literary romance. A second edition was issued in 1890—1892 with the generous help of the Maharaja of Vijayanagaram. Prof. Theodore Aufrecht in the meanwhile issued a more handy edition in Latin transliteration in A. Weber's 'Indische Studien', Vols. 6 and 7 in 1861—1863. This was reprinted at Bonn in 1877 in two volumes with a valuable appendix on the list of the poets, divinities and metres of the Vēda. It also contains a table of the first lines of every stanza and concordant references to the other Vēdic texts. In 1875, K. P. Geldner and A. Kaegi published a short selection of the text. *The Hymns of the Rg-vēda* by H. Oldenberg (2 vols.), 1909 and 1912, is very useful for the student of research as it contains erudite exegetic notes.

In India the hymns have been edited with Sāyaṇa's commentary by R. S. Bodas and S. S. Gore in Bombay in 8 volumes, 1889 by

P. K. Vidyaratna (Vol. I, 1889) and K. M. Banerjea (1875) in parts in Calcutta. A complete Bengali translation in 7 volumes, was published by R. C. Dutta in 1887 and a Marathi and English translation in 22 parts under the title Vēdārthayatna in Bombay, 1876–80.

The Rg-vēda was translated into French by S. A. Langlois in 1848. The four volumes of this work are very rare but as Prof. Hopkins points out, they are regarded as 'useless'. Another part-translator is Abel Bergaigne, a very great authority on Vedic texts and religion, 1878—1888.

Amongst the German translations the best known is the metrical version of H. Grassmann in two volumes (1877). This work also gives a general view of the Rg-vēda, its text, arrangement and metres. Prof. Hopkins describes its merits and defects thus: "It cannot be too much emphasised that Grassmann's translation should never be used for comparative purposes. At the same time, for a general understanding of the contents of the whole Rig Veda, it is the only book that can be recommended" (*Religions of India*, p. 575, note). Between 1876 and 1888 appeared the translation of Prof. Alfred Ludwig in six volumes. It has been condemned by Prof. Hopkins as "so uncouth that without a controlling knowledge of the original it is often meaningless." It includes the commentary of Sāyaṇa and others. Subsequent German translations are those of K. F. Geldner (Tubingen, 1908, and Gottingen, 1923), A. Hillebrandt (Gottingen, 1913), Duessen, etc.; but these concern parts or selected portions.

Of English translations of the Rg-vēda the earliest is by H. H. Wilson and E. B. Cowell. It appeared from 1850—1866 in six volumes. Wilson had, unlike the school of Dr. Roth, a higher regard for Indian interpretation. The best-known English version is that of R. T. H. Griffith, published at Benares in 1889—1892, in two volumes. Two parts of the hymns have been translated with Sāyaṇa's commentary by P. Peterson. Prof. Max Müller has translated select hymns in Vols. 32 and 46 of the Sacred Books of the East Series. The introduction gives valuable criticisms of Roth, Aufrecht, Kuhn, etc., and contains an elaborate discussion of the text, metres and other problems. Max Müller has also translated various hymns in his different works. The names of John Muir, E. B. Cowell and W. D. Whitney are also connected with the Rg-vēda in part-translations. The latest works are

Macdonell's *Hymns from the Rg-vēda* for the Heritage of India Series (1922), and E. J. Thomas' *Vēdic Hymns* for the 'Wisdom of the East Series' (1893).

The *Khilas* of the Rg-vēda has been edited by L. Scheftelowitz under the title of *Die Apokryphen des Rg-vēda* (the Apokryphen of the Rg-vēda) at Breslau (1906). An earlier edition is found in Aufrecht's second edition of the Rg-vēda at Bonn in 1877.

The language, the grammar, the metres, the mythology, the religion, the polity, the economics, the society, and the arts of the Rg-vēda have been studied and elucidated by a number of specialists. These are referred to in Chapter III. Here it is enough to refer to some general works which concern the place of the Rg-vēda in the evolution of the Vedic literature. In 1852 appeared Weber's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' which was translated into English from the second edition in 1878. Seven years later, in 1859 Max Müller published his 'History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.' It was the first complete picture of the Vēdic evolution. Max Müller's other works are full of references to the Vēdic literature. In his 'Chips from a German Workshop,' Vol. I, entitled *Essays on the Science of Religion* (1868), he devotes one lecture to the study of the Rg-vēda in the course of which he gives an excellent resumé and puts a number of hymns in English garb. In Lecture III, on the Vēda and the Zend Avesta he traces the origin and general features of the Vēdas and their relation with the Zend Avesta (pp. 81—91). In Lecture IV he gives an excellent constructive criticism of Martin Haug's 'Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa' (Bombay, 1863), but without success in the chronological part of it. In his next essay on the same scholar's "Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsees" (Bombay, 1862) Max Müller rightly disputes the correctness of his statement that 'the Zend' is the elder sister of Sanskrit. In the second volume of his *Chips* (1868) there are valuable discussions on comparative mythology, folklore, caste and other subjects. Max Müller's *India What can it Teach us* and other books are full of similar studies. A very valuable treatise, highly indispensable to research, is Kaegi's *Der Rig Veda* published in German (second edition, 1880) and translated into English by Arrowsmith in 1886. There are frequent translations of the originals in this 'the oldest literature of the Indians,' and the notes (pp. 96—180) are a veritable mine of information. Dutt's civili-

zation of India,' a praiseworthy work which appeared in 1890, can even now be read with profit, though it is not up-to-date. Ragozin's ***Vēdic India*** (London, 1895) is very picturesque and affords charming reading but requires revision in some respects. Macdonell's ***Sanskrit Literature*** (1900) and Frazer's ***Literary History of India*** contain valuable chapters. The latter is less prejudiced. The dates of the former are, it seems to me, clearly incorrect in the light of later researches. But in ***Cambridge History***, Vol. I (1922), Dr. Keith clings to the old views. Rev. C. H. Farquhar's ***Primer of Hinduism*** (1912) and ***Outline of the Religious Literature of India*** (1920) give short but good running notices. They require revision. The Vēdic Index (1912) of Macdonell and Keith is indispensable for the researcher. Its bibliographical references and criticisms, its balanced views, classifications and analyses are excellent. In some respects the views seem to be at variance with those of the two eminent authors in their special works. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's little brochure 'Age of the Mantras' (Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras, 1913) is useful. Of the recent works, the ***Rig-vedic India*** by A. C. Dass of which ***Rig-vēdic Culture*** is the supplement, is erudite but not quite acceptable in some speculations. Dr. Ghate's 'Lectures on the Rig Vēda' (Poona) is valuable. Prof. Winternitz's ***History of Indian Literature*** (Vol. I, Calcutta, 1927) is the latest and the most up-to-date account, full of bibliographical references and constructive criticisms. The Professor's views are always expressed with wisdom, moderation and sympathy.

The Yajur-vēda has been most elaborately studied by L. V. Schroeder, the author of the celebrated work ***Indiens Literatur und Kultur*** (Leipzig, 1887). He translated numerous passages of the Maitrāyaṇīya version in the above. In 1924 a complete and excellent edition with notes, introduction and index appeared. In 1900—1910 he edited the Kāṭhaka version at Leipzig in four volumes. A complete ***Index Verborum*** has been framed for it by R. Simon. Schroeder had also noticed the fragments of the Kapisthala Kaṭha Samhita in Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. 12.

The Taittirīya Samhita of the Āpastambīya school has been edited by Weber in two volumes (1871-2) and in the Bibliotheca Indica Series (1860—99). A later edition is that of the Poona Anandāśrama Series in 8 parts with a Vishayānukramaṇi of 103 pages in the 9th part (1900—1905) and with Sāyana's Bhāshya and Padapāṭha. It runs to above 4760 pages. The work has been translated into English with

a commentary by A. B. Keith for the Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 18 and 19 (1914). The Vājasanēya-samhita of the Śukla-Yajur-vēda was partly edited with notes by Weber (1852). It has been put in English garb by T. H. Griffith at Benares (1899). The work has been studied from particular standpoints by R. Simon, A. Weber, A. B. Keith, W. Caland and others in various journals.

The Raṇāyīnīya verson of the Sāma-vēda has been edited and translated, though inaccurately (as Prof. Hopkins points out) in 1842 by J. Stevenson in London. The Kauthuma Samhita was first edited and translated into German by Th. Benfey (Leipzig, 1849) and was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* by Satyavṛta Sāmaśramin, 1871. The Jaiminīya-Samhita has been edited by W. Caland (Breslau, 1907).

The Sāma-vēda has been treated of by a number of scholars from different standpoints: but many points are still obscure. The music has been studied by Oldenberg, J. Brune, Th. Aufrecht, and of late by Felber and R. Simon. The rituals and magic have been studied by Prof. Hillebrandt and the language by W. Caland. But as has been already said, there is much room for exploration.

The Śaunaka recension of the Atharva-vēda was published by Dr. R. Roth and W. D. Whitney in 1856 in Berlin. Amongst Indian editions, Shankar P. Pandit's, Bombay, 1895–98, 4 volumes, is the best known. It includes Sāyaṇa's gloss. A cheap Lahore print gives the Mūla alone with Svaras. The Paippalāda or Kashmirian recension was brought to light by Roth in 1875. It was found in the library of the Maharāja of Kashmir. The MS found its way to Tubingen and and Dr. Roth analysed it in his 'Die Atharva-vēda in Kashmir,' 1876. The MS was reproduced by chromophotography in 540 facsimile plates, and edited in three big volumes by M. Bloomfield and R. Garbe at Stuttgart (1901). Select portions have been critically edited by L. R. C. Barrett and F. Edgerton in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vols. 36—43 (1906—23). The *Pariśishṭas* has been published by G. M. Bolling and J. V. Negelein in three volumes (1909-10).

The Atharva-vēda has been partly translated into German by Ludwig (Vol. III, Rg-vēda, 1878, pp. 428—551); by J. Grill ('Hundred Lectures,' Stuttgart, 1888); A. Weber (1870); Aufrecht (Indische Studien, Vol. I); Adalbert Kuhn (1864); J. V. Grohmann (Indische Studien, Vol. 1865); Zimmer (Berlin, 1879); C. A. Florenz (Gottin-

gen, 1887). Among the French translators the chief is Victor Henry (Paris, 1891—6).

Of the translators into English J. Muir and Bloomfield have translated partly. The latter's works are in the several volumes of the *American Journal of Philology* and the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and above all in Vol. 42 of the *Sacred Books of the East Series* (1897). There are two complete translations of the Atharva-vēda. The earlier is that of R. T. H. Griffith published in Benares in 1895-6. The later is by Prof. W. D. Whitney and edited by Ch. R. Lanman for the *Harvard Oriental Series* (Vols. 7 and 8, 1905).

The Atharva-vēda has been studied and discussed by different scholars in different aspects. Victor Henry published some valuable studies in Paris in 1904. Bloomfield's articles in the *Grundriss* (Vol. II) have elicited the warm praises of Prof. Winternitz and have been relied upon by the latter for his analysis of the work in his *History of the Indian Literature*. The Harvard Edition is also very valuable; and the names of Weber, Whitney, Aufrecht, L. Scherman, Oldenberg, F. Edgerton, V. Henry and Deussen are associated with special aspects of the studies of this Vēda. W. D. Whitney has published an 'Index Verborum' for the Vēda.

THE BRĀHMANAS.

The Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa has been edited and translated into English by Martin Haug (Bombay, 1863) and into German by Dr. Roth (Indische Studien, I) and Weber (*Ibid* IX). In 1879 it was edited by Theodore Aufrecht at Bonn together with Sāyaṇa's commentary. The text and commentary have also been published at Calcutta and Poona (*Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series*). The text alone has been printed in Bombay. The most scholarly work in English is the translation of A. B. Keith for the Harvard Oriental Series (Vol. 25), 1920.

The Kauśītaki or Sānkhāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa of the Ṛg-vēda was first edited by B. Lindner at Jena in 1887. It forms No. 65 of the Poona Ānandāśrama Series. A single chapter was put into German by R. Löbbecke (Leipzig, 1908); but to the modern student Keith's translation in the Harvard Oriental Series (Vol. 25), 1920, is indispensable. W. Caland has dwelt upon the work in ZDMG (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellchaft, 72, 1918).

The Tāṇḍya-Mahā-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-vēda has been edited in the Bibliotheca Indica Series (1870–4) and critically examined by E. W. Hopkins in Vol. 15 (1909) of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences and by Caland in ZDMG, 72, 1918.

The Shaḍvimśa-Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-vēda was partly edited and translated into German by Kurt Klemm in 1894. It was edited in full at Leyden in 1908 (with the commentary Vigñāpanabhāshya) by H. F. Eelsingh. The Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa section was edited and translated by Weber as early as 1858 for the Berlin Academy of Sciences 'Zwei Veische Text uber Omina und Portenta,' (pp. 313—43). Select portions of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa have been published with German translation by W. Caland at Amsterdam in 1919. The Sāma vidhāna B. has been edited by Dr. Burnell (1873) with Sāyaṇa's gloss. The Kauthuma text of the Arshēya Brāhmaṇa has been edited by the same scholar with extracts from Sāyaṇa's commentary, at Mangalore in 1876. It has also been edited by Satyavrata Sāmaśramin. The Jaiminīya-Śākhā of it, one of the seven or eight divisions of the Raṇāyaniya school, was published by Burnell at Mangalore in 1878 (xxi + 30 pp.) In the Introduction he compares the two texts. The mythology of the Arshēya is treated of by A. C. Burnell in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 16 ff, and by W. D. Whitney in the same number of the same journal, p. 21 ff; H. Oertel in various numbers (Vols. 14 to 28) of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, in the Transactions of the Oriental Conference at Paris in 1897 (I, 225 ff), in the Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Sciences, Vol. 15 (1909), and lastly by Caland in the Vienna Journal for 1914. The quotations of the Śaṭyāyana-Brāhmaṇa are gathered by H. Oertal in Vol. 18 of the Journal of the American Oriental Society (1897). The Dēvatādhyāya has been edited by Burnell, with Sāyaṇa's gloss in 1877. The Vamśa has been edited by Weber (Ind. Stud., Vol. IV) and by Burnell (1873). This work is surmised by Prof. S. Seshagiri Sastri and M. Rangachārya as having originally consisted of the second *paṭala* alone as several manuscripts in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library give only this, and as Sāyaṇa wrote his commentary on this alone. "But against this view may be said that there are certain MSS which give the first *paṭala* at the end of the second and that Sāyaṇa may have omitted to comment on that portion as he considered it to be easy." See Des. Catal. Sans. MSS., Madras, 1904, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 124-5 : *Ibid*, pp. 116—21 for an excellent analysis of all the Sāmavēda Brāhmaṇas.

The Taittirīya B. (or Parāyata) of the Kṛshṇa-Yajur-Vēda has been edited in all the three Ashṭakas, with Sāyaṇa's commentary by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in the Bibliotheca Indica Series (1855—90). Another edition is that of the Poona Anandāśrama Series (No. 37). The MSS in the Madras Oriental Library show that they were examined by C. W. Whish in 1824 There are a number of copies of Bhaṭṭabhāskara's commentary here. The contents of the B. are analysed by Dr. Keith in Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 18.

The Śatapatha B. of the Mādhyandina Śukla-Yajur-vēda has been published by Weber with extracts from the glosses of Sāyaṇa, Harisvāmiñ and Dvivēdagaṅga. The text has been printed in Ajmir. It has been translated into English with Introduction and notes by Prof. Eggeling in Vol. 12, 26, 41, 43 and 44 of the Sacred Books of the East Series. The chronology, doctrines and other aspects of the work have been studied by Muir (Sans. Texts, V), B. Delbruck, Max Müller, Whitney, R Oltramare, Wackernagel, Oldenberg, Keith and others.

For the Chhardi B. which has been surmised to belong to this Vēda, the origin of which it explains, see Des. Catal. Sans. MSS. of the Sans. College Library, Calcutta, p. 39.

The Brāhmaṇas have been treated of by a number of scholars.: L. von Schroeder gives a good account of them in his ***Indian Literature and Culture*** (in German). The texts have been investigated by Oldenberg in German and Sylvain Levi in French. Monier Williams (' Indian Wisdom, 1875), Max Müller, Weber, Haug, Eggeling, Whitney and Winternitz have devoted their valuable labours to different aspects of the study.

THE ĀRANYAKAS AND UPANISHADS.

Passing on to the Āraṇyakas: The Aitareya A has been edited and translated by A. B. Keith at Oxford (Anecdota Oxoniensin, Aryan Series, Part IX), 1919. A portion of the Śāṅkhāyana A. has been published as appendix to it. Parts of the latter work have been translated into German by W. Friedlander (Berlin, 1900) and into English by Cowell (Calcutta, 1901). Keith has contributed a valuable note on it in JRAS 1908 and has translated the whole for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1909. Both the Āraṇyakas have been printed in Poona.

The Upanishads have grown in number with time. Writers of the different sects of even late Paurāṇic times composed treatises in their special fields and called them Upanishads. Indeed even in Akbar's time an Alla-Upanishad was composed. As it has been the fashion for every type of propagandist in the early and middle ages to give sacredness to his work by calling it an Upanishad, the number has swelled to above 200. In 1865 Prof. Max Müller gave 149 of them and in 1875 Prof. Weber enumerated 235 (See Kaegi's *Rigvēda*, p. 101, note 16). It is quite common to find different numbers in the different corporate editions of this type of literature. Traditionally 108 of them have become famous in orthodox circles. But even of these, only ten have been commentated upon by the great Āchāryas as the most authoritative and ancient; and of the rest 32 have been chosen by them for elucidation, though these are 'minor' when compared with the Daśōpanishads. Western scholars assign fourteen of these works to the Vēdic times.

The bibliography of the Upanishads is very voluminous. It is the one branch of Vēdic literature where Indian scholars have shown great enthusiasm. In 1656 Dara translated fifty of the Upanishads into Persian. M. Anquetil du Perron translated it into Latin in 1801. This 'jargon' which has been analysed by A. Weber in his Ind. Stud. (Vols. 2 and 9), inspired German research into Vēdic literature. Leaving apart special editions we may note these general works. In 1890-1 Otto Bohtlingk translated and critically examined several Upanishads in the Leipzig Journal (BSGW). In the same year G. A. Jacob published, besides eleven Atharvaṇa Upanishads, a valuable concordance, in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. In 1896 the 108 Upanishads were printed in Grantha characters by Mūñjūr Rāmachandra Śāstri in the Star of India Press, Madras. In 1897 Deussen investigated the subject in Leipzig. In 1898 Mr. Sitarāma Śāstri translated five principal Upanishads with Śaṅkara's commentary. Prof. Max Müller has translated twelve principal Upanishads in Vols. I and XV of the Sacred Books of the East Series. In 1910 Mr. S. A. Bhagawan published eleven principal Upanishads; in 1913, 108 Upanishads; in 1917, 112 works; and in 1918, 28 works,—all in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. In 1912 and 1920 the Sanyāsa and Yōga Upanishads were published by A. Mahadeva Śāstri at Madras, with the commentary of Śrī-Upanishad Brahma-Yōgin on the latter. F. Otto Schrader has published the Minor Upanishads. In 1921 Mr. R. E. Hume published 13 principal Upanishads at Oxford, with a

valuable bibliography. In the same year Prof. Hillebrandt issued select German translations from the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads at Jena, and Mr. Mahādēva Śāstri a number of Śaiva and Śāktaic Upanishads in Madras. The principal Upanishads with Śrī Madhvāchārya's commentary have been translated by Rai Bahadur Śiriś Chandra (Vidyārṇava). The Bibliotheca Indica and the Anandāsrama series (Nos. 5—17, 29—31, 62—4) have printed almost all the works. It may be pointed out here that an attempt at a synthetic commentary on 108 Upanishads by Appayāchārya, Tinnevelly, is in MS. in the Vēdic mission founded locally by Pandit G. Kṛshna Śāstri. S. K. Belvaker has published 'Four Unpublished Upanishad Texts' at Poona.

The Aitarēyōpanishad, one of the great ten Upanishads, forms part of the Āraṇyaka of the Ṛg-vēda. "The second and third Praśnas of the Aitarēya Araṇyaka," say Profs. Seshagiri Śāstri and Rangacharya, "are known by the general name of Upanishad, sometimes as Bahvṛchōpanishad or Mahaitarēyōpanishad, while Adhyāyas 4 to 7 of the second Praśna are more particularly named Aitarēyōpanishad." (Descriptive Cat., Vol. I, Pt. 3, p. 513). Śaṅkarāchārya's commentary deals with the whole second Praśna in the Madras MSS., but the India Office Library catalogue refers to his commentary on Adhyāyas 4 to 7 alone, (*Ibid*, p. 315). Śaṅkara's commentary has been elucidated in the gloss of Gṅānēndra Yati who was apparently a collaborator with Sāyaṇa as the work has been included in the latter's Vēdārthaprakāśa. The A. U. was translated by O. Bohtlingk in 1889 into German and published by Bhadkamkar at Bombay in 1899. The Poona edition has Śaṅkara's commentary and Vidyāraṇya's gloss on it. The Bombay edition has the glosses of Madhva and Tāmraparṇīya.

The Kauśitaki U. forms part of the Āraṇyaka of the same. For its bibliography see that of the latter.

The Chhāndogyopanishad of the Sāma-vēda, the first section of which is an Araṇyaka, has been translated by Max Müller (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. I); by Bohtlingk (1889); Gaṅganath Jha (Madras, 1899) and R. E. Hume (1928). It has been edited more than once at Poona and one of these has the glosses of Surēśvarāchārya and Ānandagiri. A Bombay edition gives the commentary of Madhva and a later gloss on it.

The Kēna (Talavakāra) U which forms part of the Jaiminīya Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa Āraṇyaka, was edited by H. Oertal in JAOS

(1896). It has been printed at Poona with all the well-known glosses of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Śaṅkarānanda, Nārāyaṇa, etc., by Śrīdhara Śāstri (1919); at Madras by Sītārāma Śāstri and Prof. M. Hiriana: and at Allahabad by Śiris Chandra. The Bombay edition has the gloss of Madhva and sub-gloss of Vyāsa Tīrtha.

The Kaṭhōpanishad of the Kṛshṇa Yajur-vēda has been edited with Śaṅkara's gloss at Poona (1919), and with Madhva's and Vyāsa Tīrtha's at Bombay. It has been translated by Whitney in Vol. 21 of the Transactions of the American Philological Association and by M. Hiriana (Madras). Bohtlingk, R. Fritzsche, Hillebrandt, Hertal and others have dwelt on the different aspects of it.

The Śvētāśvatarōpanishad of the Kṛshṇa Yajur-vēda has been translated for the Panini Office by Siddhesvara Prasad Varma Śāstri. R. G. Bhandarkar and Weber have analysed it in "*Vaishnavism, etc.*, and Indische Studien, Vol I. It has been published at Poona with Śaṅkara's gloss.

The Taittiriya and Mahānarāyaṇa Upanishads are the concluding portions of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the latter being, in the opinion of most scholars, a late addition. Prof. Zimmerman has dealt with the Mahānārāyaṇa U in Ind. Ant., Vol. 44 (1915), p. 130 f. It has been edited in the Bombay Sanskrit Series and in Madras, with Śaṅkara's and Vanamāla glosses. The Poona editions have Śaṅkara's, Śankarānanda's, and Surēśvarāchārya's glosses. Prof. Barth contributed a valuable note to the Review of Religions, Paris, 1889.

The Maitrāyanīya Upanishad which is usually connected with the Kṛshṇa Yajur-vēda, has been edited with Rāmatīrtha's commentary, in the Bibliotheca Indica Series by E. B. Cowell and Vidyābüshaṇa (1913). Mahadēva Śāstri's edition of it in the *Sāmānyā Vēdāntu Upanishads* has only five instead of seven Prapāṭhakas. Schrader gives a metrical version of the U. This U. has got several recensions.

The Īśa or Īśāvāsya Upanishad of the Śukla Yajur-vēda (Vājasanēyi) has been translated by H. Baynes into English verse in *Ant. Ind.* (1897) and into prose by Arrobindo Ghose (Ideal and Progress Series, No. 5, Calcutta). Other translations are those of Sītārāma Śāstri, Siris Chandra, and M. Hiriana (Madras). The work has been printed in Poona with Śaṅkara's gloss, and at Bombay with the tīkās of Madhvāchārya and Jayatīrtha.

The Bṛhadāraṇyakōpanishad is really the six Adhyāyas, II to VIII, of the Araṇyaka of the Śukla-Yajur-vēda. The colophon of one of the MSS in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library runs to this effect:— इति वाजसनेयान्तर्गतकाण्वीये शुक्लयजुर्वेदे शतपथब्राह्मणे सप्तदशकाण्डे बृहदारण्यकाण्डे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥. It is one of the ten Upanishads on which Śaṅkara, Ānandatīrtha (metrical) and Nityānandāśrama have expounded. A gloss on Śaṅkara's work by Ānandagūāna is available. The first European edition of the Upanishad was by Poley (Bonn, 1844) and the next by Otto Bohtlingk (1889). It has been edited and translated in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. Select portions have been translated into English by Max Müller and Muir. Three Poona editions give the glosses of Raṅga Ramānuja, Rāmarāja and Nityānanda; and the Bombay edition gives those of Madhva and Raghūttama. Mr. Hiriana and several others have translated it at Madras.

The Muṇḍakōpanishad of the Atharva-vēda, the Upanishad of the 'bald-headed,' the sacred book of some sect of ascetics who had shaven heads (like the later Jainas), was edited with glosses of Śaṅkara and Ānandagiri by J. Hertal at Leipzig in 1924. In 1898 Mr. Sitarama Sastri translated it at Madras. It has been published at Poona with Śaṅkara's Bhāshya and Nārāyaṇa's Dīpika on the latter; and at Bombay with Madhva's and Vyāsa Tirtha's gloss and sub-gloss.

The Praśnōpanishad of the Atharva-vēda has been treated of by Bohtlingk (1890) and by Hillebrandt in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (ZDMG), Vol. 68, 1914, 58 ff). Śaṅkara has commented on it; and this, with Śaṅkarānanda's Dīpika, has been printed at Poona. A commentary on Śaṅkara's work by an unknown author is referred to in Prof. M. Seshagiri Sastri's Des. Catal. Sans. Tam. MSS. 1896-7, No. 1, 69. Another gloss on Śaṅkara's by Nārāyaṇēndra Sarasvati is noticed in Des. Catal. Sans. MSS. (Govt. Orient. MSS. Libr., Madras), Vol. I, Vēdic Literature, Pt. 3, p. 463 ff. Ānandatīrtha has a metrical commentary on this Upanishad in support of Dvaita-vēdānta and it has been printed at Bombay with Jaya-tīrtha's sub-gloss. It is one of the Upanishads translated by Sītarama Śāstri.

The Māṇḍukyōpanishad, the antiquity of which has been doubted, is noticed by H. Baynes in Ind. Ant. Vol. 26 (1897), p. 169 ff. It has been printed with Śaṅkara's gloss and Śaṅkarānanda's Dīpika at Poona, and with Madhva's gloss and Vyāsatīrtha's sub-gloss at Bombay. M. L. N. Dvivēdi has translated it into English.

The language, the philosophy and other aspects of the Upanishads have been the favourite themes of specialists. They are dealt with elsewhere.

Passing on to the Sūtras, the bibliography of the Vēdalakshaṇas (the Śikshā, the Chhandas, the Padapāṭha, the Kramapāṭha, the Jaṭapāṭha, the Ghanapāṭha, the Prātiśākhyas and the Anukramaṇikas), of the Nirukta and of Vyākaraṇa and Jyōtisha, is given later on as they really belong, in spite of their religious origin, to the sphere of learning, literature, science and art. See also Chapter II.

The Kalpasūtra of the Rg-vēda consists of the Aśvalāyana Śrautasūtra, the Gṛhyasūtra of the same school, the Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra and the Gṛhyasūtra of the same school. The first of these has been edited in the Bibliotheca Indica Series and at Poona, the latter with the commentary of Gārgya-Nārāyaṇa. The second of the above has been edited with Gārgya-Nārāyaṇa's commentary in the Bibliotheca Indica Series (1869), at Bombay and, with Haradatta's commentary, in Trivandram Sanskrit Series (No. 78, 1923). The text alone of the Gṛhyasūtra has been printed at Bombay. A.F. Stenzler translated it into German (1864-5) and H. Oldenberg into English (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 29). The Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra has been printed with the text alone at Poona and with Haradatta's commentary at Calcutta (Biblio. Ind. 1888). See JRAS 1907, p. 110 for Keith's remarks. The Gṛhyasūtra has been edited by Oldenberg (Ind. Stud. 15) and translated into English (Sacred Books of the East Vol. 29). The Kauśītakigṛhyasūtra has been edited by R. G. Bhatta in the Benares Sanskrit Series, 1908. The Vasishṭha Dharma-śāstra is a later work and edited by Führer (Bombay, 1883).

Of the Sāmavēda Kalpa: The Lāṭyāyana-Śrautasūtra has been edited in Biblio. Ind. Series and translated partly into German by R. Simon (1923). The Drāhyāyana Śrautasūtra has been edited with Dhanvin's commentary (London, 1904) by Dr. J. N. Reuter and the Vṛtti Rudraskandha-praṇati has been published at Poona. The Jaiminīya-Śrautasūtra has been partly translated by Dr. Dieuke Gaastra at Leyden (1906), and edited with text, notes and index. The Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra has been edited with extracts from Sanskrit commentary and with notes, introduction and translation into English by Dr. W. Caland for the Punjab Sanskrit Series (No. 2, 1922). The Gōbhila Gṛhyasūtra has been edited with commentary in the Biblio. Ind. Series (1906—8)

by C. Tarkalankar and translated into English by Oldenberg in Vol. 30 of the Sacred Books of the East Series. A Gōbhila-gṛhya-karma-prakāśika has been published at Benares. A rare and old German edition of this Gṛhyasūtra with translation and commentary was issued by F. Knauer (1884—6). The Mantra-Brāhmaṇa of this Sūtra has been published by S. Sāmaśramin (Calcutta 1890) and put in German by H. Stonner (1901) and H. Jorgensen (1911). The Khādira Gṛhyasūtra has been edited and translated into English by Oldenberg in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 29. A Madras edition has also appeared with commentary. The Ārshēyakalpa (Maśakakalpasūtra) has been edited with notes by W. Caland (Leipzig, 1908). The Gautama dharmasūtra has been edited at Madras with the *Mīśkariya* gloss; at Poona with Haradatta's gloss; translated by Bühler in SBE Vol. 2 and edited by Stenzler, London, 1876.

The Kalpa of the Kṛshṇa Yajurvēda is remarkable for the completeness of its divisions. The Baudhāyana Śrauta-sūtra has been edited at Calcutta by W. Caland (Biblio. Ind. 14 parts, 1904 f.); the Gṛhyasūtra by L. Srinivasacharya (Mysore, 1904.); the Dharmasūtra by Hultzsch (Leipzig 1884) and Bühler in Vol. 14 of the Sacred Books of the East; and the Śulva-sūtra by Dr. Thibaut (The Pandit, Benares). The Bōdhāyana Gṛhya-pariśishṭa Sūtra has been edited with English translation and notes by Harting (1922) and the Pitṛmēdhasūtra in it by C. H. Raabe (with commentary, translation and three illustrations). The Apastambīya Śrautasūtra has been edited by R. Garbe (Biblio. Ind., 1882 f.) and translated into German by W. Caland (1922 to 1925). The Gṛhyasūtra has been edited with extracts from the commentaries of Haradatta and Sudarśanāchārya by Dr. Winternitz (Vienna, 1887). It has been translated into English by Oldenberg in Vol. 30 of the Sacred Books of the East. The Dharmasūtra has been edited by Bühler (Bombay 1868—72) and translated in Vol. 2, SBE. The Śulva-sūtra was edited (and translated into German) by Albert Bürk (1901-2). The Mantrapāṭha of the school has been edited by Winternitz (Oxford, 1897). The Mānava Śrautasūtra (Chayanam) has been edited by J. M. Gilder (Leyden, 1921) and the Gṛhyasūtra by F. Knauer (St. Petersburg 1897). The latter has also edited part of the Śrauta-sūtra. The allied Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra has been edited by Caland (Lahore, 1929). The Bharadvāja Gṛhyasūtra has been edited by J. W. Solomons (Leyden 1913). The Hiraṇyakēśi Śrautasūtra is published as No. 53 of Poona Anandāśrama Series, and the Gṛhya-

sūtra edited by J. Kirste (Vienna, 1889). It has been translated by Oldenberg in Vol. 30 of the Sacred Books of the East Series. The Dharmasūtra is practically identical with the Āpastambīyan. The Vādhūla and Vaikhānasa Sūtras have been partly noticed by W. Caland and Th. Bloch (Leipzig 1896). See also No. 28 of Trivandram Sanskrit Series.

The Kalpa-sūtras of the Śukla Yajur-vēda are:—(1) The Kātyāyana Śrautrasūtra, edited by Weber; (2) the Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra (edited in German by A. F. Stenzler 1876, in Sanskrit by L. Sarman of Bombay 1890, and translated by Oldenberg in S. B. E., Vol. 29); and the Kātyāyana-Śulva Sūtra, a pariśishṭa of which has been published by Thibaut (Benares., *Pandit* New Series, Vol. 4).

The Kalpa of the Atharva-vēda has got only the Kauśika-Sūtra (edited by Bloomfield with the gloss of Darila and Kēśava 1890 and noticed largely by Oldenberg in Vol. 42 of Sacred Books of the East) and the later Vaitāna Śrautasūtra. The last was first edited and translated by R. Garbe (1878); then by W. Caland (1910). Its place in the evolution of the Atharvaṇa literature has been treated of by W. Caland, Keith (JRAS 1910, p. 934 ff) and others.

The Pariśishṭas, Prayōgas and other minor works are referred to in the chapter on religious life.

The evolution of the Epics, Purāṇas, etc., is traced in a number of works. Amongst these may be noted: Hopkins's 'The Great Epic of India,—its character and origin; H. Jacobi's Mahābhārata (German); J. Dahlmann's 'Mahabhārata Studien,' 2 Vols; C. V. Vaidya's 'Mahābharata, a criticism'; Sorensen's 'Complete Index to the Mahābhārata'; R. T. H. Griffith's 'Metrical Translation of the Rāmāyana'; H. Jacobi's Rāmāyana' criticised constructiveiy by J. B. Keith in JRAS. 1916; Chanda's Indo-Aryan Races; Pargiter's 'Dynasties of the Kali Age' (Introduction) and 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition'; besides the general literary histories of Weber, Max-Müller, Macdonell, Fraser and Winternitz. The bibliography in the last of these works is up-to-date.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL LESSONS OF VĒDIC LITERATURE.

In the first volume of this History, a chapter has been devoted to the Vēdic chronology and it has been shown how the views of scholars range from the sixth millennium B.C. to 1200 B.C. for the earlier layers of the Vēdic literatures, and from about 800 B.C. to 200 B.C. for the latest or Sūtraic layer. It may be said at once that the attribution of the Śūtras by one school[1] to the period subsequent to 600 B.C. is positively unacceptable. It is a patent fact that the Buddhistic literature presupposes the Sūtra style and works; and a date which goes below 600 B. C. for the early Sūtrakāras must be pronounced to err against an elementary fact of Indian history. It should be further remembered that, as the Sūtras belong to a number of Vēdic schools and deal with a considerable variety of subjects to which scores and generations of teachers contributed, they could not have been composed in a single, definite or short period, but on the contrary in the course of a period ranging over many centuries. In discussing their date, moreover we should remember that there is no order, chronological or other, in the six Vēdāṅgas. It would not be correct to say, for instance, that the Śikshas came first, the Niruktas second, and so on. Each Vēdāṅga was, broadly speaking, synchronous with the others. Further, to say that every one of the Vēdāṅgas was subsequent to the Āraṇyakas and Upanishads and that there was a definite demarcation between the two would be incorrect. Though it cannot be gainsaid that the main portion of the Sūtra period was subsequent to the main portion of the Brāhmaṇic and Upanishadic period, it would be incorrect to say that

[1] Tentatively by Max Müller (A Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit. p. 244) and dogmatically by Whitney, Macdonell and others.

the latest portions of the latter were earlier than the earliest portions of the former. The style of the Brāhmaṇas[1] is occasionally the style of the Sūtras. One of the Upanishads positively refers to the six Vēdāṅgas[2]. The Sūtras were distinctly and unmistakably pre-Buddhistic. The very discourses of the Buddha were called Suttas or didactic sermons. The Gautamadharma-sūtra distinctly mentions the Vēdāṅga as one of the bases of judicial administration. The earlier Sūtraic literature thus was practically co-eval with the Brāhmaṇic and Upanishadic literature.

What was the general date of the Sūtras, then? It is obvious that a satisfactory answer to this question would enable us to fix the date of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads; and the definition of the time-limits of the latter in its turn would enable us to fix the date of the later Vēdas and their original source, the Ṛg-vēda.

We shall take the Kalpasūtras first and trace the chronology backwards from them. We have already seen that there were three branches of the Kalpasūtra literature; that there were numerous sub-branches or schools in each of these, and that many centuries intervened between the earliest and latest members of any particular school or sub-school. We have also seen that, of the four or five prominent Sūtrakāras, Vasishṭha was later than the others; that Āpastamba came before him; that Bōdhāyana lived before Āpastamba; and that Gautama was the earliest.

Leaving Vasishṭha[3] apart who seems to be unanimously regarded as one who lived beyond the borderland of the Vēdic period, Bühler[4] argues for Āpastamba a date which is

[1] Many passages in the Śaṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra, for example, are pointed out by Weber, Hillebrandt and Winternitz, to be similar to those of the Brāhmaṇas. The same is the case with the Baudhāyana Kalpasūtra. See Winternitz's Hist. Ind. Lite., Vol I, p. 271.

[2] See p. 24 *ante*. The word Sūtra as a book of rules is referred to in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka U. Vēdic Index,' Vol II, p. 463.

[3] Sacred Books of the East, Vol 14.

[4] *Ibid*. Vol. 2.

neither too early nor too far removed from the Vēdic period. Āpastamba, he points out, refers to the four Vēdas and the six Vēdāṅgas and is further acquainted with the tenets of the Pūrva-Mīmāmsa and the Vēdānta, though he does not *name* Jaimini or the Vēdāntic school. Āpastamba also gives a clue to the existence of the kernel of the Purāṇas, and names the Bhavishya-purāṇa as well as a supplement of the Atharva-vēda. He further wrote in the Dakkan, among the Āndhras of the south-eastern coast, as Professor Hopkins lucidly observes, which was already subject to Vēdic culture. These are late features. On the contrary, he uses words and forms which are transitional between the Vēdic and the Pāṇinīyan epochs, as well as words found only in developing Prākrits. His work is also characterised by some irregularities of the pre-Pāṇinīyan age or an age when Pāṇini was not yet quite distinguished or famous. From all these facts Bühler concludes (1) that Āpastamba belonged to an age when the Āryan civilization was already so powerful in the Dakkan as to give rise to Vēdic schools; (2) that he was, however, within the range of the Vēdic period; (3) that he probably lived before Pāṇini was born or at least became famous; (4) that he could be assigned to a date "long before the authentic history of India begins about 500 B. C. with the Persian conquest of the Punjab and Sindh." The same scholar later on observes: "Whether we assume with Prof. Max Müller that the Sūtra period was one and the same for all the four Vēdas ..... or whether we believe, as I am inclined to do, that the date of the Sūtra period differed for each Vēda, still the incontestable conclusion is that the origin of the Āpastambīya school cannot be placed in the early times of the Vēdic period, and probably falls in the last six or seven centuries before the beginning of the Christian era." On *linguistic* grounds, he continues, Āpastamba cannot be brought to a period later than the 3rd century B. C. and "if his statement regarding Śvētakētu is taken into account, the *lower* limit for the composition of his Sūtras must be put further back by 150 or 200 years." The upper limit must have been of course still later, but earlier than the time of Baudhāyana

Dr. Winternitz[1] goes beyond Bühler in assigning the Āryan occupation of the south to the eighth century B.C., as otherwise the schools of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba could not have risen; but he allows more than two or three centuries for the actual rise of the two schools and places them in the fifth or fourth century B. C. It seems to me that a long interval like this is unnecessary and that the latest date to which Āpastamba can be brought down is B. C. 600.[2] This date is, it is true, later than the date of Pāṇini whom we have assigned to B.C. 700; but this can be explained on the ground that "the Āndhras retained linguistic peculiarities long after Pāṇini fixed the northern usage" (Hopkins). Pāṇini, it should be remembered, does not mention the south.

If Āpastamba can be attributed to before B. C. 600, Bharadvāja who, according to the opinion of most scholars, was immediately earlier than he, can be placed about B.C. 650 at the latest. The Bharadvājas were one of the most ancient Vēdic clans. A Bharadvāja[3] was the author of the sixth Maṇḍala of the Ṛg-vēda; and the members of the family were experts in chanting it. The later Saṁhitas and the Brāhmaṇas give ample reference to the priestly activities of the Bharadvājas in connection with Dīvōdāsa, the Pārāvatas, the Sṛñjayas and others who, though somewhat speculatively, are located by some scholars in the land covered by the later Arachosia and Drangiana. A Gautamīputra figures as the pupil of a Bharadvājī-putra in the Kāṇva recension of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad. From all these facts it is clear that the author of the Bharadvāja-Sūtras belonged to a very ancient and historic clan. But did he belong to the earliest age of the Sūtras or did he live later? From the fact that it was the custom of later

[1] *Hist. Ind. Liter.* p. 299-300.

[2] It seems to me that Prof. Hopkins' theory (See Cambridge History, Vol. I., p. 249.) that Apastamba belonged to second century B. C. is entirely untenable.

[3] All the references to Bharadvāja are put together in Vēdic Index, Vol. II, pp. 97-8.

writers to father their works on sages like Bhāradvāja and Vasishṭha and from internal evidences, scholars have generally concluded that not only was the author of the Kalpasūtra later, but later than the author of the Baudhayana-Sūtras, though earlier than Āpastamba and Hirayaṇkēśin. "There can be no doubt," says Winternitz, "that Baudhāyana is the earliest of these Sūtra-writers, his successors being Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakēśin in chronological order [1]."

Bōdhāyana or Baudhāyana[2], literally the descendant of Bōdha, was not a member of such an ancient clan as that of the Bharadvājas. The Rshi Bōdha, in fact, appears only in the Mantra-pāṭha and, in the different form of Pratibōdha, in the Atharva-Vēda. Still, Baudhāyana, the author of the Sūtras, is regarded as earlier than the author of the Bharadvāja-Sūtras; for his style is more archaic, "sometimes intermediate between Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra style. Baudhāyaṇa is sometimes called a *Pravachanakāra*, and it seems that *Pravachana* is the term for a literary type which forms a transitory stage between Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras [3]." Bühler [4] would place Baudhāyana in the sixth or seventh century B. C. and it is the most plausible theory [5] in spite of contrary views held by Keith and others. If the Āryan occupation of the Dakkan was completed in 700 B. C., he might be even slightly earlier.

[1] Hist. Ind. Liter. Vol. I, p. 278. Vasishṭha is placed by Bühler before Āpastamba and later than Baudhāyana: but whatever might be the date of the original, it is now recognised that the mention of documents as legal proof, the free use of Slōka verse, the recognition of the Dharma Śāstras, the citations from Manu and Vishṇu, and the possible allusion to the Romans (xviii, 4) show it to be the latest of the legal Sūtras. See Cambridge History, I. p. 249.

[2] Vēdic Index, Vol. II, p. 74.

[3] Winternitz, Vol. I, p. 278, foot-note 3.

[4] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II. Introduction.

[5] J. J. Meyer makes Baudhāyana pre-Kauṭilyan. But he is not always consistent as Mr. B. Ghosh shows in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV (1928), p. 570 ff.

If Āpastamba can be attributed to about B.C. 600, Bhāradvāja to B.C. 650 and Baudhāyana to before B.C. 650, Gautama[1] must have been at least a country and a half before the last, that is, about B.C. 800. Gautama figures unlike Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, as a sage of the Rg-vēdic times, closely connected with Aṅgiras. A Gōtama figures in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as the Purōhita of Māthava Videgha who carried the torch of Āryan civilization to the East. He is indeed mentioned in the same work as a contemporary of Janaka and of Yāgñavalkya. He figures in two passages of the Atharva-vēda and to his family belonged the Vājaśravasa Nāchikētas. The slightly different form of Gautama (literally descendant of Gōtama) figures as the common patronymic of several students whose career is described in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads; and of several teachers in the Vaṁśa list of Upanishadic teachers. It is clear from this that the Gautamas were a very ancient clan and performed very valuable services to the Āryan civilization from the Rg-vēda onward to the close of the Upanishadic period; and Gautama figures as the author of the Kalpas. Under these circumstances one is amply justified in placing the author of the Sūtras in the same age as that of the Upanishads or slightly later at the latest; and B.C. 800 is amply justifiable. Gautama is singularly Āryan and Vēdic unlike Āpastamba and Baudhāyana; and as the latter wrote their treatises after the Āryan expansion into the Dakkan, the former, who was a pioneer in the expansion of Āryan culture in Āryavarta, must have been centuries earlier. Haraprasada Śāstri would indeed place him at about B. C. 1000.

This discussion about the chronology of the Kalpa-sūtrakāras cannot be complete without a reference to

[1] All the references in Vēdic literature to Gōtama and Gautama are put together in the 'Vēdic Index' by Macdonell and Keith, Vol. I, pp. 234-5 and pp. 240-1. The arguments of Bühler are in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II, Introduction. J. J. Meyer's attempts to demolish the priority of Gautama is a failure, as Mr. B. Ghosh shows in Ind. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. IV, pp. 585-6.

the attempt made by a few scholars of late to dispute the order of succession given above. One of these, J. J. Meyer[1], boldly argues that Gautama's work is one of the latest of the Smṛtis, much later than those of Vishṇu, Yāgñavalkya and even Mēdhātithi. The Nārada-smṛti which is generally regarded as one of the latest works belonging to the period subsequent to the fifth century[2] A.D., is placed by him practically at the forefront of the Smṛtis! Again, Meyer makes Baudhāyana contemporary with Kauṭilya; but with regard to Āpastamba he is inconsistent, making him at one place post-Kauṭilyan, at another pre-Kauṭilyan, and in a third place pre-Buddhistic. And to make the confusion worse confounded, he would also regard Baudhāyana in one place as pre-Buddhistic! Similarly, he plays with the respective dates of Nārada and Vasishṭha. This awful chaos is due to the worship of particular phrases and passages which he tries to trace through the different works and on the basis of which he draws chronological conclusions. Much erudition is displayed; but the elementary fact on which Bühler insisted so much is forgotten, namely, that these works have had retouches from time to time so that quotations from one another have become common. Nor has Meyer remembered that some passages and thoughts were more or less 'floating' in those centuries and came to be naturally repeated by copyists. Meyer ignores the indirect references of Baudhāyana and Vasishṭha to Gautama. He places Gautama in a later period than Āpastamba or Baudhāyana on the ground that he speaks more about law

[1] In his work: Uber das Wesen der Altindischen Rechtsschriften und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauṭilya. An excellent criticism of this is in Ind. Hist. Quarterly., Vol. IV (1928), pp. 570—92, by Mr. B. Ghosh. A more favourable view is that of Dr. Barnett.

[2] The late date of Nārada has been maintained on the grounds of his elaborate treatment of the laws in their divisions and subdivisions, his mention of the coin *dinara* and his quotations from Manu. Meyer ignores these arguments without sufficient justification. His idea that Nārada was the man who introduced the ordeal system into Hindu law is unacceptable.

proper; and yet he ignores this very basis when he assigns Nārada to an ancient period. Meyer's arguments about the Dharmapāṭhakas and other terms are equally speculative and vitiated by inconsistency or other defects.

A much more reasonable view is that of Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh [1], who would place Āpastamba at an earlier period than Gautama for these reasons. The former is more pre-Pāṇinīyan in language. He is nearer in time to Śvētakētu, the teacher of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and rejects his theory about the study of the Vēda after marriage. Again, Gautama follows Āpastamba in depicting a bald man as a defiler of company and in forbidding the recitation of the Vēdas in towns. The greater puritanism of Āpastamba is not a sign of comparative lateness, but the contrary. Āpastamba's condemnation of Niyōga, his non-acceptance of the Prājāpatya and Paiśācha types of marriage which Gautama accepts, his rugged Brāhmaṇa-like style in contrast to Gautama's Sūtraic style, his ignorance of mixed castes while Gautama mentions even the Yavanas, his sanction of the offering of meat to ancestors which is disallowed by Gautama, his preference of customs to laws upon which Gautama dilates, and his stricter rules regarding punishment and conjugal life, are other arguments on the priority of Āpastamba to Gautama; and the former is placed in the fifth century B. C.

It must be now obvious how hopelessly divided are the views of scholars in regard to the relative ages of the Kalpasūtras. But a dispassionate judgment, it seems to me, is bound to support the order suggested by Bühler on the whole, and place Gautama about 800 B. C. and the others during the three centuries which followed.

We may now pass on to consider the date of the Vyākaraṇa-Sūtras. As has been already said, these had a development for centuries and there were many treatises

[1] Ind. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 606—11.

belonging to the transitional period. Later grammarians[1] refer to the pre-Pāṇinīyan 'Pūrvasūtra' wor's. Pāṇini himself quotes Śakaṭāyana and Apisalī; and Bühler[2] points out that Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyi is only an improved, completed and partially re-written edition of Śakaṭāyana. Burnell[3] also shows how the Aindra School of grammarians had existed before Pāṇini. But we have lost all these early treatises, and as to Pāṇini, he lived at a time when Vēdic Sanskrit was already a thing of the past and when classical Sanskrit was already formed.

Prof. Max Müller[4] placed Pāṇini in the fourth century B. C. Bohtlingk argued that, as according to the Kathāsaritsāgara, Pāṇini was the disciple of a teacher named Upāvarsha in the reign of Nanda, he must be assigned to about B. C. 350. Weber[5] would bring him still further down by half a century, that is, B. C. 300. He argued that Bohtlingk confused the Buddhistic, Śaka and other Yugas in his arguments and regarded Pāṇini's use of the term Yavanāni in the sense of Yavana-lipi possible only after Alexander's invasion. Mr. K. P, Jayasval[6] argues that Pāṇini uses the genetive (as in the expression *dēvānām priya*) to denote contempt; that by the time of Aśōka and even his predecessors it had come to be used in a good sense; that the change from the one to the other must have taken place about 400 or 375 B.C.; that the theory connecting Pāṇini with Nanda is indeed in favour of B. C. 450; that the term Yavana used by Pāṇini must refer not to the Greeks of Alexander's time but to the

[1] See Ind. Ant. Vol. XV, p. 203 ff and Vol. XVI, p. 101 ff where Professor Kielhorn gives an excellent survey of the grammatical literature.

[2] Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI, p. 101-2

[3] The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians (Madras).

[4] Anc Sans. Lite., p. 304—10.

[5] Hist, Ind. Lite, p. 217 ff. The opinion of Weber has been accepted by Kaegi, Rapson, Whitney, Benfey, Sylvan Levi and others. See bibliographical note at the end of the chapter.

[6] See Ind. Ant. Vol 48, p. 138 ff.

Greeks in the service of the Persian emperor who was at Taxila after 500 B. C.; and that the theory of B.C. 300 is too late by at least a century and a half. Dr. Jarl Charpentier also demolishes the *Yavanāni* argument and favours B.C. 500 (Zeits chrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Vol. II, p. 140 ff.)

On the other hand, Theodor Goldstucker [1] would place Pāṇini in the seventh century B.C. He contends that he was earlier than the Kalpasūtras; that the Vājasanēyi Prātiśākhyas are already in the Pāṇiniyan system, while Pāṇini's work itself bears the signs of a growing, transitional and therefore prior language; that Pāṇini was, as he does not distinctly refer to the Atharvāṅgiras, perhaps ignorant of the existence of the Atharva-vēda. Bhandarkar gives the additional arguments that Pāṇini names a number of places which figured in early historical times in the Panjab and Afghanistan [2]; that he mentions the city of Sāgala which was later on destroyed by Alexander; and that he must have been at least four or five centuries prior to Patañjali who lived in the first century before Christ.

The argument that Pāṇini did not know the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Atharva-vēda would be a good argument to show his antiquity if it were true; but we cannot be sure that, even though he was a native of Taxila, he was 'ignorant of the later-Vēdic literature which was mostly composed on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna. At any rate it does not explain how a man of the north-west became such a past-master in the dialect of the Madhyadēśa without a knowledge of the later Vēdic literature. The argument of silence which has been resorted to in connection with this question seems

[1] "Panini, his place in Sanskrit Literature: an Investigation of some literary and chronological questions which may be settled by a study of his works" (Trübner, 1876). For some valuable criticisms by Bhandarkar, see Ind. Ant. Vol. VI, p. 107—113.

[2] Ind Ant. Vol, I. p 21—23; Also *Ibid*, Vol. IV. p 281; and Vol. V., p. 254.

to me to be one of the most amazingly obvious examples of the absurity of carrying it too far. To suppose Pāṇini to be ignorant of the Vēdas in entirety is simply preposterous.

And yet, strangely enough, the argument of silence seems to afford real clue to his date, namely, the lack of reference to Buddhism. This absence of reference to Buddhism clearly indicates that Pāṇini was pre-Buddhistic. It has indeed been argued[1] that the expression कुमारश्रमणादीभिः used by Pāṇini in the second Ashṭaka (II. 1·70) refers to the Samaṇis and Pabbajitas of Buddhism; but this is by no means proved. Indeed to deny the existence of monastic orders before Buddhism is simply absurd. While it is true that Brāhmaṇism was a deadly enemy to the institution of nunnery, it did not, in fact, could not, prevent the pursuit of resignation and retirement by women. It might be exceptional, it might be against the cherished doctrine that woman's natural sphere was at home; but that there were such rare cases can hardly be denied. The expression *kumāra-śramaṇa* cannot therefore be taken to indicate Pāṇini's knowledge of Buddhism.

The linquistic arguments, moreover, in demonstration of the close kinship between the language of the latest period of Vēdic literature and that of Pāṇini have never been overthrown.

On the whole, therefore, the date assigned by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar seems to best indicate the historical environment in which Pāṇini played his part. Pāṇini was perhaps four or five generations before the Buddha or Mahāvīra. The story of the Kathāsaritsāgara connecting him with Nanda must be regarded as a myth and the reference to the Yavana-lipi must be regarded as reference to an ancient pre-Alexandrian Persian script, not the Greek script as Professor Weber would have.

The date of Pāṇini is closely associated with that of Kātyāyana. The Kātyāyana clan seems to have been of

[1] Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in Ind. Ant, Vol. 50 (1921), pp. 82—84.

some note in the age of the Āraṇyakas and Upanishads. A Kātyāyani was one of the wives of Yāgñavalkya and a Kātyāyanī-putra figures as one of the teachers given in the Bṛhadāraṇyakōpanishad. A Jātukarṇa Kātyayanīputra figures in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka. There is a Śrautasūtra in the name of Kātyāyana for the Śukla Yajurvēda, corresponding to which a Śulvasūtra also is available. The Prātiśākhya Sūtra of the Vājasanēya Samhita as well as the Sarvānukramaṇi on the Rg-vēda has been attributed to Kātyāyana. Above all, in Kātyāyana's name there is a vārtika on Pāṇini.

Now, was Kātyāyana the grammarian the same as the author of the Prātiśākhyas? or of the Anukramaṇika? We cannot say. All that we can say is that they were products of the same age and spirit. Whether they were written by the same or different members of the Kātyāyana clan it is not possible to ascertain.

So far as Kātyāyana the grammarian's relation with Pāṇini is concerned, there are two schools of opinion. According to the Kathāsaritsāgara, Kātyāyana was a co-student with Pāṇini and Vyāḍi and studied the grammatical system of Indra under a teacher named Upāvarsha in the Pāṭaliputra court. If this were a fact we must consider that Kātyāyana was, as Max-Müller takes it, contemporary with Pāṇini and both were subsequent to the foundation of Pāṭaliputra in the 5th century. But we have already seen that Pāṇini lived much earlier. Further, it is acknowledged by most scholars, on the basis of internal evidences, that Kātyāyana was separated from Pāṇini by a chronological gap though there is no unanimity as to the duration of this gap. Prof. Kielhorn shows how Kātayāyana[1] differs from Pāṇini in the explanation of several words and how he refers to other scholars and vārtikakāras (like Vājpyāyana, Vyāḍi and Paushkarasādi) who had preceded him and criticised Pāṇini just as his work in turn was explained, amended and criticised by the Bhāradvāja, Śaunaka and other writers in prose and verse, who

[1] Ind. Ant. Vol. 16., p. 103 ff.

were either individuals or members of schools, down to the time of Patañjali. Mr. K. P. Jayasval [1] draws attention to Kātyāyana's note on the शाखपार्थिवानां (2-1-60). He regards the term पार्थिव as appositional to शाख and concludes from it that Kātyāyana must have lived between the rise of the Parthians about B. C. 248 and the time of Patañjali about B. C. 180; that he did not understand the real significance of the term *Pārthiva* and so interpreted *'Śākapārthivas* as Śākabhōjins or eaters of vegetables. The use of the term *Dēvānām-priya* (6-3-21) in a good sense, he points out, is another evidence of Kātyāyana's lateness as compared with Pāṇini.

These arguments seem to be convincing. The only objections to them seem to be that Kātyayāna was ignorant of the Buddhistic meaning of Nirvāṇa in spite of his commenting upon that word, and that he was the author of several Sūtras, indicating thus his existence in pre-Buddhistic times. But it is possible to argue against these objections that Kātyāyana deliberately ignored the Buddhistic meaning and that the author or authors of the Prātiśākhyas and Anukramaṇis were different from the grammarian. It seems plausible therefore to hold that Kātyāyana the grammarian was not contemporary with Pāṇini but on the other hand lived about a century or two later.

Concluding, then, that Pāṇini was pre-Buddhistic, we may now pass on to consider the chronology of the Nirukta. The Nirukta of Yāska alone is now available; but it is well-known that it was only one of the works of the type, perhaps the best and latest of them. Further, the Nirukta only dealt with the etymology of the Vēdic words. The words themselves were dealt with in other special treatises called Nighaṇṭus. The Niruktas thus pre-supposed the Nighaṇṭus; and the development of the two types must have occupied centuries; and as it is natural to suppose that the classification of words was accompanied by a knowledge of their derivation, we may be sure that they progressed in parallel lines. Now, the question

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 48, p. 138 ff.

is whether Yāska who wrote his Nirukta on a Nighaṇṭu Samāmnāya, as he calls it, of 1765 Vēdic words, was the author of both or of the former alone. With regard to this question, opinion is divided. Indigenous commentators like Sāyaṇa, Madhusūdana and Svāmi Dayānanda have held that Yāska wrote both; and some modern scholars[1] also hold this view. But, on the contrary, the generality[2] of modern critics from Max Müller and Roth onward have brushed aside the theory of identical authorship. The latter view is evidently supported by the evidences from Yāska himself. As regards the author of the particular Nighaṇṭu on which Yāska wrote his commentary, it is held by some that it was a single work, and by others that it was the work of several[3]. The Mahābhārata[4] mentions a Kāśyapa as the author of the Nighaṇṭu in these verses:—

वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः ख्यातो लोकेषु भारत ।
निघण्टुकपदाख्येन विद्धि मां वृषमुत्तमं ॥
कपिर्वराहः श्रेष्ठश्च धर्मश्च वृष उच्यते ।
तस्माद् वृषाकपिं प्राह काश्यपो मां प्रजापतिः ॥

Kāśyapa[5] is a common patronymic occurring in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Araṇyaka and the Bṛhadarāṇyakōpanishad; and the author of this Nighaṇṭu belongs therefore to this age.

The date of Yāska has naturally been the subject of great discussion. There are some general considerations bearing on it. In the first place the language of the Nirukta

[1] For example, Mr. Chamupati in Ind. Hist. Quarterly, Vol. III., 1927, p. 510 ff.

[2] Several Indlan scholars have endorsed this view, *e.g.*, Sāmaśramin in the Bibliotheca Edition of Yāska, R. D. Karmarkar in Proc. Trans. First Orient. Conf., Poona, pp. 62-67; Siddheshwar Varma in the same, pp. 75-76.

[3] Mr. Karmarkar. See the note above.

[4] As Mr. S. Varma points out in the Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference, it is difficult to give details about Kāśyapa's personality, but it is clear that Yāska was not the author of the Nighaṇṭu.

is more archaic than that of any other non-Vēdic literature. Secondly, Yāska himself mentions seventeen predecessors of his, representing different schools of interpretation. Thirdly, Yāska was acquainted with all the Samhitas, the important Brāhmaṇas, the Prātiśākhyas and a few Upanishads. Fourthly, there were already people in Yāska's time, whose rationalism revolted against the theory of Vēdic revelation and sanctity and held it in contempt.

The logical inference from these considerations is that, while the Nirukta was early in date it was not very early. The language shows antiquity; but the long succession of previous teachers, the acquaintance with the later Vēdic literature and the reference to rebellious rationalism would seem to indicate that a date earlier than the close of the Vēdic literature cannot be conceded. "Certain it is," says Dr. Winternitz[1], "that Yāska had many predecessors, and that his work, though certainly very old and the oldest existing Vēda-exegetic work, can nevertheless only be regarded as the last, perhaps also the most perfect, production of the literature of the Vēdāṅga Nirukta."

The general result of these considerations is that Yāska must be regarded as the product of the very age which produced Pāṇini. What the latter did for Vyākaraṇa at the fag-end of the Vēdic period, the former did for Nirukta. Both were children of the same spirit, wedded to the same principle of scientific pursuits for the sake of the Vēdas. Both were pre-Buddhistic.

Naturally the question here arises as to which of these was earlier. With regard to this, opinion is divided. The majority[2] of scholars seem to be agreed that Yāska was

[1] Hist. Ind. Liter, I. p. 288.

[2] For example, Goldstucker in his 'Pāṇini and his place in Sansk. Lite.'; Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar,' Poona, 1915; Lakshman Sarup in "The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta, the oldest Indian Treatise on the Etymology, Philosophy and Semantics," Oxford, 1920; P. D. Gune in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 43 ff.

earlier on these grounds. First, Pāṇini uses the expression *Yaskādibhyō gōtrē*. Secondly, he uses the term Upasarga (prefix or preposition) in many of his Sūtras without defining it and therefore pre-supposing it, while Yāska deals with it as if he is dealing with new things. But on the other hand, it is argued[1] that Pāṇini quotes only from two Brāhmaṇas while Yāska quotes from more; that the respect of the former for the Brāhmaṇas and Nigamas was apparently considerably less than that of the latter; that the former in fact did not perhaps concede the *vēdatva* of the Brāhmaṇas; that the Atharva-vēda was not regarded evidentiy as one of the Vēdas by Pāṇini while even its Brāhmaṇa, the Gōpatha, reputedly a late one, is quoted by Yāska; that Pāṇini did not know the Upanishads while Yāska quotes from a certain Upanishad-mantra; and that Pāṇini does not refer to Vārshyāyani who is quoted by Yāska. It is also pointed out that Yāska's statement at one place about the uselessness of the study of the Vyākaraṇa without the study of the Nirukta was perhaps a hit at Pāṇini. Finally, it is argued, Pāṇini refers to all kinds of literature in his time, but does not mention the Nirukta.

The attempts at defining the comparative chronology of Yāska and Pāṇini fail to carry conviction in favour of either view. Every one of the arguments on both sides is based on conjecture in interpretations or the absence of express references. Both the criteria are extremely dangerous when applied to Vēdic literature. It is sufficient for the historian to note that both were children of the same spirit and of the same age. Yāska, like Pāṇini, can be roughly placed about B. C. 700, as it is done by Mr. Belvalkar. There is a general tendency to bring him down by about two centuries; but it seems to err on the side of lateness. In the passage[2] शवतिर्गतिकर्मा काम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते। विकारमस्यार्येषु भाषन्ते शव इति, we find Yāska making a distinction between the

[1] Mr. K. G. Subrahmanyam in the 'Madras Journal of Oriental Research,' April 1927, pp. 188-190.

[2] See Ind. Ant. Vol. 45 (1916), p. 176 for Dr. Gune's criticism of Dr. Roth in regard to this passage.

Kāmbōjas and the Āryans. Yāska belonged to the age of the expansion of the Āryans like the compilers of later Vēdic literature.

We may now pass on to the Vēda-lakshaṇa which includes the Chhandas, the Śikshā, the Prātiśākhyas, and the Anukramaṇikas. The Śikshā in its turn includes the Padapāṭha, the Kramapaṭhā, the Jaṭāpaṭha and the Ghanapāṭha. The literature of the Vēda-lakshaṇa was thus very extensive and variegated. The enumeration and analyses of these are done in the chapter on the development of learning and science. We are concerned now only with their place in Vēdic chronology.

The great point to be noticed in regard to the relative chronology of these is the fact that their authors have always been traditionally believed to be the sages connected with the other Sūtras we have studied. For example, the Śikshā is connected with the nine sages Bharadvāja, Vyāsa, Śambhu, Pāṇini, Kōhali, Bōdhāyana, Vasishṭha, Vālmīki and Harita. The Prātiśākhyas are similarly connected with Kātyāyana, Śaunaka and others. In the very face of things it is clear that the different types of the Lakshaṇa literature rose in the same times and under the same inspirations as the rituals, grammars and lexicons. Indeed, the accentuation, the pronunciation, the metre, the syntax, the gestures and tones, the method of chanting and numerous other techniques pre-suppose their growth from even earlier times than the details of the rituals. And, as Dr. Belvalkar[1] points out, the all-devouring time has made havoc with a large portion of this technical literature: "Vast as is the mass of the extant literature that falls under the denomination of the Vēda, that which is lost is still vaster. Great and pains-taking as have been the efforts of the authors of the Padapāṭha, the Prātiś'ākhyas, the Brāhmaṇas and the several Vēdāṅgas—not to speak of professed exegetics like Yāska and Sāyaṇa—the efforts, the works and authors, which they pre-suppose and actually mention by

[1] Presidential Address, Vedic Section, Second Oriental Conference, 1922, Calcutta.

name and of which unhappily no vestiges have been preserved to us are *at least thrice as great and voluminous*. And while we are justly proud of this priceless ancient heritage and deeply grateful to those to whom we owe its preservation, we cannot help giving out at times a sign of regret at the thought as to how much more rich and fruitful and world-inspiring would have been the influence and achievement of that same Vēda if it had been preserved to this day along with all its varied paraphernalia of ancillary texts, glosses, manuals and what not, compiled as they have been with differing motives and from different points of view." Taking the Padapāṭha, for example, there are portions of Samhitas with no Padapāṭhas now available. The Anukramaṇis, again, prescribe specific mantras to specific rituals. The connection between these is not clear and pre-supposes a long-forgotten tradition.

There has been a general tendency in the past to ignore these facts and to bring the exegetic literature to a ridiculously late period. A fine example of the misleading pedantry which has been displayed on the question is afforded by the controversy about the nasal sound *ranga* which figures in the Pāṇinīya-śikshā, in the verse:—

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी अरां (तक्रं) इत्यभिभाषते ।
एवं रङ्गं विजानीया त्खे अरां इव खेदया ॥

"Just as the women of Saurāshṭra address with the word अरान्, just so one ought know the *ranga*." Weber[1] corrected the word अरां in the first line into खरां and believed it was the adoption of a Greek word and that the Saurāshṭra women of old used to greet one another with the Greek word ; and that the manner in which they uttered the final letter of this Greek word was prescribed by the Sikshā to be the right way of pronouncing the *ranga* sound of the Vēdas.

Prof. Kielhorn showed the hollowness of this. He pointed out there was no necessity to change तक्र into खर.

[1] Ind. Stud., Vol. IV., p. 270 and IX, p. 380.

"Years ago," he says, "when conversing with a native friend of mine who was to have been a reciter of the Rigvēda, I asked for the explanation of the above verse, and what I learnt from him was that the *ranga* ought to be pronounced like the final sound of the word तक्रं when shouted by dairy women in the street. Had I had any doubt as to the correctness of this explanation it would have been removed by the following passage from the commentary in the *Sarvasammatashikshā* which I subsequently received from Maisur:—सौराष्ट्रदेश उत्पन्ना स्त्री तक्र-विक्रयार्थं यथा तक्रं इति कांस्य-ध्वनिसमं भाषत एवं वेदेऽपि रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः। वेद उदाहृत्य दर्शयति। खे अरो इव खेदयति॥ See Rigvēda VIII. 77, 3."

Prof. Weber[1] stuck to his gun in a reply to Kielhorn and reiterated the debt of the Saurāshtra women to the Greeks for addressing each other. "For the adoption of such a Greek phrase I call to account the predominance of Greek influence in Saurāshtra lasting for some centuries, as I had pointed to the possibility of some such contingency already the very first time when I touched upon the subject (Ind. Stud., Vol. IV., p. 269, *note*). Now there is certainly nothing so uncommonly strange in the adoption of foreign greeting formulas. We Germans, for instance, use constantly, when parting, the French formula *adieu*, changed to *adje*, *adies*, *ade* ..... And French influence has not been predominating in Germany for so long a period as the Greek, in all probability, has done in India." Prof. Weber goes on to suggest that the declamation was probably employed by the Saurāshtra women during the *lāsya* style of dancing for which they were famous and not to their shouting the word तक्रं as dairy women in the street. They were never known to be dairy women, but they were well-known for the lāsya. Kielhorn's criticism, moreover, did not touch the reading *arām*. The expression *abhibhāshatē* moreover could refer only to a greeting; and as neither अरा nor तक्रं had any sense, खेरां was more probable; and this was adapted from Greek.

[1] Ind Ant., V, pp. 253—55.

The whole controversy, it seems to me, was due to that obsession which always troubled Weber's mind, namely, the feeling that for anything and everything in India we have to go to Greek influence! It is a pretty idea that the Saurāshṭra women learnt a style of dancing from the Greeks and that the author of the Pāṇinīya-śikṣha was later than Greek times. It is far too imaginative and speculative to carry conviction.

The same charge, though not to the same extent, seems to be justified in the controversy about the relative times of the Śikshā and Prātiśākhyas. According to one school[1] the Śikshas were older; because they are simpler in construction, more homely in illustrations and less strict or concise in terminology than the Prātiśākhyas. Indeed the view is held by them that the elaborate grammatical schools of the Prātiśākhyas were developed out of those of the former. On the other hand, the other school has maintained that the lateness of the Sikshās is clear from several evidences. Such an important work as Vyāsaśikshā is only a metrical version of the Taittirīyaprātiśākhya. Śaunaka and other authors of the Prātiśākhāyas, again, are quoted in the Yāgñavalkya or Kātyāyana-śikshā. The Sarvasammata and other Śikshās again cite the Prātiśākhyas and claim to be superior in authority as lions are to deer. The Śikshās are high-sounding and ancient in names, but 'modern compilations, as a rule, edited with very little skill.' The contents of the Śikshās, again, are more minute and more detailed. The denotation of the Svaras by the hands and fingers is more exact. The Vṛttis and Svaras are better classified. The simplicity of the Śikshās is due to the desire of their authors to teach the uninitiated, not to greater antiquity.

As usual, both these schools have lost the truth in their wranglings. It would be equally false to say that the Śikshas were later or earlier than the Prātiśākhyas.

[1] Prof. Haug and Dr. Burnell belong to this school. See the former's 'Essay on the Nature and Value of Accents in the Vēda' and he latter's 'Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians'. Prof. Kielhorn takes the other view. See Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 142.

Both were inspired by the same circumstances. Both were composed by the same types of intellects and the same types of students and specialists. It was not possible for the one to be earlier or later than the other, though individual works in one might be so when compared with individual works of the other. The ingenuity, the erudition, the earnestness, that has been expended on the question of comparative chronology of these two types of exegetic literature is indeed marvellous; but it has failed to clarify the situation or add to knowledge. As the output of strenuous intellectuals, the discussion is of value; but as profitable knowledge it has broken down under the weight of its own wrangles and cobwebs. The general notion of the objects and subjects of the Lakshaṇa literature is sufficient to show that it was completely pre-Yāska and pre-Buddhistic. On intrinsic grounds it could not be brought down to times when the Vēdas became secondary in importance or influence in the country. It may not be that all the Rshis traditionally associated with the Lakshaṇa literature can be put into relation with the Rshis mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas; but it is wrong, as Dr. Belvalkar[1] says, "to believe that the entire Rshi list has been merely the unhistorical and unscrupulous fabrication of a crafty priesthood."

We now come to the Vēdāṅga Jyōtisha, the object of which was to fix the days and hours of sacrifices. Many scholars, however, are sceptical as to its value for the deduction of Vēdic chronology. Keith[2], for example, points out that no work on astronomy is referred to in the Samhitas and the Brāhmaṇas and that the Vēdāṅga Jyōtisha, which claims to represent the astronomical science of the Vēda, is, though unknown in date, undoubtedly late in form and contents, and therefore useless for purposes of chronological inference.

[1] Proc. Trans., 2nd Orient. Con., Calcutta, 1922, Vēdic Section, p. 6.

[2] Camb. Hist., Vol. I, p. 148. Also pp. 111-2 where Dr. Giles gives the same view.

It has been held, on the other hand, that, though the form of the work indicates an age later than that of the early Sūtras, the contents can by no means be regarded as late. There can be no doubt of the antiquity of the references in the Jyōtisha to the lunar zodiac, that is, the position of the moon in the twenty-seven Nakshatras, the phenomena of the new and full moon in this circle, the idea of the lunar months based on the twelve full moons, the extension of the names of these divisions to the solar year, the position of the sun and moon at the solstices, the adjustment between the lunar and the solar years, and the division of the day into thirty *muhūrtams*. It should be further remembered that, though we have got only one work on Jyōtisha, it was not the only one in existence in those days. Colebrooke[1] pointed out long ago that there were Jyōtishas for each Vēda, though these have perished. The references in the Samhitas and Brāhmaṇas of the different Vēdas to astronomical phenomena in an incidental manner seem to support this theory of an once extensive literature on the subject. The various systems of calendar pre-suppose a very long period of development. The celestial phenomena referred to indicate observation for ages. The conjunctions of the planets with stars, the position of the latter in relation to the horizon, and the large number of legends in connection with stars, individualistic and collective, indicate the growth of a science for a period extending over centuries. The reference in the Jyōtisha to the position of the sun in the solstices and equinoxes is more exact than in the Brāhmaṇas and later Vēdas, but indicates the same age, more or less, in the main contents.

The *Jyōtisha* refers to the calendrical cycle of five years with the first year beginning[2] " with the month the *pratipad* of the amānta month Māgha, which corresponds more or less to the winter solstice; the third and fifth years have thirteen synodic months each; the other three consist of

[1] Maxmüller's Hist. Sans. Liter., Allahabad Edn., p. 110.

[2] B. V. Kameswara Ayyar in the Journal of the Mythic Society for 1921, pp. 275-6. See also Vēdic Index, Vol. I, p. 423.

twelve synodic months. The intercalation works out at 354 days for the lunar and 366 days for the sidereal year..... The last day of the cycle ended with the amāvāsya of Pausha when the sun and moon were together at the asterism Śraushṭha (sic). This was more or less near the winter solstice. The next cycle began with Māgha Śukla *pratipad*. The first month of the cycle was Māgha (amānta) and the first season was that of Śiśira." Three months after the sun's beginning its northern course came the vernal vishu (equinox). The summer solstice, the autumnal equinox and the seasons, lunar and solar, are also traced. "The solsticial colure cut the winter at the Śravishṭa and the summer solstice at the middle of Āśusha segment. This position, according to Colebrooke and Davis, indicated the fourteenth century before Christ. Max-müller had it recalculated by Archdeacon Pratt, who arrived at 1181 B. C." But Pratt, points out Kameswara Ayyar, was inaccurate by one degree in his assumption of the first point of the ecliptic in Rēvati and this difference "would indicate the middle of the thirteenth century B. C. for the epoch of Vēdāṅga Jyōtisha."

Having endeavoured to ascertain the Sūtraic age, we shall now pass on to the Upanishadic literature and see what light is thrown by the latter on chronology. There is a school which holds that the Upanishads were, as a whole, prior to the Sūtras. That is obviously a mistake; for, we have already seen that portions of Sūtraic literature indicate antiquity which cannot be reconciled with this view. There is no doubt that the earlier of the great Upanishads belong to the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the later to the two or three centuries which immediately followed. Some of the Upanishads were contemporary with the Sūtras, some with the Brāhmaṇas. The latter represent the parallel influence of philosophy and ritualism, the former a more advanced stage of the triumph of philosophy over ritualism. The latest of the major Upanishads may be brought under these circumstances to the slightly pre-Pāṇinīyan date of about B.C. 750, the earlier of course going back by centuries to the Brāhmaṇas themselves. There is a school of writers

who place the Upanishads as a whole in a later period than the Brāhmaṇas as a reaction against them; but this view is clearly untenable. There can hardly be any doubt that in every period of Vēdic religion, philosophy, ritualism, and faith went hand in hand, though emphasis was laid on different aspects in different times; and some of the earliest Upanishads were composed at the very age of the Brāhmaṇas. The kings and sages who figure in the Upanishads, moreover, the geographical environment, and the pre-Buddhistic character of the Upanishadic doctrines indicate that the lowest limit for the major Vēdic Upanishads can hardly be brought further down than 750 B.C. As regards the upper limit, it is impossible to fix it for the reasons already given. It is enough to say that it was coincident with the later period of the development of the Brāhmaṇas.

Passing on to the Brāhmaṇas, we may note at the outset that there is a school who deny that these were later than the Mantras and who condemn the theory of evolution. They assert that the Rg-vēdic hymns pre-suppose the elaborate rituals, speculative ideas, and mystic meanings figuring in the Brāhmaṇas. They believe that the *Nivids*[1] (short sentences giving the names of the deities with their epithets and feats) were older than several of the hymns. They also believe that the same was the case with the *Nigadas*[2] (formulas to be uttered in a low voice). The Samhitas and the Brāhmaṇas, in other words, co-existed according to this school, and the theory that the Rg-vēda was composed in Brahmavarta when the Āryan community scarcely advanced beyond the country of the Sarasvati and that it was collected and arranged later in the upper portion of the Duab when Brāhmaṇism assumed its final form in social and religious matters and institutions is wholly untenable.

[1] See Vēdic Index, Vol. I, p. 452 for contrary view.

[2] See Maxmüller's Hist. Sans. Liter., p. 214. Also Winternitz' Hist. Ind. Liter., Vol. I, p. 163, footnote 1. The Vēdic Index ignores the word.

But this view can hardly be accepted by the modern historian. It is a view based on the divine revelation and eternality of the Vēdas. It is a purely religious conception and cannot satisfy modern rationalism or belief in evolution. And none can deny that, if the human element in the composition of the Vēdas is granted, the later Vēdic literature indicates the period of the Āryan expansion over Hindusthan and the land south of the Vindhyas.

What is the date of the Brāhmaṇas then? In discussing this question some salient and fundamental facts have to be remembered. The Brāhmaṇas form a huge and extensive literature. They include the speculations of scores of Vēdic schools, sub-schools and individuals. They belong to a large geographical area and to a wide range of time. They indicate not only the rise of differences among a large number of Charaṇas or schools, orthodox and schismatic, but show how the same Vēda, Śākhā and Charaṇa[1] came in course of time to comprise different schools. Professor Max-müller, for example, points out how, under Yāgñavalkya, the Vājasanēyi 'revolt' against the Taittiriyas took place and became a separate school with separate Samhitas and Brāhmaṇas. They again exist in corporate forms, indicating a previous period of individual works, many portions of which must have been lost in the course of collective editions. Talking of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, for example, Max-Müller[2] observes that, though it bears the name of Yāgñavalkya, "its component parts, like the component parts of the other Brāhmaṇas, must have been growing up during a long period of time in different localities before they were collected." The Brāhmaṇas must therefore have been composed during many centuries.

The majority of scholars have taken the tentative views of Prof. Max-Müller as axioms and placed the Brāhmaṇas in the period ranging from about 800 B. C. to 600 B. C. Haug

[1] See Maxmuller's Hist. Sans. Liter., p. 65 ff. The Vēdic Index misses this important word.

[2] Hist. Sans. Liter., p. 184-5.

and Dutt placed them between 1400 and 1000. Haraprasada Sastri, following Tilak, assigned it to from 2500 to 1000 B. C. Prof. Jacobi also would assign the Brāhmaṇas to the third millennium B. C.

A large part of the arguments for assigning the earlier of the dates given above to this period of Vēdic literature centres round the astronomical data found scattered here and there in it. Keith[1] objects to the utilisation of these data on three grounds. He believes that there is no distinct evidence in the Vēdic references to astronomical phenomena of the sun's relation to the Nakshatras upon which most of the arguments of Jacobi and others depend. Secondly, he says, the notice regarding the Kṛttikas and other stars cannot be taken seriously in a work which shows little scientific observation ! Thirdly, the Nakshatra system, he believes, was probably borrowed by the Indians ready-made and Kṛttika was placed first in the list for some reason which we cannot conjecture. In spite of this difficulty in conjecturing, he conjectures one, namely, that the system was probably borrowed from Babylonia ![2] On all these grounds, he ignores the astronomical data and, following the earlier views of Max-Müller, *which the latter himself repudiated*, assigns the growth of this later literature, as we have already seen, to between 800 and 600 B. C.

These views are hardly justifiable. Scepticism in the face of enormous mass of evidences can hardly be just in historical criticism. The references to the Kṛttikas and other phenomena are so specific and numerous that they cannot be thrown aside in such a summary fashion. While it cannot be denied that the observations made in those days were much less scientific and much more empirical than in later days, we cannot assert on this ground that there was no astronomical science. The references are too numerous and detailed to justify wholesale rejection. Further, the period assigned by Keith and Macdonell both

[1] Camb. His., p. 148. Also Vēdic Index, Vol. I, 420—7.

[2] Whitney also. See *Encyclo. Brit.*, XI edn., Article on Zodiac

relatively and absolutely is historically, we have seen, inadequate and improbable. Then, again, it is curious that, while Keith recognises the difficulty of conjecture in regard to the origin and growth of the Nakshatra and the allied lore, he gratuitously and inconsistently presumes and suggests a Babylonian origin, even though he acknowledges that there is no definite mention of it in the Babylonian records. To attribute the origin of a system to an area where there is no evidence of its existence, is a suggestion which cannot be taken seriously. Further, the recent discoveries in Sindh and elsewhere prove distinctly that all such notions of Indian lateness and borrowing cannot be lightly *presumed* as it has been generally done.

What are the astronomical data, then, upon which the earlier dates have been arrived at by Jacobi and others? One very prominent point is the fact that the Kṛttikas were considered to be the first of the Nakshatras.[1] This custom is clung to even now for sacrificial purposes. Further, the Kṛttikas are referred to as not moving from the eastern quarter. What does this mean? All scholars are agreed that it was the constellation at which the equinox took place, that is, the constellation where the sun was at the commencement of the year[2]. A proof of this interpretation is believed to be found in the term *agrahāyaṇa* applied to Mṛgaśīrsha, the next star. This term can be best explained by the supposition that it meant the commencement of the year[3]. The word *Kṛttika* means to cut; and this can be

[1] The Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhita and Kāṭhaka Saṃhita. See Vēdic Index, Vol. I, p. 413 for the lists given from the different authorities.

[2] This is the acknowledged interpretation. Even Weber is for it. But Keith, Thibant (Ind. Antq. XXIV, 85 ff, Oldenberg (Vedic Index, I, p 421, footnote 119) and Whitney (Oriental and Linguistic Essays, II, 383) are sceptical about it. Mr. Kameswara Ayyar doubts the existence of the theories of solstices and equinoxes in this period in a definite form. See Proc. Trans., 1st Oriental Conference, Poona, p. i—viii.

[3] There are many stories with the sun in Mṛgaśīrsha during equinox. See Orion, Chapter V—VII.

best explained by its situation at one of the two points where the equator and the ecleptic cut each other. If Kṛttika were at this point, the thirteenth star from it would be on the other point of the cut; and we find that Viśākha, the thirteenth from Kṛttika, exactly means bisecting as Bentley points out[1]. For the same reason, the Nakshatras from Kṛttika to Viśākha were known as Dēva Nakshatras, and those from Anusha to Bharaṇi as Yama Nakshatras. Now when did Kṛttika occupy the equinoxial collure? Bentley put it at 1426 B.C. Tilak[2], however, would place this in 2350 B.C. as he believes that, from 2350 B.C. onward, the sun's stay in the Kṛttika began. On the same data in other words he would go about nine centuries earlier than Bentley.

Another point to be noted is that certain passages of the Vēdas refer to Mṛgaśīrsha as the commencement of the cycle of the Nakshatras. This would mean that the Vēdic sages were aware of a period when the sun was in the Mṛgaśiras in the vernal equinox. This is the reason why he points out that the first fortnight of the manes is generally made to begin with this Nakshatra. Allowing for sufficient time on the same principles of precession, Tilak assigns the passages referring to this situation to thousands of years *before* 2350 B.C.

Then, again, there are passages in the Brāhmaṇas which indicate the commencement of the year from the winter solstices. The Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa, for example, says that the winter solstice began in the new moon of the month of Māgha. According to Haug, Jones and Pratt, this took place only between 1381 and 1181 B.C. But Mr. Kamesvara Ayyar[3] points out on the basis of the seasons referred to in the Brāhmaṇas and the Vēdāṅga-Jyōtisha, that "the sun turned northwards on Phalguna Śukla-

[1] See Max-Muller's 'Rig Veda,' Vol. V, Preface xiii.

[2] Orion, 40 ff. Bühler is disposed to support earlier dates. See Ind. Antq. Vol. XXIII, p. 238 ff.

[3] Trans. Proc. 1st Oriental. Confce, Poona, 1919, p. viii.

pratipad, that it is earlier by one lunar month than the Māgha Śuklā-pratipad which coincides with the winter solstice according to the Vēdānga Jyōtisha, that therefore the Brāhmaṇas point to the coincidence of the summer solstice in the Nakshatra Maghās, which corresponds to the vernal equinox in the Kṛttikās, that this would tally with the date derived from the Kṛttikas in the zodiac of the Brāhmaṇa period, and that the evidence of both these sets of astronomical data would give for the Brāhmaṇas a date which may be approximately fixed between 2000 and 2300 B.C."

We may now pass on to the date of the Atharva-vēda. It has been already shown that this Vēda was synchronous with the Rg-vēda in some portions, post-Rg-vēdic in other portions, and gives a clue to the Āryan expansion in the major portion of North India. The latest portions have been assigned by a number of scholars to the sixth century B.C. While there is no doubt that the Atharva-vēda, in its latest parts, indicates an advanced literary period and character, it is very doubtful whether the lower limit need be taken so far down. At the time of the rise of Buddhism, it was already a Samhita; and it might have been centuries earlier. On the whole, the hymns in their *present* form may be said to have been put together about 1000 B.C., at the latest, always remembering that, as a source of history, it contains elements belonging to the age of the Rg-vēda and the other Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, and Upanishads.

The consideration of the date of the Atharva-vēda naturally takes us to that of the Sāma and Yajur Vēdas. None denies that these belong to the age subsequent to those of the Rg-vēda and the earliest layer of the Atharva-vēda, on the one hand, and prior to the latest layer of the Atharva-vēda on the other. It has also been shown that they are contemporaneous with the Brāhmaṇas, the earlier Upanishads and the earliest of the Sūtras. All these facts would seem to indicate that the Samhitas of these two Vēdas must have obtained their present forms in the main in the millennium which preceded 1000 B.C.

The age of the later Samhitas, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upanishads has been already pointed out to be the age when the events narrated in the original kernels of the epics took place. Taking the Mahābhārata, for example, it is true that it was a work of slow growth and that it reached a finality of form only after the Christian era. But none denies that the original nucleus which, according to Weber, probably consisted of only 8800 ślōkas, went back many centuries. Macdonell would assign this original to the fifth century B.C., and Jacobi to two or three centuries earlier. But even these dates, it should be remembered, refer only to the *literary form* of the epic. The *events* narrated in it were many centuries earlier. As has been already said, the nations figuring in the Mahābhārata refer to the Āryan settlers of the West Āryāvarta[1] in the main.

A clue to the general date of this settlement and rivalry is obtained from the data available in the poem. These data can be divided into two classes, political and astronomical. The political background is reflected in the later Purāṇas which, though late in date, are based on earlier *traditions*. According to the Vishṇupurāṇa there elapsed 1015 years from the death of Parīkshit, who was crowned by the Pāṇḍavas on the eve of their departure from this world, to Mahāpadma Nanda; according to the Matsya, 1050 years; and according to the Bhāgavata, 1115 years for the same period. Prof. M. Rangacharya[2] took the Matsyapurāṇa version as the most likely, and calculated that, as the Nandas ruled for about 100 years and as Chandragupta Maurya came to the throne about 315 B.C., the Bhārata war must have been fought at about 1050+100+315 or the middle of the 15th century B.C. Prof. Rangacharya sees a corroboration for this in another

[1] The actual position of the contending parties is discussed in Chapter IV below. See Barnett's *Antiquities*, p. 11 for a good summary.

[2] *Ind. Review* for October 1900.

historical argument, namely, that there were 47 kings in Magadha from before the Bhārata war during this period. "Of these kings about nine or ten happen to have reigned before the Mahābhārata war. If we make a somewhat liberal allowance for this fact and take into account the 100 years of the reign of the Nandas before 315 B.C. we may arrive approximately at the middle of the 15th century B.C."

Mr. Jayaswal[1] has expressed himself to the same effect. He points out, on the basis of the Paurāṇic evidences, that the Kaliyuga began on the day of Kṛshṇa's death—that Yudhishṭhira's departure and Parīkshit's coronation took place immediately after; that Nanda's coronation took place in B.C. 409; that, as 1015 years elapsed between it and the Mahābhārata war, the latter must have taken place in 1424 B.C.; and that as Yudhishṭhira ruled (Mausalaparva, ch. 1, verse 1) for 36 years before his retirement, which coincided with Kṛshṇa's death, Parīkshit's coronation and the advent of Kali, the Kaliyuga should have begun at B.C. 1388.

Mr. Pargiter, arguing on the same data, arrives at 961 B.C. He takes 15 years as the average for the 37 kings and, by adding 37 × 15 to 325 B.C., which he accepts as the date of Chandragupta's accession, he concludes that the war must have taken place in the 10th century B.C.; that it marked the beginning of the present age (Kaliyuga) "about 1100 B.C." Prof. Rapson is for 1000 B.C.

Mr. Velandai Gopala Aiyar worked out a case from the same data for B.C. 1194, which he further equated to 17 years before the commencement of the Kaliyuga. A period of 1266 years, he points out, elapsed from Yudhishṭhira to Abhimanyu, the king of Kashmir, and as the latter belonged to the first century A.D. the former must have lived about 1190 B.C. The Purāṇic genealogies, again, refer to the

[1] J. B. O. R. S., Vol. 1, p. 111; also Vol. III., p. 251.

[2] J. R. A. S., 1910, p. 1 ff.; Camb. Hist., I, p. 276 and p. 307.

9 Nandas[1], the 10 Śiśunāgas, the 5 Pradyōtas and 21 kings between the Bhārata War and Bṛhadratha, *i.e.*, 37 kings in all up to the Nandas. At the rate of 22 years for each reign it comes to 814 years. The Mahābhārata, according to him, attributes 64 years to the Nandas. Adding this to 814 and 315, which he takes as the year of Chandragupta's accession, Gopala Aiyar arrives at 1194 B.C. for the date of the war. He fixes the war between the 14th and 31st October 1194.

Another clue to the date of the Bhārata war is the position of the Saptaṛshis. The Purāṇas say that, at the time of Parīkshit's accession, the constellation of the Saptaṛshis was in Maghā and that it was in Pūrvāshāḍha during the time of Nanda. Allowing 100 years for the rule of the Nandas, fixing Chandragupta's accession at 315, and allowing 1000 years for the revolution of the Saptaṛshis round the Pole during the ten Nakshatras intervening between Maghā and Pūrvāshāḍha, Prof. M. Rangacharya[2] arrived at the middle of the 15th century B.C. for the war. This is quite different from the date of 3075 or 3102 B.C. derived from inscriptions.[3]

A writer in the *Hindu*[4] adopted the same line of argument but modified the detail and arrived at a century earlier. He counts the number of Nakshatras from Maghā to Pūrvāshāḍha as eleven, not ten. Further, he attributes the difference of 100 years amongst the Purāṇas in the interval between Yudhishṭhira and Nanda, to the calculations sometimes from the battle of Kurukshētra,

[1] Mr. Gopala Aiyar concedes that the details given in the Purāṇas are different. The 9 Nandas are given 100 years, the 10 Śiśunāgas 362 years and the 5 Pradyōtas 132 years, and so on. He rejects these figures as improbable. Similarly he rejects the figure of 1015 years which the Vishṇupurāṇa gives till Nanda's reign on the ground that it gives only round figures and is therefore inaccurate.

[2] *Indian Review*, October, 1900.

[3] Barnett's *Antiquities*, pp. 94-5; *Ind. Antq.*, XVII, 213; XX, 149 f; IL, 162 f.

[4] Aug 21, 1922.

sometimes from the death of Kṛshṇa, and sometimes from the death of Yudhishṭhira. As Kṛshṇa died 36 years after the battle and Yudhishṭhira a few years after Kṛshṇa, fifty years perhaps, he argues, intervened between the battle of Kurukshētra and the installation of Parikshit. Now, Parikshit ruled for 120 years. The war therefore was fought in 1530 B.C. and Parīkshit came to the throne in 1480 B.C

Mr. Jayaswāl [1] also believes that, as the Saptaṛshis moved from Maghā, where they were at the end of the war, to Pūrvāshāḍha at the time of Nanda, whose accession he places in 409 B.C., and as the Paurāṇic version of 1015 years between the Bhārata War and Nanda is correct, the Bhārata war must be placed in 1424. He places the Kaliyuga thirty-six years later, in B.C. 1388. But he gives some additional views about this.

Now Megasthenes says that the Hindus counted 6462 years before Alexander's time, that is, to (6462+326 or) 6788 B.C. This means that they believed their history to begin about 6788 B.C. This was due to the fact that the Saptaṛshis were in Kṛttika then. As the Kali began in 1388 B.C. when the Saptarshis were in Maghā, the Hindus must have added two Saptaṛshi eras or 5400 years to 1388 B.C. as the beginning of their historical period. In short, his conclusions are :—" It is thus clear that the year 1388 B.C. was regarded as a chronological landmark as early as 326 B.C.; (*b*) that the Saptarshi reckoning was in vogue as early as 326 B.C.; and (*c*) that probably a Nakshatra centenary was then held to begin in 1388 B.C. before which a seven-Rshi cycle had been complete, the cycle beginning with Maghā and not with Kārttika;" and that it was as a result of this that 5400 years were added to 1388, thus taking back Indian history to 6788. Mr. Jayaswal adds that the present Kaliyuga era of 3102 came to be fixed at the close of the Āndhra period about 498 A.D. At that time the Saptaṛshis were in Bharaṇi, that is, the 27th Nakshatra from Kṛttikā; and they added 2700 years to their date, arriving at the date of the Kaliyuga approximately.

[1] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. III, p. 251 f.

Still another theory which has been generally discussed in connection with this question is the so-called Yudhishṭhira Era. Varāhamihira tells us, on the authority of a Vṛddha Garga, that Yudhishṭhira ruled at a time when Maghā was in line with the Saptarṣhis, in 2526 years before Śaka-kāla, that is B.C. 2448-9.

आसन्मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षड्विकपंच द्वियुतश्शक कालस्य राशश्च ॥

Kalhaṇa follows this tradition and begins his chronicle (I, 52) with this date for the Bhārata war. Some are misled by the tradition, says he, "that the Bhārata war took place at the end of the Dvāparayuga. The truth is otherwise. The Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas flourished when 653 years of the Kaliyuga had elapsed."

Mr. Gopala Aiyar believed that Garga really meant Sākya and not Śaka, that *kāla* referred to the death of the Buddha, and that *Shaḍvikapañchadviyuta* must be interpreted not as 2526 but 26 times 25 (that is, 650) years; and that Yudhishṭhira's date was really intended by Garga to be 543+650 or 1194 B.C. This interpretation, however, ignores the fact that there was a belief in the existence of a Yudhishṭhira Era from Kalhaṇa to the days of the *Jyōtirvidābharaṇa* (16th century). His interpretation of *Śaka-kāla* and *Shaḍvikapañchadvi*, moreover, is speculative. Further, the traditional theory of the Yudhishṭhira Era[1] is that it marked the beginning of the Kaliyuga in February 3102 B.C. It is true that, if we examine the different parts of the Mahābhārata, there is no agreement in details. For example we find that at one place the beginning of the Yuga is attributed to the war itself. On the other hand, it says in another place that, fifteen years after the war, Dhṛtarāshṭra, Kunti and others left for the woods; that next year the Pāṇḍavas visited them; and that Parīkshit was born just then. Parīkshit is stated elsewhere to have been already conceived in the time of the Bhārata war and born immediately after it. The Purāṇas make the affair still further complicated by making the Kaliyuga commence

[1] See *Ind. Antq.* XL, p. 162 f.

with the death of Kṛshṇa, and one of them distinctly assigns Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vēdas, to the Dvāpara age. Obviously, there are many inconsistencies in the theories that Kṛshṇa lived at the close of the Dvāpara age, that the Mahābhārata war closed it, that at the time of Parīkshit's rule after the retirement of the Pāṇḍavas, Kali came into the world and that he was pursued through all the three worlds by the virtuous Parīkshit and compelled to make himself rare.

Now the question is: when did the Kaliyuga commence? According to the orthodox theory, it began in February B. C. 3102. This has been accepted by the traditional school and also by those scholars who accept the traditional views unconditionally. Even among western scholars there are a few like Alex Del Mar who believe that there was a cataclysm in the world some time about 3100 and that it was therefore an era adopted throughout the world but altered in the different parts of it by the differences[1] in the local calendars. In 3102 B.C the moon was in conjunction with four planets in a single mansion, a phenomenon noted in all civilized countries. Those who advocate the Vēdic contact with the Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro civilization, do not regard a date like 3102 as unfavourable. Some believe that the Āryans might have come into India just then. Others think that the Vēdas might have begun to be composed then. Still others think that it really marked the close of an old era of the Āryan history through the Mahābhārata war and that it gave rise to a new era.

But the great difficulty in accepting this theory is the improbability of its existence in early times. Modern

[1] See 'Indian Review' for April 1913, pp. 281—88. The era "was not only older than the Christian era but older by ten and probably over thirteen centuries" and "the starting point of all and every one of the eras known to the Chaldæan, Greek or Roman world." It was "a fixed point of time employed by all leading peoples to date their national history and mythology." Alex Del Mar summarises all western authorities and gives a string of quotations.

scholars and critics are not satisfied about its antiquity. They point out that the era was invented in very late times by the priestly astronomers for calendrical purposes on the basis of a supposed planetary conjunction which had no real existence.

But as regards the time at which the era was invented there are great differences of opinion. Mr. Velandai Gopala Aiyar, one of the early Indian scholars to tackle questions of this type, believes that the Kali year began in 1176 B.C. On the basis of the classical historians who say that it commenced 851 years before Alexander, he locates it in that year. He sees a deliberate attempt at pushing it back, in other words, by the later legendaries, by a period of 2000 years. He sees a proof of this in the Malabar[1] Kollam era which, he argues, began in August or September 1176 B.C. According to Dr. Buchanan and Col. Warren the Malayāḷam era was counted by cycles of 1000 years beginning from 1176 B.C., but the figures for thousands were left out and only those for hundreds and tens and units were noted. "If it is remembered that 1176 B.C., the epoch of the Malabar era, was actually the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and that the Kali was supposed even as late as the first century A.D. to have begun in 1176 B.C., it will be readily seen that.....the almanac-makers of the day omitted the figure for the thousands, as was the practice in Malabar till the end of the first quarter of the last century.....and as is even now usual in Kashmir. Such a practice might have enabled our chronicler to put back the beginning of the Kaliyuga by exactly 2000 years without in any way disturbing the figures of the almanac-

[1] *Chronology of Ancient India*, 1st Series, pp. 45—50. For a singular view of the commencement of the Kaliyuga in 48 A.D. and duration till 1248 by Mr. D. Gostling, see *Ind. Review*, Dec. 1904. He believes that the real Kaliyuga contained $\frac{432000}{360}$ = 1200 years. See "The Precession, Climatic and Declination Cycles, their influence in the formation of Polar ice, and the Existence of Nations." 8vo. pp. 24, Medow Street, Bombay. Reprint from *Calcutta Review*, January 1904.

makers of his times." Now, argues Gopala Aiyar, the war was fought a few years before the beginning of the Kali-yuga. Kṛshṇa's death was followed by the advent of the Kali-yuga and the departure of the Pāṇḍavas. Gopala Aiyar argues that, as Parīkshit just reached the age when the Pāṇḍavas left this world, he must have been at least sixteen years old at their departure, and that the war must have been fought in 1177+16 or 1193 B.C. or rather towards the end of 1194 B.C.

Prof. M. Rangacharya connected the Kali-yuga with the era of the Mahābhārata on ethical grounds. He points out that the words Kṛta, Trēta, Dvāpara and Kali have been employed in orthodox paurāṇic chronology to denote four distinct ages of Indian ethical development. The Kṛta was the age of deeds when everything done was done as a matter of course, when nothing that had to be done was left undone. It was an age, in other words, of the highest moral excellence in which 'virtue walked freely on all fours.' The Trēta was the age of sacrifices and varying virtues and duties, as the Muṇḍakōpanishad describes it—a tradition which was carried to the age of the later Purāṇas too. The Bhāgavata, for instance, mentions that, before the Trēta age there had been one sacrificial fire, one Vēda, one caste, and one deity, and that it was in the Trēta that these became more numerous. "The one sacrificial fire of the Kṛta age became the three fires of the Trēta age,—the Dākshiṇāgni (दाक्षिणाग्नि), the Gārhapatyāgni (गार्हपत्याग्नि) and the Āhavanīyāgni (आहवनीयाग्नि)—the three together being even now known as Trētāgni; the one Vēda of the Kṛta age became the three Vēdas of the Trēta age,—the Rig-vēda belonging to the Hōtri priests, the Yajur-vēda to the Adhvaryu priests, and the Sāma-vēda to the Udgātri priests; the only one caste of the invading and conquering Āryans of the Kṛta age became split up into the three castes of the Trēta age, the priestly Brahman, the ruling military Kshatriya, the common plebian Vaiśya. The name Viśas or Vaiśyas, which originally indicated the mass of the Āryan people, now became

the name of a single caste. Lastly, in this Trēta age, even the gods worshipped in earlier days seem to have undergone a three-fold classification, as the gods of the earth, the gods of the air, and the gods of the sky, the earth, the air and the sky being the three formal divisions of the visible world (भूर्भुवस्सुवः). Hence, there can no longer be any doubt as to the appropriateness of the name Trēta being applied to such an age." It was in the Dvāpara age that Vyāsa arranged the Vēdas. This was natural in an age of doubt and transition, an age when, in a spirit of conservatism, the old works had to be given permanent existence by re-arrangement. The necessity for this arose from the dislocation caused by the Mahābhārata war. "The period of the early Āryan invasion and conquest of India was the Kṛta-yuga, the heroic age of deeds. When the Āryan people had fairly settled in India, this heroic age was followed by the age of priest-craft, in which religion, society and politics were all built upon slender and strikingly artificial foundations. This was the Trētā-yuga. Then came naturally the age in which men began to question the justice and soundness of the old order of things in their religion and society; and they must then have been sorely perplexed by doubts and difficulties of all sorts. We have actual proofs that they were so perplexed. This was then the Dvāpara-yuga. Lastly came the age of rebellion and strife for personal liberty and social and religious emancipation, the age in which it is intended that men and women ought not to recognise any authority except that of truth and justice, based, as far as is possible and natural, on knowledge and the principle of equality."

Now, this ethical and historical development is reflected in the Brāhmaṇic and Upanishadic literatures as well. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the four yugas in a passage (vii. 15). Rōhita, the son of Harischandra, is asked herein to wander on and be happy as in the Kṛta-yuga and not go back to his father to be inactive as in the Kali age. "Kali is lying, Dvāpara is slowly shaking up,[1]

[1] Haug translated the word into 'hovering there.' It is not so happy. See his Aita. Brah. II, p. 464.

Trēta is standing, and Kṛta is in full motion. Hence wander on, wander on." The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa also refers to the yugas[1]. In a passage dealing with different kinds of sacrificial victims in the *Purusha-mēdha*, it says: 'Sacrifice the gambler to the king of dice, the keeper of the gambling house to the Kṛta, the umpire to the Trēta, the spectator to the Dvāpara, and the man who always remains there like a pillar to Kali." Dharma, apparently, is compared to a bull in the former passage, and the different degrees of dharma in the different yugas are compared to the different postures of a bull from lying to walking on all fours. This symbolical representation was derivative. The terms Kṛta, Trēta, Dvāpara and Kali were originally different terms of dice. The Vājasanēya Samhita (X. 28) and the Chhāndōgyōpanishad (IV. 1-4) are clear on the point. The latter distinctly says that the Kṛta was the highest cast in dice and that the Trēta, Dvāpara and Kali were in descending degrees of luck. Apparently, the different degrees of luck were transmitted, in course of time, into different degrees of dharma; and the idea of the different degrees of dharma arose out of the different historical experiences of the Aryan nation.

The view that the yugas of the Mahābhārata do not indicate the paurāṇic idea of the long periods of 1728000, 1296000, 864000 and 432000 years, is an argument in favour of the theory that the latter had a very late origin. The Mahābhārata indicates a different idea altogether as regards duration. From chapter 188 of the *Aranyaparva* we understand that the Kṛta-yuga constituted 4000 years (with 400 additional years for its dawn and its evening); the Trēta, 3000 (with a dawn and an evening of 300 years); the Dvāpara 2000 years (with a dawn and evening of 200 years); and the Kali of 1000 years, (with 100 for the dawn and evening). The whole period of 12000 years is said to have formed a yuga, and a thousand such yugas are said to have constituted a day of Brahma. It is clear from this that, according to the epic, the four yugas lasted for 4800, 3600,

[1] In III. 12, 9, 2, it also recognizes long periods like 100000 years. The significance of *yuga* in the Ṛg-vēda is uncertain.

2400 and 1200 years respectively. Similarly, the *Manusmṛti* (Chap. I. 69-71.) states that the four yugas lasted for 12000 years and that their combined total formed one yuga of the Dēvas. (Jolly's Edn., 1887, p. 8).

But, even this conception of thousands of years seems to be a later development out of the original conception of a yuga of four years, which was necessitated by the adjustment of the Savana year of 360 days with the solar year of 365¼ days by including an additional set of 21 days every 4 years. When the four-year-cycle was introduced for purposes of astronomical adjustment, the *names* for these four years came to be borrowed, on account of convenience, from the names employed in the dice. The four-year-cycle gave rise, with the expanding imagination of the Āryan mind, to the theory of four yugas coming to a total of 10000 years representing in succession 4000, 3000, 2000 and 1000 years for the different yugas. This theory of 10000 years for the collection of four yugas is clear from the Atharva-vēda. (VIII. 2, 21). A still later development was the inclusion of proportionate periods of dawn and evening for each of the yugas. So the total 10000 of the Atharva-vēda was raised to 12000 which the *Vanaparva* refers to. A still later stage came when the Mahā-yuga was elaborated into a collection of 432000 years for the Kali-yuga and 1728000 years for the Kṛta-yuga, the duration of the other two intermediate yugas being 864000 and 1296000 years. Dr. Fleet[1] contends that, as the Kali era is used only twice in inscriptions till the 8th century (A. D. 634 and 770) and only thrice in the 10th century, it must have been invented for calendrical purposes about A. D. 400, that is, in the days when the Hindus took over the lessons of Greek astronomy. We cannot say whether the development was as late as this; but there can be no question that the wild chronology of the Purāṇas was the product of an age of imaginative speculation and mythological invention much later than the age of simple eras reflected in earlier layers of the Mahābhārata and contemporary literature of the Brāhmaṇas, Upanāshads and the later vēdas.

[1] See J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 479 ff, and p. 675 ff.

The same is the case with regard to the notion of the *human* and *divine* yugas. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa states that one day of the Dēvas was equal to one year of men. This belief existed even in an earlier age. Tilak traces its origin to the Arctic home of the Āryans. It is well-known that these regions "have only one long day and one equally long night during the course of a year. As long as the sun is above the Equator, the North Pole enjoys the day and the South Pole passes through its night. If the sun appears to go south of the Equator, the North Pole is dark and the South Pole is bright. For the hypothetical Devas inhabiting the summit of Mēru the day lasts for as long as the sun is in the north of the Equator or for six months; and the night lasts for the other six months of a year." In other words, the period elapsing from the vernal and autumnal equinoxes represented a divine day and that between the autumnal and vernal equinoxes represented a divine night. To ordinary men, of course, each period covered six months; and both periods formed one year. What was a day for the gods was thus equal to a year for human beings. Later on, the dēvayana and pitṛayana courses of the sun came to be calculated not from the equinoxes but the solstices; but this had no effect on the comparative duration of the so-called divine and human years.

It must be recognized, however, that it is not perhaps absolutely necessary that, in order to explain the relative proportion of the durations of the human and divine yugas, the Āryans must be located in the Arctic regions. It is enough if they are in comparatively northern latitudes like those of North Kashmir. The rest can be done by imagination or hearsay. But there is no question that the elaboration of the divine yugas and other times is a comparatively late fact. The Manusmṛti, for example, refers to the yuga of 12000 years but not to the divine periods. Though there are references, to kalpas and thousands of yugas even in Aśōka's inscriptions, yet the idea of manvantaras, divine yugas, etc., was much later.

Then, again, there is the fact that, besides the four-year-cycle, there was another equally simple and, therefore, ancient yuga consisting of five years in this period[1]. This is referred to in the Vēdāṅga-Jyōtisha, and it apparently prevailed in earlier times too. It denoted the time when the conjunction of the sun and moon were at a particular point and came to the same at the end of five years. The Bṛhaspati cycle of sixty years, which is prevalent both in the North and the South, was apparently a multiple of the five-year-cycle necessitated by the inclusion of the movement of Jupiter. Colebrooke suggested that the sixty-year-cycle of Bṛhaspati must have come into vogue at a time when Bṛhaspati was with the sun and the moon. But while the sun and the moon came back to the same position after five years, all the three planets would come once again together after Bṛhaspati made five rounds, that is, after 60 years. Now, there is a difference between North India and South India in regard to the names of the sixty years. This is due to the greater correctness of the North Indian calendar in regard to the movement of Jupiter. North India has been expunging one year after every 85 years, so that the name of one year is left out and the name of the one following the next is taken as the next year's name. No such adjustment has been made in South India, and so the current Tamil Jupiter year from April to April is known in North India as a year subsequent by one or two[2].

[1] Shāmasastry's Gavām-ayana, 141, *et seq*; Professor Keith, as usual, denies it. See Vēdic Index, II, 193.

[2] See Ind. Antq., XVIII (1889), 193 ff. for Kielhorn's erudite elucidation of the sixty-year-cycle. Dr. Fleet draws attention, in J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 496 and pp. 514-8, to the fact that the vēdic Indians knew the conjunction of the planet Jupiter with the sun and moon in the Nakshatra *Tishya* and that there is reference to the same in the Vāyu-purāṇa, Matsyapurāṇa, the Bhāgavata and the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, 190). But Prof. Keith denies that Tishya really meant a Nakshatra and that Bṛhaspati was known. See J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 794-800. Also Vēdic Index, II. p. 72.

The reference to Jupiter and the five-year-cycle naturally leads us to the other planets, their number and their character. The term *Grha* occurs in the sense of planet in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads. Oldenberg recognizes in the Ādityas the sun, the moon and the five planets[1]. Hillebrandt sees the five planets in the Adhvaryas of the Rg-vēda. The five bulls referred to in another passage of the vēda are interpreted to the same effect. The Sapta-sūryas referred to in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka are recognized by Keith to refer to the same. Ludwig regards the five planets, the sun, the moon, and the 27 Nakshatras, as forming the 34 rays of light and the 34 ribs of the sacrificial horse. Ernest Zeumann identifies Aditi with the mother of seven sons—the sun, the moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. It is clear from these that, by the time of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads, if not in earlier times, the conception of the planets as independent bodies in contrast to fixed stars, the sons of Diti or bondage, had come into existence. Not only was there the idea of the independent planets, but there is a clue to their relative positions in relation to the Nakshatras from which a clue to the chronology is derived. The planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars and Jupiter are respectively styled Rōhiṇīya, Maghābhū Āshādhabhava and Pūrvaphalgunībhava. This means that these planets were in these constellations at one time. Prof. Max Muller had this calculated to be about 1425 B. C.

[1] The other names for planets seem to be *manthin* and *yāma* according to Tilak and Roth; but the interpretation is denied by others. Tilak sees the planet Śukra in Rg-vēda, III. 32. 2 and IX. 46. 4; and Venus (vēna) in Rg-vēda, X. 123. See Orion, p. 162, ff. But Tilak is not supported by Whitney and others. Thibaut would see the planet Bṛhaspati in some of the hymns, but he is not supported by Whitney, Keith and Fleet (see J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 514-8 and 794-800). It is remarkable that even those scholars who argue in favour of the vēdic knowledge of planets deny particular interpretations in favour of their theory. On the whole, there seems to be a regular conspiracy for denying credit to the Indians of the vēdic period. But the references are too numerous to justify scepticism though each individual case, by itself, may be insufficient to carry conviction.

It must be now obvious from these astronomical data that the Mahābhārata takes us, in its original theme, to the same age when the later vēdic literature was compiled in its numerous forms. To this multiplicity of evidences may be added the evidence of the winter solstice[1] referred to in the epic in connection with Bhīshma's death. The time of its occurrence, Māgha-śuklāshṭami, is described in the Anusāsana-parva in significant language. Bhīshma lay 58 days after his fall in the battle, and then died after the sun turned towards the north and when one-third of the auspicious month of Māgha had expired.

माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्तः मासो सौम्य युधिष्ठिर।
त्रिभागशेषः पक्षोऽयं शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥

The Māgha-śuklāshṭami, the Māghaśukla-ēkādaśi, etc., are even now days of worship and vows. Now it is clear from a comparison of the position of the Nakshatras in Bhīshma's time and nowadays, there is a difference of three weeks or so. This is possible only on the basis of allowing nearly 34 centuries for the changes in the precessions and the equinoctial colure[2]. Bhīshma's death, in other words, takes us to about the first quarter of the 15th century before Christ.

It is true that the data of the Mahābhārata in connection with the great war, the accession of Yudhishṭhira, and the death of Kṛshṇa are rather confusing. The later

[1] We have already seen how Jacob considers that "the year was reckoned from the winter solstice, which would coincide with the month of Phalguna about B. C. 4000." Oldenberg and Thibaut do not grant Phālguna as the mouth of the year, but take it as the beginning of spring and Keith considers it probable for about B. C. 800. Tilak, on the other hand, holds that the winter solstice coincided with Māghi full moon at the time of the Taittiriya Samhita (B. C. 2350), and had coincided with Phālguni and Chaitri in early periods—*viz.*, B. C. 4000—2500 and B. C. 6000—4000." (Vēdic Index, II, p. 425).

[2] See Bentley's *Historical View*, p. 2, where he shows that Viśākha was so called because the equinoctial colure divided the equator about 1426 B. C. See also Vēdic Index, p. 427, footnote.

chroniclers regarded the advent of the Kali-yuga as synchronous with all these events[1], which is of course impossible. We know that Parīkshit[2] was born after Bhīshma's death and just before Yudhishṭhira began his Aśvamēdhayāga. A year was then spent on the sacrifice. Fifteen years after Yudhishṭhira's coronation Dhṛtarāshṭra withdrew to the forest to end his days in penance[3]. After three years of penance he died there[4]. At the end of thirty-six years' rule[5], Yudhishṭhira had portents of grief. Shortly after, Kṛshṇa died, struck by the hunter Jarā[6]. On hearing this, Yudhishṭhira crowned Parīkshit, and together with his wife and brothers, withdrew from the world. Parīkshit saw that Kali had come into the world, and he waged a crusade against him and vanquished him. It is obvious from this that the identification of the advent of the Kali-yuga with the Mahābhārata war, the accession[7] of Yudhishṭhira and the death of Kṛshṇa is impossible for the reason that these events happened after intervals of years. But the later Purāṇas (Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Vishṇu and Bhāgavata) place the Kali-yuga on the day of Kṛshṇa's death, in which case the Mahabhārata war must be placed thirty-six years earlier. If the Kali-yuga began in 3102 B. C., Yudhishṭhira's coronation must have been in 3138 B.C. and the war a little earlier than this[8], if we are to

[1] See Ind. Antq., Vol. XL, pp. 162-3 for inscriptional proofs.

[2] Āśvamēdhikaparva, chapters 66 and 70 (Southern edn.)

[3] Aśramvāsikaparva, chapter 1. [4] Ibid, chap. 22.

[5] Mausalaparva, chap. 1. [6] Ibid, chap. 5.

[7] Yudhishṭhira was, we are told, conducting the administration for fifteen years with Dhṛtarāshṭra' approval, after the war. Some scholars therefore believe that his coronation took place only fifteen years after the war and not immediately after (*cf.* Ind. Antq., Vol. XL, p. 163.)

[8] Mr. S. P. L. Narasimhasvāmi takes the Bhārata war as having happened fifteen years before Yudhishṭhira's accession and Kṛshṇa's death 36 years after the latter event,—in other words an interval of 51 years between the war and Kṛshṇa's death. He would, in other words, distinguish the Bhārata-yuddha, Yudhishṭhira and Kṛshṇa (Kali) eras from one another. Ind. Antq., Vol. XL, p. 162 ff.

accept the orthodox chronology. As a matter of fact, as we have already seen, the events reflected in the epic carry us to the middle of the 15th century B. C. Mr. Jayaswal places fifteen Bṛhadratha kings before the war in 1727—1424 B. C.; Yudhishṭhira's Rājasūya-yāga in 1438; the great war and the birth of Parīkshit in 1424; the death of Kṛshṇa and the coronation of Parīkshit in 1388 B.C., when Maghā or eighth century of the Saptaṛshis began; and 32 kings (not 10 before the war and 22 after it as Pargiter imagined) after the war from 1424 to 727 B.C., when the Śaisunāka dynasty came to the throne.[1]

In dealing with the date of the Mahābhārata, these facts have to be remembered. On the one hand, the Vedic literature speaks of Ākhyānas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Nārāsansis, but not expressly of the Mahābhārata. It has no reference to the *battle* at Kurukshētra though it is referred to as a land of sacrifice. It does not name Pāṇḍu and the Pāṇḍavas.

On the other hand, the growth of the Mahābhārata indicates its origin in the age of the Ākhyānas, Gāthas and Nārāsansis or ballads in one word. Indeed, a school of writers like P. T. Sinivasa Aiyangar and Pargiter, would attach greater importance to the Purāṇas in constructing the pre-Bhārata history. The former of these writers places the early solar and lunar kings from about 3000 B.C. to the Bhārata war in 1400 B. C., and gives the dates, as he infers, of the different kings. He places the war in 1400 B.C., because the tales and ballads were contemporary with the heroes and heroines figuring in it. He would, in other words, assign the *core* of the poem to the age of the ballads; the Āgamic passages in it to between 1400 and 1000 B.C.; and the passages dealing with the Arthaśāstras, the Dharmaśāstras, the Mōkshaśāstras, philosophic systems, and geographical details, to between

[1] J. B. O. R. S., Vols. III and IV. Pargiter's views in favour of 950 B.C. for the war on the basis of the number of kings in several contemporary dynasties and of his assumed average of about 13 years for a reign, are given in his Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn., pp. 180—3.

1000 and 500 B.C., by which time, he believes, the epic was regarded as the fifth Vēda[1].

Dr. Winternitz[2] concedes, like others, the gradual formation of the poem. But he concludes that "before the conclusion of the Vēda, there could not have existed an epic Mahābhārata, *i.e.*, an epic poem which dealt with the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas and the battle on the Kuru field, and bore the title *Bhārata* or *Mahābhārata*." Such a poem, he believes, must have existed already in the 4th century B.C. "as the Sūtra works of Sāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana and Pāṇini can scarcely be later." But he concedes "that some elements of our present Mahābhārata reach back into the Vēdic period, and that much...is drawn from a literary common property, from which also the Buddhists and Jainas (probably already in the 5th century B. C.) have drawn...Finally, it must still be mentioned, that not only the events described in the epic, but also the innumerable names of kings and royal races, however historical some of the events and many names may appear, do not belong to Indian history in the true sense of the word." It is true that the association of the reign of Yudhishṭhira and the great war of the Mahabhārata with the beginning of the Kaliyuga, or Iron age, *i.e.*, 3102 B.C., "is based upon the artificial calculation of Indian astronomers, and the association of this date with the conflict of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas is, of course, quite arbitrary." But the 'pre-historic' character of the narrative and of the heroes "certainly indicates the great antiquity of the epic." In short, his conclusion is that though single myths, legends and poems are 'Vedic,' the epic as a form came into existence probably between the 6th and the 4th centuries B.C., and had its latest development by the 4th century A.D.

There is no doubt, that the poem includes, besides the old bard poetry, a lot of later literary output in the realms of philosophy, ethics, law, myths, cosmology, fables, parables, fairy tales, ascetic poetry, and every other type, down to

[1] History of the Tamils, p. 86—8.

[2] See his Hist. Sans. Liter. (Kotkar's Trans.), Vol. I, pp. 473-4.

perhaps the second or third century A.D. The story of numerous texts and recensions shows the same literary growth. There are traces of manipulations in the ages of Buddhism, of the philosophies and of the development of the bhakti-cult in relation to Vishṇu, Śiva, and other deities. Thanks to these, it is true, the epic is, what Dr. Winternitz calls, a literary monster, an entire literature by itself, an encyclopaedia of universal information and diverse times. But it can hardly be doubted that the *archaic* elements in it take us back to a great family-war which was fought perhaps about 1400 B.C. and to events which preceded it by centuries. The kernel of the poem goes back to later Vēdic times. It is entirely in the form of speeches. It combines the author of the epic and the characters in close combination. It has for its themes kings, sages and episodes connected with the Āryans in West Hindustan. Its figures—Janamējaya, Parīkshit, Bharata, Dushyanta and others—figure in the Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads and the Atharva-vēda. There is reference in the Yajur-vēda frequently to the Kurus, Pāñchālas, and to Dhṛtārāshṭra. Arjuna figures as a name of Indra. The Sāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra (XV. 16) refers to the disastrous war of the Kauravas. The Āśvalayāna Gṛhyasūtra (III. 4. 4) mentions the Bhārata and Mahābhārata. Pāṇini not only refers to the figures of the Mahābhārata, but refers to them as already objects of worship. Says R. G. Bhandarkar: "Now the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[1] mentions Janamējaya, the son of Parīkshit, and Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, as very powerful kings (viii. 21, 23). This shows

[1] Ind. Antq., I, p. 350. Bhandarkar believed at this time that Pāṇini belonged to the 5th century B.C. and that the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras were composed previous to him or about the same time. But we have already seen that Pāṇini was pre-Buddhistic and must be carried to 700 B.C. at least. *Vide* in this connection the paper on the Mahabhārata and the Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra by N.B. Utgikar in the First Oriental Conference, Poona (Report, Vēdic Section, pp. xiv-v). In Ind. Antq., Vol. XXXI, p. 5 ff, it is pointed out that Dahlmann attributes the poem to the pre-Buddhistic period (in his *Mahābhārata*, 1897) though J. Kirste quotes with approval Barth's view in favour of the 3rd century B. C.

at least that some of the elements of the story in the Mahābhārata run far into antiquity. In the Gṛhyasūtra of Āśvalāyana the name of the Mahābhārata occurs. It is questioned whether the Mahābhārata here referred to contained the story of the Kurus as the epic known by that name does. But the question does not appear reasonable, since an author (Pāṇini), who probably lived soon after, or about the same time, mentions the names of some of the characters in the story, and the name of the poem also. Pāṇini in his *sūtras*, not *gaṇas*, mentions Vāsudēva, Arjuna (iv. 3. 98), Yudhishṭhira (viii. 3. 95) and the Mahābhārata (vi. 2. 38). The first is a remarkable one, for it teaches the formation of derivatives from these names signifying persons devoted to, or worshipping, Vāsudēva or Arjuna. And the manner in which they are mentioned together reminds one of the great friendship which, according to the Mahābhārata, existed between them, and looks like a reference to the representation of those heroes contained in that poem." The fact that, by the time of Pāṇini, the heroes of the Mahābhārata had come to be worshipped is a strong argument in favour of its antiquity.

Then, again, the idea of the Kṛta-yuga takes us back to the age of the single Rg-vēdic culture. The Dhruva story reflects the third millennium B. C. The kings, Svayambhu, Manu, Uttānapāda, Dhruva and others, and the episode regarding the floods indicate the same early times. The Trēta and the Dvāpara ages reflect the age of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upanishads and early Sūtras; the age when astronomical studies and sacrificial rites made splendid progress; when Hindustan was split up into numerous warring states ruled by scores of generations; when the Āryan cult was spread by scores of generations of priestly clans; when a great episode took place which has become famous as the Mahābhārata War, in which all the kings of the age had a share, and as the result of which a new state of things, social and other, was presumably inaugurated. And this episode had become a sacred memory by the time of Pāṇini. The war was fought some time about 1400 and, by 700 B. C.,

the time of Pāṇini and the early Sūtras, was already a tradition[1].

We may now pass on to discuss the age of the Rāmāyaṇa. But before taking it up, it is necessary to pay attention to the researches of Mr. Pargiter in connection with this question. His view is that the epics are very defective when compared with the major Purāṇas in regard to the genealogies and histories of the dynasties and sages; that they are not only defective and inadequate, but positively manipulated by Brāhmanism for its own purposes; that the Purāṇas give the Kshatriya traditions and are more valuable authorities than the epics for tracing the traditional history of the Āryans and their expansion. Pargiter points out that, according to these, all the royal genealogies are deduced from the mythical Vaivasvata Manu, through his daughter Ilā or rather her son Purūravas, who became the progenitor of the Aila or Āryan race and founded Pratishṭhāna (Allahabad). One of the sons of Purūravas (Āyu) continued at Pratishṭhāna, but another (Amāvasu) founded the dynasty of Kanyākubja (Kanauj). Under Āyu's sons there arose the Kāśis, the Rājēyas (who are said to have perished in a contest with Indra), and the Kshattradharmans (whose locality and history is forgotten) as branches of the Ila race. In the Pratishṭhāna or main lunar line, the most important of the early kings was Nahusha. His son Yayāti divided his kingdom among his five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Aṇu and Pūru. These became the respective founders of the royal lines of the Yādavas, the Turvasus, the Druhyus, the Āṇavas and the

[1] Mr. H. Raychaudri, in his *Political History of Ancient India*, devotes considerable space to the discussion of the age of the Pāriīkshatas. While noting that the Purāṇas take Parīkshit to the middle of the 14th century (though they vary from 1412 to 1359), he argues, on the basis of the mention of his name in the Śāṅkhāyana and Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtras, which he assigns to 600 B.C. in the time of the Buddha, that Parīkshit must have lived in the 9th century B.C. and the Pārikshitas down to 700. He thus seems to be for even a later date for Parīkshit than Pargiter,—an unacceptable view. See 1927 edn. p. 17.

Pūrus or Pauravas. The Yādavas came in course of time to have the branches of the Haihayas, Vaidharbas, Chēdis, Bhōjas, Vṛshis, Andhakas, etc. Similarly, the Āṇavas became divided into two branches—the Uśīnāras, Śivis and others of the Panjāb, and the Titikshus (Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalingas, etc.) of the East. The Pauravas developed the various kingdoms of North Pañchāla, South Pāñchāla[1], Chēdi and Magadha under the Bharatas, Kurus, Pāñchālas and Vāsavas.

The sum-total of Pargiter's contentions is to the effect that the Āryan civilization is the same as the civilization of the Aila or lunar race; that this race had its original abode in the northern country of Ilavrata in the mid-Himalayas; that the Āryan culture spread from Ilavrata to Madhyadēśa, the region now forming Allāhabād, first, and then spread from there in all directions, except over Kōsala, Vidēha, Vaisālī and the distant south and west; that there was already a highly cultivated pre-Aila or Dravidian culture in these areas under the Mānvas and the Saudyumnas; that this culture is largely reflected in the Atharva-vēda; that it was as the result of the blend that the whole of Hindustan came to have one culture which is reflected in the Vēdic literature; that the theory of the Rg-vēdic civilization of the Panjāb as an immigrant one is a myth; that there is no evidence whatever to show that the Āryan civilization came from beyond the north-west; that it spread on the other hand from the Madhyadēśa to all parts of India, Afghanistan (through the Druhyus), Persia and the west; that the inscriptions of the Mitanni at Bogazkoi are evidences of this march of the Āryan civilization to the west; that these inscriptions indicate the formation of the Āryan religion before B.C. 1600; that the Vēdic civilization therefore goes to a date earlier than that;

[1] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, 1922, Chap. 25, particularly the table given in p. 294. Pargiter uses *Mānva* in preference to *solar* to denote the stock other than Aila or lunar. See pp. 288-9. A valuable supplement to Pargiter's work is Jainath Pati's 'Different Royal Genealogies of Ancient India' in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. VI, pp. 205—35.

and that the adjustments, additions and other changes in the Vēdic literature indicate that Vyāsa lived about 1000 B.C.; that the Mahabhārata war took place about 950 B.C.; that the Brāhmaṇas began to be composed in the Kuru country a century after the Bhārata war, and had their development till B.C. 600, when the Sambita text found its present form.[1]

These conclusions indicate originality as well as daring on the part of Mr. Pargiter. He throws a challenge against almost all previous writers, and disputes their dicta that the Āryan civilization came from beyond the north-west and that Indian culture was Āryan and not pre-Āryan or Dravidian. He is for the progress of Indian civilization from India outwards and he traces that civilization to non-Āryan elements as much as to Āryan or 'Aila' elements. It is true that there are various difficulties in accepting Pargiter's detailed views. His notion of Kshatriya traditions in the Purāṇas as against Brāhmanical traditions in the epics is absurd[2], as both are Brāhmanical works. While it may be recognized that some of the traditions in the Purāṇas are very early (900—800 B. C., according to Pargiter) and may not have found mention in the epics, while it may be recognized that the epics and the Purāṇas are supplementary to each other, it is absurd to take the Purāṇas, which he himself acknowledges to have been put together in the early part of the 4th century A.D., to be superior not only to the epics but to the Vēdic literature. The Vēdic literature, again, is not aware of a race of kings from Purūravas. The Saudyumnas, again, were Āryan Bharatas, not non-Āryans, as Pargiter observes. The Mānva stock which Pārgiter holds to be Dravidian and which, according to him, gave rise to the Aikshvākus of Ayōdhyā, the Janakas of Vidēha, the Vaiśālis, the Kārūshas (in Karūsha, modern Rewa) and the Sāryātas of Ānarta (Gujarat), was certainly not non-Āryan. As Keith observes "the Vēdic evidence is quite fatal against regarding as non-Āryan a

[1] Numerous articles in the J. R. A. S. from 1908 onwards.

[2] As Keith points out in J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 119. Pargiter's reply in *Ibid*, pp. 411-2 is ineffective.

race which is connected with such well-known Āryan Vēdic personages as Nābhānedishṭha, son of Manu, Sāryāta the Mānva, the Ikshvāku line of Pūru princes, and Janaka. It is perfectly clear that Vēdic times do not recognize any such racial divisions as the Aila, the Saudyumna, and the Mānva." The Brāhmaṇas, again, clearly and unmistakably point out that Kōsala and Vidēha were Brāhmanical in occupation and culture. To speak of antagonism between the Ailas and Mānvas is absurd. The theory that the Āryans came from Ilavrata, receives no Vēdic support. The geographical data of the earliest of the Vēdas show that they were comparatively unfamiliar with Eastern Hindustan. The chronology of Pargiter, moreover, is unacceptable. He places Vyāsa, the compiler of the Rg-vēda according to him, about 1050 B.C., Viśvāmitra about B.C. 1700, and the hymns of Devāpi about 1100 B. C. Keith criticises this as too big a gap from the linguistic standpoint. Further, he asks, "If Krshna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa really is the compiler of the Samhita as Pargiter holds, why should the Brāhmaṇa, the Āraṇyaka, the Upanishad, and even the Sūtra texts pass over this great achievement in silence? Surely they must have mentioned so important a sage; for they are not chary of citing authorities of all kinds. Why should we be left to conclude this result from a Kshatriya tradition? Are we to assume that the Kshatriyas were not merely anxious to record the kingly dynasties but were determined also to preserve, in face of the culpable negligence of the Brāhmans, the fame of other great men among the latter? Is it possible to base serious arguments upon such hypotheses?"

Keith, it must be said, rather overshoots the mark when he denies a long chronological gap of six centuries in the linguistic layers of the Rg-vēda. Also, he takes for granted that the Āryans came from the west and that the Iranian

[1] *Ibid*, p. 740. Pargiter's reply in p. 744 shows his unsoundness in the matter.

affinities show a much later period than 1700 B.C. Haug[1] shows, by the analogy of Chinese and Hebrew, that a period of 200 years (supposed by Keith's school, dogmatizing Max Muller's tentatve suggestion) is quite inadequate. Secondly, there is reason to believe that the Iranian culture was imported from India and therefore later. Then, again, there is nothing against the theory that the Āryans had their original home in North-West India. Lastly Keith takes[2] for granted that the epic tradition is 'long after 600 B.C.', which is quite unacceptable.

But there are obvious justifications for Keith's criticism in other respects. Pargiter has not succeeded in showing that Kōsala, Vidēha and the neighbouring regions were un-Āryan.

Pargiter, it is true, sees a corroboration of his theory in the linguistic evidence set out by Sir George Grierson.[3] The latter holds that the Madhyadēśa was the land of the pure Āryan tongue; and that it was bounded by successive bands of Āryan, semi-Āryan and non-Āryan languages. Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle inferred from this that the pure Āryan, the outer band, and the mixed group following it indicate that there was a very late Āryan migration directly through Chitral, Ghilgit, and Swat; that these immigrants were considerably influenced by non-Āryan customs and became the Pāñchālas of the Mahābhārata; that they "entered into the heart of the country already occupied by the first (Āryan) immigrants, forcing the latter outwards in three directions, to the east, to the south and to the west;" and that they then mixed with them to form the Bharatas of the Āryo-Dravidian culture.[4] Pargiter accepts the

[1] See his *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, Introdn., pp. 41-2. Again, owing to oral transmission, as Pargiter observes, the language in some places might have been changed.

[2] J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 740.

[3] This is succinctly summarised in the 'Imperial Gazetteer' (1907), I, p. 349 f. See also 'Cambridge History of India,' Vol. I, Chap II, pp. 50-1, p. 45, 110.

[4] See *ante*, p. 39-40.

linguistic analysis of Grierson, but rejects the theory of a late Āryan immigration and its wedge-like thrust into the land of earlier Āryan settlers from the Panjab. He contends that his own analysis of the Aila, Mānva and Saudyumna stocks gives a proper explanation for the linguistic data given by Grierson. He contends that the wedge theory is "improbable in itself, and certainly implies a severe and bitter struggle between the second and the first immigrants, of which one would expect to find some echo in tradition, for it concerned the very heart of India, yet there is absolutely none."[1] According to tradition, he says, "the Ailas or Āryans began at Allahabad, conquered and spread out north-west, west and south and had by Yayāti's time occupied precisely the region famed as Madhyadēśa. They possessed that mid-land definitely and made it their own thoroughly, so that it was 'their true pure home,' as Sir George Grierson describes it linguistically. They expanded afterwards into the Panjab and East Afghanistan, into West India and the North-West Dekhan, into East and South Bihar and into Bengal—precisely as he finds the Āryans did linguistically in those very regions, which he calls the 'Outer Band.' Also it has been pointed out that the Ayōdhya realm was non-Aila, was not subdued by the Ailas and was only influenced by them. This agrees exactly with his linguistic inference, that in Oudh 'there is a mixture (of language) of the same nature, although here the midland language has not established itself so firmly as it has in the west and south.'...Moreover, as will be shown in the next chapter,[2] the bulk of the Rgveda was composed in the great development of Brāhmanism that arose under the successors of King Bharata who reigned in the upper Ganges-Jumna doab and plain. The language of the Rgveda, as Sir G. Grierson holds, represents the archaic dialect of the upper doab, and that was the region in which the Āryan

[1] Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn., p. 296.

[2] Chapter XXVI of Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn., p. 303 f, where Pargiter discusses the date of the Vēdas and to which reference has been made above.

speech was the purest and whence it spread outwards... Lastly, there was some connection between Sudyumna and the Uttara Kurus and Kimpurushas, and that accords with the connexion which Sir G. Grierson notices between the Munda language and the 'Pronominalized Himalayan languages.' In every respect therefore the evidence of language accords with the Puranic accounts, and is strong testimony to the value of tradition."

It cannot be denied that there are strong points against the officially-accepted view that the Āryan expansion in Hindustan was the result of a second wave of Āryan invasion from beyond the Hindu-Kush by the direct routes of Chitral, Ghilgit and Swat, and of the struggle between these immigrants and the earlier Āryans who spread from the side of the Panjab, driving the latter in different directions as by a wedge. The wedge theory is not, as Keith says, supported by Vedic literature. It is more natural to hold that the Rg-vēdic Bharatas migrated from the region of the Sarasvati and the Kurukshētra and that the Kurus and Pāñchālas were immigrants from the same region who eventually amalgamated with the Bharatas. It is true that Keith's theory of Āryan advent from beyond the north-west into India[1] by the Khyber Pass may be ignored in the light of what has been thus far maintained. It is also true that his other theory that the Mahābhārata is *not* a historical event based, as is supposed by many scholars, on a deadly rivalry between the Kurus and the Pāñchālas, caused by immigrations in different times and by social and cultural conflicts and conciliations with non-

[1] Keith further says that the route through the Khyber Pass was the only 'natural' one for the Aryan immigration; that a direct immigration through Ghilgit and Swat is improbable and that the occupation of the Uttara Kurus was probably from the south. "The mention of the Uttara Kurus as resident beyond the Himalaya is sufficiently accounted for if we suppose that a branch of this tribe had scattered in Kashmir, just as another branch seems to have settled on the Indus and the Chenab." (Cambridge History, Vol I, Chap. V, pp. 117—24).

Āryans, is rather extreme; but there remain the facts that cannot be contradicted, namely, (1) that the analysis of the Prākṛts and dialects made by Grierson is based on an incomplete knowledge of the developments of the vernaculars; and (2) that there is no evidence of *cultural* antagonism between the Kurus, the Pāñchālas and the Vidēhas further east. "In the texts of the Brāhmaṇas, the Kuru-Pāñchālas pass as the models of good form; the sacrifices are perfectly performed in their country; speech is best spoken there and, as it seems, among the northern Kurus; and the Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa tells of people going to the north for the sake of its pure speech. The Kuru-Pāñchāla kings are the example for other kings; they perform the Rājasūya, the sacrifice of the royal consecration; they march forth in the dewy season for their raids and return in the hot season. Their Brahmans are famous in the literature of the Upanishads for their knowledge; and the Samhitas and Brāhmaṇas which are preserved, seem without exception to have definite form among the Kuru-Pāñchālas, even when, as in the case of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, they recognize the existence of the activities of the kings and priests of Kōsala-Vidēha. It is significant of the state of affairs that in the Samhita and allied texts of the Yajur-vēdas where the ceremony of the Rājasūya is described, the king is presented to the people with the declaration: 'This is your king, O Kurus' with variants of 'O Pāñchālas' and 'O Kuru-Pāñchālas." The two tribes, in other words, did not represent, and fight for, different types of culture and social policy. There is no evidence to show that the so-called Mānvas of Ayōdhyā and Vidēha were different in culture or race from those of the Kuru-Pāñchālas and that they professed a Dravidian cult or culture. Vēdic literature is conclusive on the point of the indebtedness of the civilization of this part of the country to the Āryan pioneers from the further west. The progress of Āryan civilization was from the west.

In his valuable work on the Indo-Āryan Races, Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has, while accepting the general linguistic basis of Dr. Hoernle and Grierson, constructed

a different theory in regard to the ethnological basis[1]. He surmises that the Āryans of the midland were "a compound of the old Vēdic Rshi families, such as the Vasishṭhas, with a dark race of Āryan origin mixed with Mesopotamian elements, which came across the ocean and recognized the spiritual superiority of the Rshi families." Mr. Chanda holds that these newcomers belonged to the Kaṇva and Viśvāmitra families; that while the old Vēdic Rshis were priests, the latter were probably *Yajamānas*; that their mixture made up the Āryan community, and that the Nishadas and the dark, short, flat-nosed speakers of Munda languages were aboriginal. These formed the original Varṇas, continues Mr. Chanda, and fiction added two more, namely, (1) the Vaiśyas when, in course of time, specialisation of functions led to distinctions within Yajamānas; and (2) the Śūdras and slaves out of captures made in battle from other Āryan tribes rather than the aborigines. Mr. Chanda also lays stress on the fact that the old midland must be deemed to have included Kōsala and Kāśi as well as the Eastern Panjab (represented by the Uśināras). He further inverts the order in the time of the appearance of the peoples of the outer and inner bands. Instead of holding that the outer people were earlier and pushed by the people of the inner land to the East, South and West, he holds that the inner people were first in their abodes and that the outer people came later and, finding the midland occupied, pushed across Central India as far as Bihar on the one hand and Kathiawar and the Dakkan on the other. Mr. Chanda regards this theory as giving a more satisfactory account of the origin of the brachycephaly of Western India and Bengal. He

[1] Rajshahi, 1916. Published by the Varendra Research Society. Reviewed and constructively criticised by Keith in J. R. A. S., for 1917, pp. 167—75.

criticises the Scythian and Mongolian views of Risley[1] in this connection, and concludes that the broad-headed peoples of Bengal and Western India must be correlated with the Alpine race, "the original inhabitants of the Pamirs and the Takla-Makan desert as determined by the investigations of Mr. Joyce, speakers of Tocharian, an Indo-European but not Indo-Iranian speech." Mr. Chanda regards the Vāhikas of the Panjab and the speakers of the modern Paiśācha languages (*e.g.*, Kashmiris, Darads, and Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush) as later members of this race. The mesaticephalic Indo-Āryan type of the outer lands in Hindustan, he believes, must have been due to the combination of the Homo-Alpini with the Vēdic Āryans, the Nishādas and the Dravidians, while the Indo-Afghan type of the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, he believes, was due to the admixture between the Vēdic Ārya, the Avestic Ārya and the Dravidian.

This theory, points out Dr. Keith, has one great merit, namely, that it drops the wedge theory of Grierson and Heornle, and enables one to accept the 'natural' view that the Vēdic Āryans came into India by the Khyber Pass with their wives and families and were not a people composed almost of men only who came down by Chitral and Ghilgit. But while useful in disposing of the theories of Dr. Hoernle, Mr. Chanda's theory, continues Dr. Keith, is not adequate enough to clear all doubts. The existence of both the dolicocephalic and brachycephalic varieties among the Indo-Āryans, he supposes, might be due to their existence amongst the Āryans *before* they broke up into the different branches. There is, again, he says, no sufficient ground to connect the linguistic characteristics of Tocharian with Bengali. Further, if there is such an agreement, it might be due to the age of the later Yuechi who absorbed the Tocharian people. Moreover, there is no definite ground for

[1] Risley's researches are found in *The Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1903), Chap. on Caste, Tribe and Race; in *The Census of India*, 1911, Vols. I and II; in *The People of India*, 2nd edn. (W. Crooke, 1915). Earlier than these is his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891-2), see *Impl. Gazr.*, Vol. I and Vol. XXVI, Map 12.

the belief that the Alpine race spoke an Āryan tongue. The connection of the Nagar Brāhmans of Gujarāt and the Kāyasthas of Bengal may be a fact; but "we have no decisive ground on which to assign the connection to a pre-historic invasion of the Homo-Alpinus rather than a historic immigration from the north-west."

Keith, in other words, rather heartily upholds Mr. Chanda's views so far as they coincide with his in over-throwing the wedge theory and postulating the Āryan immigration through the Khyber, but condemns them wherever they are original. He is not prepared to grant the correctness of the linguistic and ethnological evidences cited by Mr. Chanda and believes that such affinities as he believes in might be due to later historical times and not to the age of early Āryan expansion. Nobody can deny that the ethnological and linguistic studies are yet in their infancy in India and that a good deal has to be done for clearing many doubtful points. But research has sufficiently advanced to make one believe that the connections of India with the brachycephalic Alpine section of the Āryan race were a reality and that there was a close connection between the languages of pre-historic India and the lands immediately around her in all directions. The presence of brachycephaly in pre-Vēdic Sindh seems to demolish completely Keith's objections and though it is difficult at this stage of research to say to what relative extents the brachycephaly was due to archaic and historical times, it is going too far to deny the probability of the former and assert the monopoly of the latter.

The real point about which one has reasons to be sceptical in connection with Mr. Chanda's conclusions is the alleged foreign origin of the Viśvāmitras and the circumstances under which they came to be amalgamated with the Vasishṭhas. It is a remarkable fact that what Pargiter regards as the most indigenous, the most Dravidian, part of the synthetic culture of India, is traced by Mr. Chanda to a foreign source; and though the latter concedes the later identity of the Viśvāmitra and Dravidian cultures, he takes the whole point off Pargiter's laborious

work by giving an exotic origin to the Viśvāmitra school. The question shows how difficult it is to dogmatise about men and things in the archaic period of Indian history. The considerable literature[1] of discussion which has arisen in connection with the historical significance of the terms Dānavas, Daityas, Asuras, Dasyus, Rākshasas and Pisāchas indicates the same difficulty. Scholars, each in his own way, connect these with the Sumerians, the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Dravidians, the Mundaris, and the indigenous aborigines of India by advancing, in each case, arguments which are not often distinguishable from speculations and which rather puzzle and perplex the student than enlighten him. But from all this plethora of argumentative or speculative literature there emerges one thing clearly, namely, the fact that,already in the age of the Rg-vēda, and much more in the age of the later Vēdic literature, the civilization of India was an extremely complex and composite one in which several races had a share. Scholars differ in regard to the extent and character of the different contributory elements, but there is no difference as to the fact of the amalgamation and synthesis. Nor is there any serious questioning as to the triumph of the Āryans over the others in this process of fusion, though *some* who belong to the Dravidian school would, in defiance of sober facts, deny this.

A suggestive contribution on this question is that of Mr. J. Kennedy.[2] He has tried to improve Pargiter's theory on a combined basis of Āryan immigration from Turkestan into Iran and India early in the second millennium B. C. and subsequent ethnological development within India. He believes that the Āryans who migrated into India lost, after their expansion over Hindustan and

[1] See next chapter. It may be pointed out that Sir George Grierson reiterates his theory of several invasions on linguistic grounds as against Keith. See J. R. A. S. 1917, pp. 400-1.

[2] See J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 507—16. Mr. Kennedy deals with the Āryan invasions in a number of articles of J. R. A. S., directly and indirectly. See 1909, p. 1107 f; 1919, p. 493 f; 1920, p. 31 f; etc.

their amalgamation with the Dravidians, their knowledge of immigration from beyond the north-west. He suggests that, as a result of the disappearance of this consciousness, the Aryo-Dravidians of Madhya-dēśa fabricated a paurāṇic literature, depicting the Madhya-dēśa as the source of all Āryan developments both towards the west and the east, as well as to the north and south. Paurāṇic history "is a production of Madhya-dēśa in the most limited significance of that term; other legends and traditions have been partially woven in, more especially the legends of the Yādavas and Haihayas; but the main subject is the history of Madhya-dēśa. Round this the history revolves; to Madhya-dēśa the history returns. The compilers cared little for anything outside Madhya-dēśa and the Yādavas. The traditional history of the Punjab, as we shall presently see, is a purely artificial production, and the solar line of Ayōdhyā is thrown into the shade." The Aryo-Dravidian makers of paurāṇic history made legends to prove that all the outlying areas were colonised by Aryo-Dravidian adventurers from the Madhaya-dēśa. Thus Aṇu was made the father of all the Panjāb tribes. For these "begin to migrate from Madhya-dēśa into the Punjab under Uśināra, who is in the 8th generation from Aṇu. Two of Uśinara's sons founded the principalities of the Yaudhēyas and Ambashṭas; two others founded minor kingdoms while his eldest and most important son is Śivi, the founder of the Śivis. Śivi again begets four sons who each start a clan, the Madrakas, Kaikēyas, Sauvīras and Vṛishadarbhas. Here we have a list of the principal clans of the Punjab arranged in a genealogical succession." Paurāṇic history, however, continues Mr. Kennedy, gives a genuine account of the Yādava and Haihaya clans who took part in the Aryanization of Southern Rajputana, Gujarāt and Malwa, and of the Āryas of Kuru-Pāñchāla, Kōsala and Vidēha who Arganised the dense population of the Gangetic basin and who, as they met the Dravidian people, whose civilization was little inferior to their own, had to imbibe their influences on a larger scale. It was from these Āryo-Dravidian peoples that chiefs went on adventure to outlying areas—

Bengal, Dakkan, and South India, and carved out kingdoms for themselves.

The arguments of Mr. Kennedy in relation to the original home of the Āryans, with which we cannot agree, are not germane to the point at issue; but there can hardly be a doubt as to the facts that later paurāṇic history was the history of the Āryans as it was understood or re-written by the Brāhmanical writers of the Madhya-dēśa, and that there was a very close alliance, not antagonism, between the Brāhmanical and the Kshatriya orders in the matter of the creation of the Aryo-Dravidian cultural synthesis. What is most important to remember in this connection is that the spread of the Āryo-Dravidian culture into South India took place from Kōsala and Ayōdhyā under the prince-adventurer Rāma,—an adventure, as Mr. Kennedy observes, "as famous as that of the Argonauts, while Rāma is the head and hero *par excellence* of half the Āryo-Dravidians." And this expansion of the Āryan civilization into the region south of the Vindhyas was the most vital fact in the history of the Āryans of East Āryāvarta; and this is the lesson taught to us by the Rāmāyaṇa. It tells us how the Brahmans and Kshatriyas heartily co-operated with each other in the task of Aryanisation. Had the Brahmans not come, says Mr. Kennedy, "the Āryan conquerors, being few, must have been speedily absorbed. It was the Brahman who brought with him Āryan civilization and traditions and introduced the institutions of caste. Brahman missionaries paved the way, Brahmans accompanied the conquerors, Brahmans converted Dravidian potentates, and enabled them to inter-marry with the high-born Āryans. The Āryan spirit was kept alive by the Brahman, who owed everything to his Āryan heritage, not by the exogamous semi-Āryan, semi-Dravidian military chief." At the same time, "without the protection of the chief, the Brahman was powerless; and it was not the Brahman's peaceful penetration, but the military exploits of the chief, that enthralled the popular imagination."

The part played by the Rshis and Brahmans is evidenced by the career of the sage Agastya. Agastya was a sage figuring in the Rg-vēda itself.[1] He is referred to there as the son of Māna, as well as of Mitra and Varuṇa. He is said to have once reconciled Indra with the Maruts in regard to sacrificial offerings. His wife Lōpāmudra also is referred to in one passage. Agastya was a Purōhita of Khēla and he introduced his brother Vasishṭha to the Tṛtsus. In the later Vēdic literature Agastya's exploits in connection with Indra and the Maruts are elaborated, and an interesting *literature of interpretation* has arisen on the incident from the pens of Oldenberg, Sieg, Hertel and and Von Schroeder. In the Atharva-vēda Agastya was one of the sages connected with witchcraft; and the Maitrāyāṇī-Samhitā associated him with a singular type of cows.

It is clear, of course, that one and the same person could not be referred to in all these. We must take it that different members of the Agastya family are referred to. The term *Agastya* was more a family name than that of an individual; and the later legendaries rolled all Agastyas into one, making Lōpāmudra also an eternal figure! Mr. Pargiter endeavours to give the rationale of the Agastya-Vasishṭha legends and hints that Agastya must have been connected with the south from the beginning and that the Paulastyas, Paulahas and Kratus were Āgastyas.

But it is obvious from the Vēdic literature that the Agastyas were a gifted clan who did much for medicine, magic and science,—an aspect which was elaborated later on in the Tamil country. But more important than this was the part they played in spreading the Āryan culture and knowledge to the region south of the Vindhyas. The Rāmāyaṇa says that Agastya (that is, one of the members of the Agastya clan) had long preceded the Kōsala prince-adventurer Rāma; that the latter met him first at

[1] All the references are given in Vēdic Index, Vol. I, pp. 6-7. See also Pargiter's 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,' pp. 168—9 and 238—43.

Janasthāna (later Nasik) in the Daṇḍakāraṇya forest which then covered the major portion of the Dakkan; that he narrated to Rāma how that land had been covered by jungles (bereft of men and beasts) and infested by Daṇḍaka and his Rākshasa followers; how, for want of rain and trees, it was avoided even by Gandharvas, sages and gods; how he came from his Himālayan home with a band of Rshis and settled there and brought rain and plants and trees and men; how the hermitages of Rshis then sprang up; how the Rākshasas, under the lead of Rāvaṇa, oppressed the Rshis; and how Rāma was expected to be the saviour of the Āryan civilization from the Rākshasa pest. The Rāmāyaṇa, it is true, not only refers to the Aryan colonisation of the Dakkan and South India but speaks of a *previous* Āryo-Dravidian synthesis. It says that Rāvaṇa himself was a semi-Āryan. For, he was the son of the Brāhman sage (Viśravas) and a non-Āryan woman[1]. He was a student and adherent of the Sāma-vēda and Śaiva cult. He spoke Sanskrit. He was, in short, considerably Āryanised. His deadly enmity with the Rshis seems, according to the poem, to have been due to his incomplete Āryanisation, to the preponderance of the non-Āryan spirit in his character, to his incapacity to give up cannibalism, the Rākshasic system of marriage, and the hatred of sacrifices as a rule, though he did not object to the latter when he regarded them as instruments of power. The Rāmāyaṇa, thus, purports to show that Rāma went to the south only to protect the Vēdas, the Rshis and Dharma. It further claims that Rāma had the assistance of the gods themselves, who were born as monkeys, against Rāvaṇa.

But, Gasparo Gorresio, the Italian translator of the Rāmāyaṇa (1808-91), points out that the Rākshasas were really people who were non-Āryan in race and culture. "The people against whom Rāma waged war are, as the poem indicates in many places, different in origin, in civilization, and in worship from the Sanskrit Indians; but the poet of the Rāmāyan, in this respect like Homer

[1] According to another version, Rāvaṇa was Viśravas' grandson and son of Kubēra.

who assigns to Troy, customs, creeds and worship similar to those of Greece, places in Ceylon, the seat of this alien and hostile people, names, habits and worship similar to those of Sanskrit India. The poet calls the people whom Rāma attacked Rākshasas. Rākshasas, according to the popular Indian belief, are malignant beings, demons of many shapes, terrible and cruel, who disturb the sacrifices and the religious rites of the Brahmans. It appears indubitable that the poet of the Rāmāyana applied the hated name of Rākshasas to an abhorred and hostile people, and that this denomination is here rather an expression of hatred and horror than a real historical name. Such, reduced to its bare simplicity, is the fundamental idea of the Rāmāyana, a war of two hostile races differing in origin, civilization and worship. But as is the case in all primitive epopeas, around this idea as a nucleus have gathered elements of every kind drawn from the very vitals of Indian tradition, and worked up by the ancient poet to embody his lofty epic conception. The epopea received and incorporated the traditions, the ideas, the beliefs, the myths, the symbols of that civilization in the midst of which it arose, and by the weaving in and arranging of all these vast elements it became the complete and faithful expression of a whole ancient period[1]." Similarly Gorresio believed that the races which helped Rāma were called monkeys "out of contempt for their barbarism or because at that time they were little known to the Sanskrit-speaking Hindus."[2] Pargiter points out how the Paulastyas, Kausikas and others are called Rākshasas on account of their connection with uncivilized non-Āryan tribes, not demons. He suggests that *Rāvana* was probably not a personal name but the Sanskritised form of the Tamil word *iraivan* (king, lord)!

Some scholars do not believe that an Āryan king of the period could have gone as far as Ceylon at all. They regard this portion of the Rāmāyaṇa as a myth. They

[1] Griffith's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Introdn., p. xiii-xiv.

[2] *Ibid*, p. XIII.

point out that the epic contains many anachronisms like the reference to kingdoms which could have existed only about the centuries before and after the Christian era They say that the passages referring to Vibhīshaṇa's surrender, the representation of Rāma as avatār, the burning of Laṅka, the description of the four quarters of the world by Sugrīva, and the discussion whether Vibhīshaṇa was a spy or not are late features. These facts are not given, they say, in the table of contents in the first canto. The grammar, phraseology, and metre of the parts dealing with them indicate a late period. There is reference to the Greeks. Then, again, it is contended, Vālmiki's Laṅkā, which means an island, was not necessarily Ceylon, but some island, as for example one among the Laṅkas of the Gōdāvari. It is said that the poem is a mere symbolical representation of the extension of the Āryan agricultural economy[1] to the south, and that the Ceylon part was later on added when the natural cross-way of the Sētu was crossed and intercourse between the peninsula and the island became possible[2].

There is no question that many parts of the poem were later additions But there is no real objection to the view that Vālmiki was aware of Ceylon[3]. He knew its insularity, the connection between it and the mainland through the Sētu, the mountainous nature of its southern portion, the conspicuousness of the Arishṭa hill (the Arita of Pali and the Point de Galle of later days) on the high way from Mannar to the southern extremity of the island, and the rise of the name Trikūṭa to the hills west of Kaṇḍi in consequence of their possessing three summits. Vālmīki must have been preceded, therefore, by intelligent explorers,

[1] Weber's *Hist. Ind. Liter*, p. 181.

[2] Jacobi maintains this view, and it is endorsed by many scholars. For an ingenious attempt to locate Lanka in Central India see Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, pp. 694—702. See also Winternitz, I, p. 487 footnote.

[3] Parker's *Ceylon*. Gorresio maintained that Vālmīki's non-mention of the names Tāmrapaṇi and Sinhala in relation with Ceylon indicates Ceylon alone.

and this should have been possible only if the early Sinhalese had become acquainted with the Āryan gods, creeds and polity.

We may thus conclude that, though the epic contains facts of later periods, though it refers to kingdoms in South India of the centuries of the Christian era immediately before and after it,[1] indicating a long period of Āryan civilization, the original nucleus of the poem was based on the fact that, just at the time when, in the age of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, the Āryans were busy in East Āryāvarta, they also succeeded in carrying the torch of Aryan civilization as far as the extreme south and even Ceylon. We are now in a position to study the date of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The antiquity of the Rāmāyaṇa is evident from various facts. Its chief figures figure in Vēdic literature. Sīta, as an agricultural goddess, goes back to the Rg-vēda[2] and is described as an object of worship in the Gṛhyasūtras[3]. Janaka[4] figures largely in the Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads and the Sūtras as a great philosopher who popularised the Brahma-vidyā of the Kuru-Pāñchāla country in East Āryāvarta. In the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa he is already mythical, and in the Sūtras he is referred to as an ancient king. The epic shows some connection with the Yajur-vēda[5]. Some scholars[6] even trace the Rāma-Sīta legend

[1] Mr. C. V. Vaidya concludes that the poem was in its present form by 100 B. C. See his 'Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa' pp. 13-52.

[2] IV. 57. 6-7. The Atharva-vēda (XI. 3. 12) and the Taittiriya and Kāṭhaka sambitas use the word in the sense of 'furrow.'

[3] Weber pointed this out long ago. Kauśikasūtra, 106. See Griffith's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Introduction, and Winternitz, Vol I, p. 515.

[4] See Chapter IV.

[5] Weber: Uber das Rāmāyaṇa, pp. 8 f.

[6] Rāma figures as a man and as a teacher in the Rg-vēda and later Vēdic literature, but not as a hero of the epic, of course. Rg-Vēda X. 93. 14 & 15; Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (IV. 6. 1, 7), Jaiminīya-Upanishad Brāhmaṇa (III. 40. 1; IV. 16. 1) and Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 27. 3). Julius V. Negelein sees in the Vēda the outline of the epic legend, but he is not supported generally.

to Vēdic times though the passages connected with Janaka and Sita do not refer to Rāma. Vālmīki figures as one of the authors of the Vēdalakshaṇas[1]. These references show that, apart from the epic story, its figures belong to the later Vēdic age.

Griffith[2] points out that Sir William Jones placed Rāma in B.C. 2029; Tod in 1100, Bentley in 950, and Gorresio in the 13th century B.C. The last of these scholars gave certain arguments, the force of which is accepted by some even now. He observes:[3] "From Rāma to Sumitra, the contemporary, as it appears, of Vikramāditya (B.C. 57) 56 kings ruled in succession. By allowing, on a reasonable computation, an average of a little more than 20 years to each reign, we arrive at the 13th century before the Christian era" as a probable conjecture. Vālmīki, again, was contemporary with the events he describes. The internal evidence of the poem shows great antiquity. It shows more antiquity than the Mahābhārata. Referring to the latter, Gorresio says: "I bow before this colossal epic; but without wishing to detract from its antiquity, I do not hesitate to declare it less ancient than the Rāmāyan..... If this posteriority were not declared in the Mahābhārata itself, which says that the exploits of Rāma had already been sung by Vālmīki inspired by Nārada, it would be sufficiently proved by the fact that there is embodied in the Mahābhārata a summary of the Rāmāyan of Vālmīki in the same order and very often in the same words. Besides, the life and worship of Krishṇa celebrated in the Mahābhārata indicates an age later than the Rāmāyan in which there is no mention of Krishṇa or Krishṇaism....The invention of the slōka attributed to Vālmīki in the introduction to the Rāmāyan appears to confirm the antiquity of the poem .." Gorresio was disposed to think that the slōka form and

[1] See *ante*, p. 24.

[2] See his *Rāmāyaṇa*, Introdn., p. xv

[3] *Ibid*, xv—xxii.

metre found in the Rg-vēda might be *later* than the time of Vālmīki.[1] He then refers to the fact narrated in the *Rājataraṅgini* that King Dāmōdara II who lived five generations before Gōnardi III who lived (according to the calculations of M. Troyer[2]) in 1182 B.C., had his sins absolved by hearing the Rāmāyaṇa. "Allowing 120 years for the five generations," says Gorresio, "the poem must have already existed in 1300 B.C." The universal popularity of the poem and its traditions, the source of the poem as the theme for later poets and dramatists, the variety of readings, the absence of reference to mystic devotion[3] and to Buddhism, the non-mention of Ceylon[4] by the later names of Tāmraparṇi or Sinhala, are other evidences of antiquity. The Yavanas are, it is true, mentioned; but they might refer, as Schlegel said, to any pre-Alexandrian nations to the west of India.

Mr. P. T. Srinivas Aiyangar[5] argues that Rāma was a historical person mentioned in the *Mantras*; that the story connecting him with the Āryan invasion of South India was a later addition; that there were two Vālmīkis, one a contemporary of the Vēdic Rāma who perhaps wrote a Prākṛt ballad of his life, and the other a later man who, about the 7th century B.C., "re-wrote it in classical Sanskrit and incorporated the incarnation idea from the Āgamas" as

[1] This is of course unacceptable. For the manipulation of the Rg-vēdic hymn into the *Anushṭubh* see C. V. Vaidya's 'Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa' (1906), pp. 3—5. The most comprehensive contribution on epic versification is W. Hopkins' *Great Epic of India*, Chap. 4, p. 191ff.

[2] Troyer (1840) is summarised by Prinsep with the views of Wilson and others in his *Useful Tables*. See Edward Thomas' Edition, pp. 241—47.

[3] Gorresio distinguishes mystic devotion from the devotion shown to Rāma.

[4] This very fact is given as an argument against the antiquity of the poem by Jacobi and others!

[5] Madras University Lectures (The *Hindu*, July 31, 1928.); also his 'History of the Tamils', pp. 45—64.

well as presumably the account of the Āryan penetration to the south at the expense of the aboriginal tribes. The Śabaras who had the monkey and other animals for their totemistic objects of worship and had tail-like appendages to their dress were the Vānaras of the epic. The Rākshasas were, in his view, the primitive Tamils and are now probably represented by the Kuis in whose customs and practices this scholar sees echoes of the customs and practices attributed to the Rākshasas in the poem. Mr. Pargiter traces[1] the Vēdic word Hanūmant to the Tamil word *ānmandi* and *Rāvaṇa* to *iraivan*!

These arguments are speculative and cannot be accepted. There is no evidence of a Vēdic Rāma of the heroic type, of two Vālmīkis (one Vēdic and the other Āgamic) and of two Rāmāyaṇas (Vēdic and Prākṛt). The explanation of the identity of the Śabaras with the Vānaras and of the Kuis with the Rākshasas is fanciful, though there can be no doubt about the non-Āryan character of the Rākshasas, Śabaras and others. The philological suggestions of Pargiter are equally so.

It is the view of some that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed earlier than the Mahābhārata; for it is said to reflect a greater simplicity of life among the Āryans, and to indicate a larger tendency to include myths like those of Rishyaśṛṅga, more ignorance, the absence of acquaintance with the Mlēchchhas, the absence of the elaborate military tactics in the form of *vyūhas*, the meagreness of reference to advanced states, the comparative abundance of forests and forest life in the country, a less uniform style, a simpler plot, and an age of comparative lack of attainments as shown by Sīta in contrast to Draupadi[2].

As against these views[3] of comparative antiquity have been cited the arguments that the poem is less ancient

[1] J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 396 f.

[2] Pandit Natesa Sastri in Ind. Antq., Vol. XXIX, p. 8 ff.

[3] Weber in Ind Antq., Vol. IV, p. 247 ff. For the Buddhistic version see P. T. Srinivas Aiyangar's 'History of the Tamils,' pp. 47-8.

than its Buddhistic version; that it shows Greek influence in the reference to the flood, to the planets and to the Yavanas and Śakas; and that it refers to late religious ideas. Telang[1] seems to have shared this view because he simply contended that the poem was earlier than the time of Patañjali.

Reference has already been made to Professor Jacobi's view that Vālmīki who figures in tradition as the *ādikavi*, the creator of the epic style, apparently gathered the ballads sung by generations of Kuśa-lavas and tellers of Ākhyānas, Gāthas, Nārāsansis and Purāṇas, and put them in the epic form. Prof. Jacobi traces this to the 8th or 7th century B.C. (pp. 40—2) on political, geographical and religious grounds. To the arguments given already, an additional one can be mentioned here. Jacobi[2] points out that Pushya was in the sky from the beginning to the end of the night of the winter solstice and that this was possible only about B.C. 700. Secondly, the poet saw a total eclipse of the sun. Such eclipses took place in 546, 548 and 574 B.C. in the 6th century and 719 or 794 B.C. in the 8th century. Jacobi recognizes one difficulty in this, namely, that Pāṇini does not refer either to Rāma or Rāvaṇa. But he explains this off by saying that Pāṇini cared only for the language of the Śishṭas and not the epic Sanskrit. And as Pāṇini mentions the figures of the Mahābhārata he surmises that the Rāmāyaṇa was already settled in form while the Mahābhārata was in a flux. He believes that the major portion of the first book of the epic, the sixth book and those passages which refer to Rāma as an *avatār* of Vishṇu were later additions. Vālmīki's original collection was made in Kōsala, where the Ikshvākus ruled, and spread from there to other courts, so that it became the folk-epic of East Āryāvarta as the Mahābhārata was that of the West.

[1] Ind. Antq., Vol. III, p. 124 and p. 266.

[2] J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 318 f. where Keith criticises Jacobi's views given in his *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn. 1893.

These arguments of Prof. Jacobi have not gone unchallenged. Touching his astronomical arguments, for example, Keith remarks that neither of them can be taken seriously. "The first depends on the meaning of *pushyamitah* and on the theory that the notice cannot be a traditional one, while the second is based on the gratuitous assumption that only a total eclipse could explain the description." Similarly he believes it impossible to reduce relative chronology from the metres of different languages. He acknowledges the correctness of the linguistic, social[1] and historical arguments, but believes that all that can be deduced from them is that the composition of the poem took place in pre-Mauryan times, say about B.C. 350, and not necessarily earlier. He grants that the epic language was the language of a different class from Pāṇini's *bhāsha*. In the soliloquy of Hanumān, where he deliberates whether he was to address Śita in the *Mānushi Samskrit* or in the Samskrit of the Dvijas, he sees a corroborative proof for the existence of the separate types. He also agrees with Jacobi that epic Sanskrit was perfectly independent of the Prākṛt tongue, as is shewn by the fact that Pāḷi uses the Aōrist frequently and the Perfect seldom as a narrative tense while epic Sanskrit uses the Perfect frequently and Aōrist rarely. Nevertheless, Keith contends that these facts only go to prove that the poem was composed a century *before*, rather than a century *after*, Aśōka. Pāṇini's non-mention of any personage of the epic (while he cites several of the Mahābhārata) is, he holds, a corroboration of this. With regard to Jacobi's arguments based on the metre of the verses, Keith believes it impossible to deduce relative chronology from the metres of different languages. Moreover, he points out, the *Brhaddēvata* and the *Rg-vidhāna*, two works of the fourth century B.C., have got a form of metre similar to that of the epic. With regard to the historical and social arguments, Keith points out that they only go to show that the

[1] Jacobi argues that the Rāmāyaṇa does not mention *sati* which was officially recognized in the time of Megasthenes.

Rāmāyaṇa was pre-Mauryan and not necessarily as early as B. C. 600.

It is the belief of Prof. Hopkins that, as an art-product, the Ramāyaṇa is later than the Mahābhārata.[1] Vyāsa, he says, is only a legendary author, a name for convenience, while Vālmīki is a definite personality, in whose work there is, it is true, addition or interpolation, but concerning whose authorship there is no vagueness. But his general conclusion is that, in regard to the final growth of each, "it may be said at once that neither epic was developed quite independently of the other. The later Rāmāyaṇa implies the Mahābhārata, as the later Mahābhārata recognizes the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. It is not, then, a question of absolute separation, but only of the length we may go in separating."[2] Again: "Personally I have no doubt that the Pāndu (Pāṇḍava) form of the great epic is later than the Rāma epic; but, since one was a slow outgrowth from a Punjāb Kuru epic, and the other, of unknown antecedents, was developed far to the East, in much more polished form, while only the Bhārata is recognized in Vēdic literature, I have as little doubt that there was a Bhārata epic before there was a Rāmāyaṇa."[3] The Mahābhārata, it is true, refers to the Rāmāyaṇa in four places. Prof. Hopkins argues that this is not inconsistent with his conclusion. He contends that Vālmīki is mentioned only as a saint and not poet and that there is no *agreement* in all the Mahābhārata's references to the other epic. Professor Jacobi's argument that the Mahābhārata mentions Vālmīki while Vālmīki does not refer to the Bhārata is discounted by him on the ground that "the normal attitude of a Hindu towards his sources is silence" and that the later Rāmāyaṇa clearly indicates acquaintance with some parts of the Mahābhārata.[4] Professor Winternitz

[1] Cambridge History, I, p. 251.

[2] 'The Great Epic of India,' (1920), p. 59.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 61.

[4] Hopkins believes that the main portion of the Mahābhārata began about 300 B.C.; that it was completed between 200 and 400 A.D.; and that there were additions even later. *Ibid*, pp. 387—389 and 398.

would place the original Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki in the third century B.C.[1] He regards books II to VI as much earlier than I and VII. He believes that the Rāmāyaṇa, including the later portions, was already an old and famous work when the Mahābhārata had not yet attained its present form about the second century A.D. The nucleus of the Mahābhārata, however, he contends, might be earlier than that of the Rāmāyaṇa, to judge from the references in the later Vēdic literature.

It may be pointed out that, while Dr. Keith does not go so far as Prof. Jacobi, he is equally against giving a later date than the fourth century B.C. for the kernel of the poem. With regard to the objection that the poem refers to the Yavanas or Greeks and must therefore be subsequent to the Greek advent, Keith replies that the reference is not in the *kernel* of the poem and cannot be taken seriously. The objection (*e.g.*, Weber's) that a Buddhistic work, *Dasaratha Jātaka*, which contains verses similar to those of the epic, was perhaps the source of the latter, is overruled by Keith (like Jacobi) on the ground that the Pāḷi work was more probably an imitation of the Rāmāyaṇa; that at any rate both works might have been based on the language of the old *Brāhmaṇas* and so had no connection with each other. A third objection is that the Rāmāyaṇa is an attack on Buddhism and so could not have been produced before the second century B.C. Keith answers that the only reference to the Buddha in the Rāmāyaṇa was an interpolation of the second century B.C. A fourth objection is that it is doubtful whether Ceylon or Laṅkā was known to a poet of Kōsala so early. Keith answers that the identification of Laṅkā with Ceylon is questionable and evidently due to later times; that the conquest of the south is *not* in the kernel of the epic; that the poet's view of the south is extremely vague; and that the poem is in these respects a *myth*, and therefore an ancient work. A fifth objection is that the Rāmāyaṇa identifies Rāma with Vishṇu, and this is possible only if it had been

[1] See his 'Hist. Ind. Liter.', Vol. I, p. 516-7.

written after the second century B.C. Keith answers that such an identification is in a *later* part of the work, that its kernel recognizes Indra as the great God, and that this argument does not therefore disprove the antiquity of the work.

We may conclude this discussion of the chronology of the epics with the reiteration of the fundamental facts. No scholar disputes the antiquity of the original events forming the theme of the earliest recensions of the epics. There may be a Pāṇḍava epic later than the original Kuru epic; but that the historical basis of the Mahābhārata is to be found in the Vēdic epoch is not disputed. As a saga the Mahābhārata might have *begun* even earlier than the Rāmāyaṇa though, on account of its size, its development into the present epic form was completed later. It was in its ever-expanding bosom that Brāhmanism found more and more refuge for its didactics, its folk-lore, its philosophy, its practices, its encyclopaedic lore. Popular customs like polyandry were explained by arguments which could satisfy orthodoxy. Indeed the original itself was in many respects altered. Lassen observes that the original struggle was between the Kurus and the Pāñchālas and that the career of the Pāṇḍava brothers and their connection with the Pāñchālas were included to promote Brāhmanical interests. Professor Holtzmann sees greater virtues in the Kauravas and Karṇa than in the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛshṇa. He surmises that the former were Buddhistic; that the poem was originally Buddhistic; that Suyōdhana might be Aśōka himself; and that the poem was subsequently adapted for the Vishṇu and Śiva cults of the new Hinduism. Professor Eggeling also believes that the Pāṇḍava epic was composed after the Greek invasion or 300 B.C., and that it reached the final form under the influence of the Bhāgavatas who developed the Kṛshṇa cult about A.D. 200. Professor Hopkins would place the last additions to the main poem even in the fourth century A.D. It is not possible to accept very many of the arguments of these scholars; but there is no denying that the Mahābhārata is a work of many centuries and hands.

The original theme, however, was the Kuru-Pāñchāla struggle natural in an age of clan settlements, expansions and scrambles for lands. Similarly, the Rāmāyaṇa may contain additions, interpolations, refinements of a literary character, and elaborations of the Rāma cult. It might be that the Ceylon part was, like many other parts, elaborated in the light of later historical knowledge, though to believe that Vālmīki did not know Ceylon would be carrying scepticism too far. But there can be no question of the antiquity of the story of the Āryan adventurer and civilizer. Even Professor Hopkins points out that the Rāmāyaṇa recognizes Janamējaya as an ancient hero and knows of Hastināpura, the Kurus and the Pāñchālas. None denies that the original poem or saga deals with the career of the original Āryan kingdoms of East Āryāvarta, and that it began with the songs and rhapsodies of the Kuśa-lavas who wandered from village to village and court to court and who, "like all their class, had little reverence for the text of the poem, and lengthened out this touching episode, added that, inserted didactic passages or comic or burlesque scenes as they found their hearers appreciate them." And when we remember the patriarchal character of the Rāmāyaṇic polity and society, the existence of very small kingdoms, the absence of the mention of Pāṭaliputra (which was founded about 550 B.C. by Ajātaśatru) and of Śrāvasti (which was prominent in the time of Buddha), the lack of reference to Buddhism and the Śaiśunākas who founded Magadha about B.C. 700, we cannot but conclude that Vālmīki must have given the sagas an epic form about B.C. 700, when the Āryan colonisation of the south was just reaching completion though in an unsystematic manner. And in the centuries which followed, additions and alterations, necessarily reflecting historical developments, were made, till the poem reached its present form about the first century B.C. Throughout this period the language of the epic came to be more and more Pāṇinīyan. It became refined. It gave up the irregularities of archaic sagas and transformed itself into the kāvya form. The

continuity of the kāvya style with the old epic style is clear, as Professor Keith observes, in the persistence of the narrative Perfect, a feature discountenanced by Pāṇini, and in occasional *ārshas* or deviations from his norms or rules.

We have thus far traced the chronology of the age of the later Vēdas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas, the Upanishads and the *kernels* or original themes of the epics. We shall now pass on to deal with the concluding part of this chapter—the date of the Rg-vēda. It has been already shown in the first volume how Prof. Jacobi assigns[1] the range of the Rg-vēdic civilization from B.C. 4500 to 2500, how he places the composition of the hymns in the latter part of this period, how he arrives at about B.C. 3000 for the origin of the Dhruva cult. We have also seen how Tilak[2] places the Diti or Orion period of the Rg-vēda about 4000-2000 B.C. and the Aditi or pre-Orion period from about 6000 to 4000 B.C. We have also seen how Bühler and Winternitz are prepared to go to much earlier times than Macdonell, Keith, Oldenberg, Hopkins, Giles and others. Lastly, it has been observed, the Rg-vēdic civilization was in contact and clash with the Sindhu civilization and therefore could not but be taken back to a period earlier than the fourth millennium B.C.

It can be seen from the evolution of the extensive Vēdic literature traced in the last chapter and the discussion of the chronology of its different layers in the present, that it is impossible to agree with those critics who are disposed to be sceptical about the conclusions of Professor Jacobi. It is quite possible that one may not support Tilak in his tracing the Āryan people and civilization "from the temperate zone in post-glacial to the Arctic region in inter-glacial times." Nor is it possible perhaps to support him when he adds that as "the Āryans and their

[1] *Ind. Antq.*, XXIII, pp. 154—9.

[2] See his 'Arctic Home of the Vēdas,' 'Orion,' and 'Vēdic Chronolgy and Vēdāṅga-jyō isha' (Poona, 1925). In the last treatise of miscellaneous essays, Tilak compares the Chaldean and the Indian Vēdas and explains some difficult passages in the Vēdāṅga-jyōtisha.

culture or religion cannot be supposed to have developed all of a sudden at the close of the last inter-glacial period, the ultimate origin of both must be placed in remote geological times." The conclusions of ethnology and anthropology are ignored by him. Further, it is quite possible to explain the astronomical phenomena of the Vēdas he eruditely describes as the vague reports of stray Āryan adventurers in the northern climates and latitudes; for it was an age of widespread and many-sided migrations and movements. It is true that some scholars have found corroborative evidences in support of Tilak. Mr. Abhinas Chandra Das,[1] for example, claims to have actually traced evidences in the Rg-vēda to geological times, and therefore assigns it to between 30000 and 25000 years ago. His arguments regarding a Rajputana sea are not quite baseless; but his contentions are clearly speculative and clash hopelessly with the conclusions of ethnology, anthropology and comparative chronology.

It may be pointed out that there is a growing number of supporters for Tilak or his school. One good example we have in the attempt made to place the Rg-vēda about 6153 B.C. on the basis of the position of the Aśvins.[2] It is contended that the vernal equinox was in Castor and Pollux "at the time when the Hindus, Greeks, Persians and Lithuanians lived together and when the Aśvin myth arose." As the longitude of Castor and Pollux is now 112 degrees and as the equinox recedes one degree in 72 years, the equinox in Castor and Pollux, it is contended, must have taken place 112 × 72 or 8064 years before our time, that is, about 6153 B.C. "The time of the Aśvin hymns of the Rg-vēda may also be found from the datum that the car of the Aśvins was visible at early dawn and the Aśvins were dimly visible at evening. Capella, the brightest star in the Auriga, has the longitude of 80 degrees. The sun should be 15 degrees east of this, that is 95 degrees longitude in order that the car of the

[1] Author of *The Rig-Vēda* (1920); *Rig-Vēdic Culture*, (1925).

[2] The *Modern Review*, 1912 December.

Aśvins may be visible one hour before sunrise. Now the time when the sun was in 95 degrees at the time of the vernal equinox is 95 × 72 or 6840 years from our own time," that is, about 4929 B.C. The author of this view, who is a believer in the foreign home of the Āryans and *assumes* the higher antiquity of 'the Egyptians, Accadians and the Chinese,' concludes: "We know that the undivided Indo-Germans had named several stars like the Great Bear (Sans. *Ṛkṣha*, Latin *Ursa*, Greek *Arktos*) and they measured the months by the moon. It is not therefore at all strange that they should notice the conjunction of the sun with Castor and Pollux at the time of the vernal equinox, and should worship them as gods, and personify them, and give the story an anthromorphical colour." If the Accadians, the Egyptians and the Chinese were so ancient, asks the author, why not grant a moderate date of B.C. 6000 for the Āryans?

Another independent attempt to arrive at an even earlier date for the Āryan chronology[1] has been made on the basis of the first appearance of the star Canopus (Agastya), on the horizon of latitude 22°N., that is, the Vindhyas, to the Ṛshis. When did this take place? Mr. Ketkar answers: "Owing to the precession of the equinoxes the poles of the celestial equator move slowly round the poles of the ecliptic in a small circle of 24° in radius in the course of 26000 years. The star Canopus lies fixed at a distance of 14° from the south pole of the ecliptic. Viewed from Canopus the motion of the southern pole of the equator takes place in an ex-centric around it. The effect of this is that the distance of Canopus from the south pole varies from 10° (= 24° — 14°) to 38° (= 24° + 14°) in the course of 13000 years and back again in the same period. India lies between the north latitudes of 8° and 35° and is therefore well situated within the range of the north and south oscillations of Canopus." The star would first appear on the horizon of 10°N. in B.C. 11180; on 17°N. in 9030 B.C.; on 24°N. in

[1] See article by V. B. Ketkar in 'The Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference,' Poona (1922), p. 445 ff.

6880 B.C.; on 29° in 4730 B.C.; on 33° in 2580 B.C. The Vindhyas extend along 22° and so Canopus must have made its first appearance on their summits about 7500 B.C.' Mr. Ketkar interprets the legend of the disappearance of the sea in consequence of Agastya's exploit as a reference to the geological convulsions referred to in a previous chapter. He believes that the probable disappearance of the sea from the Gangetic basin, began about 7000 B.C. He further opines that Jupiter's first occultation of Pushya, referred to in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, must have taken place about 4350 B.C.; that the age when the cluster of the Pleiades used to rise due East, as stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, must have begun about 3000 B.C.; that the date of the observation of the solsticial points described in the Vēdāṅga-jyōtisha indicates 1400 B.C.; that the year of the battle of Kurukshētra must be 1263 B.C. on the evidences of the Bhavishya and Vāyu Purāṇas; and that it was about 290 A.D. that the initial point of the Hindu ecliptic was fixed as diametrically opposite to the star Chitra. He further suggests that from 3100 B.C. to 1400 B.C. there prevailed the solar calendar with a cycle of four years; that, from 1400 B.C. to 300 A.D., there was the luni-solar calendar with a cycle of five years; and that about 300 A.D. began the present luni-solar and planetary calendars with the Jovian cycles of 12 and 60 years.

Similarly, the opinion has been expressed that the Zoroastrian calendar,[1] which was closely associated with the Āryan, indicates a period going back to several millenniums before Christ. The Babylonians, it has been pointed out, had at first only four or five constellations in the Zodiac and learnt all the twelve from the Persian conquerors after

[1] See *Journal of the Ranade Association*, Madras, 1912. The author assigns Zoroaster to 3100 B.C. He infers from the reference in the Book of Zoroaster to the duration of summer for a period equal to twice that of winter, that the calendar must have begun in the region of Samarkhand and not Chaldæa or Egypt. The Zodiacal sign of Virgo with ears of corn in her hand and no elephant or camel in the star group, he says, must have meant the same.

Cyrus. The Iranian calendar began when *Cancer* was the first sign, *i.e.*, when the autumnal equinox was marked by the full moon being in Cancer. In other words, at the spring equinox, the sun was in this very sign and this, according to this writer, would carry us back to between 8100 and 6000 B.C. "It was then that the Zodiacal signs were assigned to the planets. To the moon, the nearest orb, was assigned the first sign Cancer, to the next in point of distance, *viz.*, the sun, was assigned the second sign Leo and so forth. After a while the equinox shifted from Cancer to Gemini and remained in the sign from about 6000 B.C. to 3850 B.C. It was during this period that the Iranian calendar with the month names Tishtar, Mithra, Anakila, Atar, Dathusho, Fravashayo, came into existence. When the equinox was somewhere near Mṛigaśirsha or, say, coincided in longitude with Capella, the lunar Zodiac of 28 Nakshatras seems to have been already in vogue among the Indo-Iranians as we see from the correspondence of the presiding deities, Iranian and Indian, in some of the asterisms." The different names of the lunar stations must have come into existence before B.C. 2300 when the Pleiades marked the spring equinox; for the Iranian name for the asterism is Pauvam or first. The names of the *Ameshapentas* in the month list were after the passing of the equinox point from Taurus to Aries, that is about B.C. 3000 at the earliest and B.C. 1700 at the latest. "As the name *Khordat* (Avesta *Haarvatat*) as an *Ameshapenta* came into existence after Zoroaster and as its earliest possible date is 3000 B.C. Zoroaster must have been anterior to that date. As the pre-Zoroastrian period of Indian calendar lasted from 6000 to 3850 B.C. and as the post-Zoroastrian *Ameshapenta* was dated about 3000 B.C., it is concluded that Zoroaster lived between 3800 and 3100."

It is unnecessary to dwell on similar attempts at the comparative chronology of the Vēdic literature. There is a large similarity in the astronomical systems of the ancient world. That indicates a common origin for the system; and where can that origin be appropriately located except in the midst of the people who constructed an

elaborate system based on it to a larger extent than any other people? The Chinese did not know anything of the planetary motions and the precessions. The Babylonians were ignorant of the lunar system. The Greeks had the same names as the Hindus for the Zodiac, the days of the week and the theory of the epicycles, and writers like Biot, Kaye and Whitney have traced the Hindu system to the Greek original. While it cannot be denied that there was some Greek influence on the growth of Indian astronomy after the Greek advent, it is difficult to be dogmatic in the matter. In any case the Hindu system is very dissimilar to the Greek in details and in some important respects. For instance it is almost modern in spirit so far as it deals with trigonometrical formulas, and its algebraical devices of which the Greeks were not aware. Its calculations were more accurate than those of Ptolemy who in his *Almagest*[1] depended on geometrical forms and analyses which have been proved to be very defective in fundamental respects. In any case the alleged borrowings from the Greeks belong to a late period. So far as the Vēdic age is concerned we know that the motions of the sun and the moon, the division of the year into *ayanas*, seasons, months and days, the provision of intercalary months, the paths of the Nakshatras and a few at least of the planets were all known to the Āryans by sheer observations of their own with the unaided eye. "In the ancient scriptures there are also references, though preserved in legendary garb, to the zodiacal shifts of the year beginning at winter-solstice and the Nakshatra begining at the vernal equinox. If we can read any meaning at all in the story of the *Aitareya Brāhmana*, 1·7, and the *Taithrīya Samhita*, VI. I. 8 1. that Aditi (the presiding deity of Punarvasu) has been blessed with a boon that all sacrifices should begin and

[1] As Mr. Shyama Sastri observes, *vide* his article 'Astronomy, Past and Present,' in the Mysore University Magazine for 1931, pp. 199—201. The writer has contributed copiously to the literature on the subject.

end with her, it must be that a reformation of the Vedic calendar was effected for the first time, when the vernal equinox was in the asterism Punarvasu and the year commenced with the Chaitra full-moon at the solstice, *i.e.*, about 600 B.C. Again, the slōka in the *Bhagavadgīta* (10th chapter, विभूतियोगाध्याय) मासानां मार्गशीर्षोऽहं ऋतूनां कुसुमाकरः contains clearly a reference to the vernal equinox in Mṛgaśīrsha... ; and this must have been the *first* asterism in a certain age of the Vedic period, *i.e.*, about 3000 B.C. But not only the literary scholars, but also the Hindu astronomers, seem to have misunderstood[1] the passage and interpreted it according to an old obsolete tradition (that the winter-solstice begins the year) and deduced from it that the summer-solstice had then shifted to Mṛgaśīrsha (63° Polar Long. from Revati). This meant the shifting of the vernal equinox 27° behind Revati. But there is also ample evidence to account for the tradition that the vernal equinox was once observed to be in the asterism Krithika. Varahamihira says:

आश्लेषार्धादासीद्यदा निवृत्तिः किलोष्णकिरणस्य ।
युक्तं अयनं तदासत्तिस्राम्रतं अयनं पुनर्वसुतः ॥

"Summer solstice at Aslesha is evidently equivalent to the vernal equinox at Krithika, *i.e.*, 27° in front of Revati, and summer solstice at Punarvasu means vernal equinox at Aswini. To reconcile these statements, the later astronomers probably devised the libration theory of the sway of the equinoxes 27° on each side.

'लिंशत्कृत्यो युगे भानां चक्रं प्राक् परिलम्बते ।
तद्गुणाद्भूदिनैर्भक्ताद्युगणाद्यदवाप्यते ॥
तद्दोस्त्रिंशादशाजांशा विज्ञेया अयनाभिदाः ॥

"Before the vernal equinox receded from Mrigasira to Krithika, it must have gone through Rohini, in the intermediate stage and we have actually evidence of this in the Vedic legend that describes the conduct of Prajāpati (symbolising the beginning of the vernal equinox) approach-

[1] Mr. Shyama Sastri points out that the *Amarakōśa* is ambiguous as to whether Mārga or Māgha is the beginning of the year.

ing towards his daughter Rohini as a reprehensible one deserving the censure of the Gods. Not having actually understood perhaps the true nature of the phenomenon of precession, the Vedic bards must have considered this change in the position of the vernal equinox as something ominous, a misconduct of the Gods."

It must be obvious from what has been thus far said that, except among scholars whose orthodoxy is too rigid to go back beyond 1200 B.C. or at the most 2000 B.C., there is a growing opinion in favour of Prof. Jacobi's contentions, if not Tilak's. The plausibility of the theory of comparative antiquity is upheld, as has been already said, by the study of the comparative history of the Rg-vēdic, the Sindhu, the Mesopotamian and the Egyptian civilizations. Incalculable mischief has been done by almost all the English and American scholars in *assuming arbitrarily* the earliest dates for Egypt or Mesopotamia—dates going back to B.C. 5000 at least—and the latest possible dates for Ancient India on the ground that India borrowed from them. This was the case before Āryan inscriptions* of B.C. 1600 were found at Boghaz-koi and Tel-el-Amarna and much more before the Harappā and Mohenjo-daro discoveries were made. When the Mitanni inscriptions were discovered, these scholars received an unpleasant

* The German excavations at Boghaz-koi by H. Winckler in 1907 revealed the Indian deities of Indra, Varuṇa, the great Twin brethren (Nāsatyas), etc. The cuneiform tablets discovered at Tel-el-Amarna (Berlin, 1896) in Upper Egypt contain letters from the tributary princes of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni, Phoenicia and Canaan to the Egyptian Pharoahs. Among the letters is one by a king of Mitanni, Dushratta by name. It also contains the Iranian or 'Iranoid' names of his brother, Artashuvara, and his grandfather, Aratama. There is also reference to Suttarṇa, Shurias (Sūrya), Martyas (Maruts), Simasai (Himalaya), etc. The syllable, *arta*, points out Bloomfield, is from the Vēdic *Rta*. The Boghaz-koi and Mitanni records belonged to about B.C. 1600. See article by Jacobi in *J. R. A. S.* 1909, pp. 721.-6. Keith dogmatically denies Āryan influence over the Kassites and Hittites. See *Ind. Hist. Qly.*, I, p. 1417. J. Halévy did the same in the *Revue Semitique*, 16. 1908, pp. 217 ff.

shock at first, but afterwards recovered their equanimity, rallied their scattered forces, and began to contend that these inscriptions *must* refer to pre-vēdic times, that they indicate the passage of the Āryans from Europe to Irān or from Irān to Europe*. When the Sindh discoveries were made, these scholars received a more severe shock. The finds are rather inconvenient from *their* standpoint as they show the synchrony of the Sindh civilization with the Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations of the 4th millennium B.C. They therefore have either kept quiet or have dogmatically asserted that it was an introduction from the region of the Euphrates to the region of the Indus. But such a suggestion is positively disproved by two facts, namely, (1) that the Sumerians were foreign to Mesopotamia and (2) that the discoveries in India refer to only *later* periods of Sindh civilzation and not *earlier* ones and that still earlier layers of archæological finds are bound to carry back the Sindh civilization by two or three millenniums. There is every plausibility for the theory that the Sumeriansf were the original people of the Indus valley, and that this region was the cradle of the civilization of the world to which even Mesopotamia and Egypt were indebted. The Heliolithic period of Indian history, in other words, is not later than that of the Nile, the Euphrates or the East Mediterranean.

Now, we know from the Rg-vēda that the Āryans were the enemies of the Asuras, with whom the 'Sumerians' of the Sindh valley have been identified. The Āryans, it is clear from the Rg-vēda, conquered and assimilated

* *E.g.*, E. Meyer in *Journal of the Prussian Academy*, 1908, pp. 14 ff; Oldenberg in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 1095-1109; Keith in the same, pp. 1100-6, and *Ind. Hist. Qly.*, I, p. 14—17; Peake in 'The Bronze Age and the Celtic World,' pp. 156 ff.

† Hall's 'Ancient History of the Near East', 4th Edn., London, 1920. Dr. Hall holds that the Sumerians came into Western Asia from India. *Per contra*, G. Ipsen (Heidelberg, 1925) traces the Indo-European words for copper, cow and star from the Sumerians in 3000—2100 B.C.

them completely. There is every reason to believe that the Rg-vēdic hymns pre-suppose the non-vēdic but Āryanised culture of Sindh. The Āryans reached Harappā on the lower course of the Parushṇi (Rāvi or Irāvati), and effected the fall or destruction of the city. It has indeed been suggested that the Yadus and Turvaśas whom Indra is said to have brought from the sea were probably immigrants from the lower Sindh valley who became one with the Āryans of the further north. Indra overthrew the Yadus, the Turvaśas and the Dāsa Śambara for the sake of the Āryas; and destroyed their *puras* which, we are told, were often made of copper or iron and inundated by the autumnal floods of the rivers. The puras so destroyed were, it has been surmised, those of the Paṇis of the Sindh valley. These Paṇis are described in the Vēdas as merchants and demons. Though they were held in esteem otherwise, they did not offer sacrifices to Indra, and were regarded as deserving to be ignored, deserted and destroyed by the Aśvins. Indra was their great enemy (Purōhā, Purandhara). They had to be softened and made obedient by Pūshan. On the other hand their chief, Bṛbu, gave Bharadvāja 1000 cows. It has been suggested that the Paṇis were the people of the Sindh valley who had a commercial civilization as is indicated by the pictographic legends in their seals; that they came into clash with the Āryans who consisted mainly of priests and warriors; that, in the course of the struggle, their puras were destroyed; and that they came to form, on account of cultural assimilation, important sections of Āryan society. The different methods of burial which prevailed among the Āryans sufficiently indicate the influence of the Sindh people of the Chalcolithic age. The Sindhians were completely Āryanised. The royal clans, the priestly clans, belonged to different elements of a composite society formed of the amalgamation of Aryan and non-Aryan elements. The

* See 'The Indus Valley in the Vēdic Period' by Ramaprasad Chanda, in Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 31 (1926). Also the same author's "Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley," (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey, No. 41, (1929).

Rg-vēdic conflicts are not between the Āryans and non-Āryans, but different sections of the Āryans themselves after they became culturally complex. Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda points out that the religion of the Vēdic Rshis was different from that of the kings and chiefs of the Indus valley; that the latter were declining at the time of the Āryan contact; that human sacrifice, which was practised by the Kshatriyas primarily, and *anumaraṇa* or the wife's following the husband after death, were due to the non-Brahmanical source; that even yōga which was practised in Sindh influenced the Aryans only in the later Vēdic period; that in short the Āryan civilization destroyed but assimilated the Chalcolithic.

What inference is possible from these facts? When we remember that the cultural conflict, assimilation and synthesis recorded in the Rg-vēda indicate the passage of hundreds of years, when we remember that the Sindh civilization probably went back to at least 5000 B.C.,—it might have been the source of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations—and when we remember that the Āryans had to gain the whole of the Panjāb and Indus valley by a death-grapple at every step, it is obvious that the attribution* of such a late date as 1500 B.C. for the Rg-vēda is absurd. By

Mr. R. Chanda believes in the Aryan immigration into India from 'somewhere' beyond the north-west. He ignores Dr. Haug's conclusion that "the Zoroastrian religion arose out of a vital struggle against the form which the Brahmanical religion had assumed at a certain early period." See 'Essays on...the Parsis,' 3rd Edn., 1884, p. 287 et sq.

* In his *Aryanisation of India* (Calcutta, 1925), N. K. Dutt concludes that "the Aryans entered India about 2300—2200 B.C." which Charpentier regards as not far from wrong "though we should like to see it reduced by some two or three centuries." *J. R. A. S.*, 1927, p. 146. Some of the most absurd contributors on the subject are Prof. J. Hertel who places Zoroaster and the Rg-veda about 550 B.C. (See *Ind. Hist Qly.*, I, pp. 4 ff.); Hüsing (Krakow, 1921); and Brunnhofer who identifies Rg-vedic Pṛthuśravas Kānītas with a Scythian king mentioned in Greek coins and inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C.! See Winternitz, I, 1927, p. 307.

2000 B.C. the cultural synthesis was complete in the Panjāb, and the Āryans were expanding over Hindustan. It must have been preceded by many centuries of cultural growth. The advanced character of the Rg-vēdic language makes a denial of it impossible. The astronomical evidences may be confused, allusive and vague; but they are numerous enough to show a long period of previous intellectual development, observation, and growth of the heaven-cult.

The only equitable conclusion possible under these circumstances is that the Āryans, the eastern-most sections of the original Mediterranean race, had the beginnings of their civilization in the close of the Neolithic age about the beginning of the fifth millennium B.C.; that from at least 5000 B.C. to about 2000 B.C. they slowly developed their language and civilization and overthrew the people of Sindh; that, during this period, there were branches of them who proceeded in all directions; that just at the time when the cultural conflict was going on in India, and also after it, there were immigrations of the Āryans towards West Asia and from thence to Europe, the evidences of which we have in the lands of the Sumerians, the Egyptians, the Kassites and the Hittites. The Iranian civilization is only an off-shoot of the Āryan civilization of India, transplanted and locally adapted. The Avestic language was a dialect of Sanskrit spoken by a closely allied race considerably influenced by colonists from India. And such colonisations and immigrations took place for hundreds of generations. The language, religion and institutions of Iran show the Indian influence in full. Even such* an important idea as the *Aitareya*, the sacred fire of the household, connected with and tended by a pupil learning the Brāhmaṇas, was introduced into Irān. The Avestan *ātar* is the Sanskrit *etara*; the Avestan *athravan* is the Sanskrit

* See "The Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, pp. 95—9 for an interesting contribution on the subject by Mr. J. J S. Taraporuvala.

Atharvan and probably, as some suggest, cognate with *Atri*. All have been traced to *idh*, to kindle, a root which spread as far as Greece. Many fundamental ideas of Iranian religion were possible only because of Vēdic infusion spreading over centuries. To bring it down to 1000—600 B.C and attribute the origin of the Rg-vēda to that period is a gross absurdity. It is due to the dogmatism which refuses to see Indian influence in the Mitanni and Hittite records and cultures. *

It is true that Sir John Marshall† is not convinced that the advent of the Vēdic Āryans was so early. While conceding the contemporaneity of the Sindh civilization with the Sumerian and Egyptian, he believes that the theory of Āryan immigration about B.C. 1500 is not inconsistent with it. One argument of his is that the Rg-vēdic Āryans were ignorant of iron like the Sindhians. But it is difficult to see how this can be an argument for the lateness of the Āryans. If it proves anything, it can show only contemporaneity, and not any differ-

* See JBRAS, 25, 1918, pp. 76 ff. for R. G. Bhandarkar's views on the subject. In Calcutta Review, 1924, pp. 287 ff. Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya places the Rg-vēda, the Yajur-vēda and Atharva-vēda in B.C. 3000 and the Brāhmaṇa period in 2000-1400 B.C. He believes in Aryan invasion from Central Asia into India and Indian influence in Asia Minor to be '*Vrātya*'.

† See his monumental work "Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization," 3 Vols., 1931. In Chapter VIII (Vol. I, pp. 102 ff.), Sir John discusses the age and authors of the Indus civilization. He traces the resemblance of the Indus culture to the so-called Pre-diluvian culture of Elam and Mesopotamia and to the proto-historic culture of Sumer. He then discusses the period of time covered by the settlements at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā ; describes the antiquities ; gives proofs of intercourse between the Indus valley, Mesopotamia and Elam ; and concludes that the Mohenjo-daro antiquities were probably not earlier than 3250 B.C. or later than 2750 B.C. The conclusion ignores possibilities of earlier dates. Sir John discusses the ethnology of the Sindh people and in the concluding portion of the chapter compares the Indus and Vēdic cultures and traces the sequence of the Indus and Vēdic civilizations.

ence in time. Another argument of Sir John Marshall is that silver was known to the Indus people but not the Āryans of the Rg-vēda. But silver is mentioned in the Atharva-vēda and later Vēdic literature; and we cannot positively say that these passages do not indicate an earlier knowledge of the metal. Then again, Prof Langdon has, as the result of his study of more than 300 pictographs of Sindh, come to the conclusion that the Brāhmi script, which has been usually attributed to Phoenician influence about B.C. 700, was unmistakably derived from the Indus script. "If this script was preserved and finally issued into the alphabet of the Buddhist period," he says, "it proves that the Aryans must have had intimate contact with these founders of culture in India. In any way we may look at the problem, the Aryans in India are far more ancient than history admits. Their migration across Anatolia, where traces of them are found in the inscriptions of the Hittite capital, as early as the 17th century, is an hypothesis entirely contradictory to the new situation revealed by these discoveries in the Indus valley. *Far more likely is it that the Aryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race.*" Sir John Marshall does indeed maintain that the Aryans might have come about B.C. 1500 and borrowed the art of writing not from the Sindh people direct but from other centres of Sindh civilization (*e.g.*, Jhukar, twenty miles off Mohenjo-daro), which existed after the destruction of the more ancient types of Harappā and Mohenjo-daro. But this argument is laborious and obviously biassed by the traditional view. In any case, Sir John is not quite consistent with himself in this method of arguing.

Still another argument in favour of a comparatively late date for the Vēdas is the absence of the horse in the Sindh seals, while that animal occupied an important place in the life of the Rg-vēdic Aryans. But we know that, in later Vēdic literature, Sindh is described as rich in horses. We cannot say how far we can depend on the dangerous argument of silence in regard to the earlier period.

Then there is the contention that the bull was venerated in ancient Sindh unlike the cow which was so important in Vēdic life. But there is no sufficient reason to warrant the belief that the bull was less venerated than the cow in Vēdic India. A favourite simile was the comparison of the gods with the bull. In sacrifices too the bull was by no means ignored.

Still another argument given by Sir John is that the tiger appears in Mohenjo-daro on the one hand, and later Vēdic literature on the other, and that this indicates that the Rg-vēda belonged to an intermediate period. But the existence of the tiger in Sindh is not conceded by all. The striped animal found so often in the Sindh seals has been taken by some to be the hyæna, the *sālāvṛka*. Further, even if it is granted that the tiger existed in early Sindh and in later Vēdic period, the absence of its mention in the Rg-vēda might be a mere accident. The presence of the tiger in ancient Sindh is very problematical.

Another point on which Sir John lays emphasis is that the elephant was not so well-known to the Vēdic Āryans as to the people of Sindh. This contention cannot be taken seriously. The Rg-vēda mentions the two words *hastin* and *vāraṇa* to indicate the elephant. To deny the meaning of *elephant* to the word *hastin* in the Rg-vēda while granting it in regard to the Atharva-vēda and other literature seems to be whimsical and arbitrary. Further, even Keith who is doubtful in connection with *hastin* in the Rg-vēda, grants that the *vāraṇa* can be no other animal. Above all, as Mr. Mackay observes, "possibly the elephant was not so well-known to the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro as we thought at first," and "it may never have been wild in Sindh and have been used by a few people only for purposes of State."

A religious argument given for the lateness of the Vēdic cult is that inSindh there was the prevalence of iconism or image-worship while the Vēdic religion was one of anthropomorphism. But this is not entirely true. We find that the Rg-vēda mentions an image of Indra for which

ten cows were not regarded as an equal price. Keith also points that, though the Vēdic gods are anthropomorphic, theriomorphism is not lacking in the Vēdas.

Still another argument is that the female principle is almost wholly subordinate to the male in the Vēdic religious beliefs, while in the Indus valley it stood, if we are to judge from the available figurines of the Mother Goddess, on a higher footing than the male. It may be conceded that some at least of the germs of the later Śakti cult are found in Sindh; but there is absolutely no justification for believing that the rudiments of Śaktism were absent or subordinate in the Vēdic cult. The idea of the creative female principle was not lacking in the conception of the earth as goddess. Sir John quotes Dr. Oppert to prove that the earth-goddess predominated among the non-Āryan peoples; but this is mere speculation, and Dr. Oppert is hardly a safe authority in the discussion of such questions. Tantricism was a universal religion with local variations in ancient times. The idea of Kāḷi being a non-Āryan deity borrowed by the Āryans is rightly disputed by Dr. Sten Konow (JASB., Vol. XXI, No.7). He points out that this deity was worshipped by even the European sections of the 'original' Āryan race. Tacitus records the prevalence of the worship of the mother earth among Germanic tribes. The position of the priest as the husband of the goddess in rituals, the procession, the ablution in sacred lake, and other fertility-rites existed then. He derives the German goddess *Nerthus* from the Sanskrit *nṛt* (to dance) and shows how *nṛtya* is connected with Śiva's consort as Kāḷi. The features of Durga-pūja include feasting, ceremonial procession, and immersion in water, which men should not see on the penalty of death. All these features are found in the Āryan world in the west as the Aryan world in India. It is obvious, then, that it is dangerous to depend too much on the element of the female principle in the Vēdic and Sindhu cultures for purposes of chronological comparison and estimate.

Another argument is that Śiva-worship, in its main features, had its origin in Sindh. Sir John Marshall claims to see Śiva in a three-headed figure seated on a Yōgic attitude on a deer-throne discovered at Mohenjo-daro. The conception of Śiva as an all-seer and a Yōgin, in other words, was learnt by the Āryans from Sindh. The very name *Śiva*, he surmises, might have originated from the Dravidian word for *red*. In its sense of *auspicious* God, it might have arisen, he says, in the Aryan desire for a sarcastic euphemism. But there are difficulties in accepting all these views. The Rg-vēda, while representing Rudra in his terrible aspects, is not lacking in representing him as Śiva in milder aspects. The characteristics of Śiva as a *jaṭādhūri*, as an ascetic, as the practiser of Yōga, as the lord of mountains, are already fore-shadowed in the Rg-vēda. The Atharva-vēda positively refers to him as Paśupati, the lord of beasts, as a looker in all directions, as the lord of meditation and wisdom, indicating the origin of later iconographical conceptions. It is thus very doubtful whether the Aryan borrowings were so heavy as Sir John takes them to be.

Another argument is that the worship of the phallus did not prevail among the Āryans and was borrowed later on though abhorred at first. It is pointed out by Keith (*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, Vol. I, p. 129), however, that the phallus-worship might have existed among certain sections of the Aryans. In any case, the borrowing must have taken place sufficiently early. Similarly, in regard to the worhip of Agni, the contention that it was found in every Āryan house and not at Mohenjo-daro is based on insufficient evidence.

It is clear from all these that the Vēdic Āryans must have been in close contact with the Sindhu people. Some scholars go so far as to make the Sindhu civilization itself Āryan. Mr. Narendranath Law, for instance, would trace almost all features of the one to the other. While this is doubtful, there can be no doubt about the approach of the two cultures on account of their contemporaneity and their mutual assimilation into the single Vēdic cult. As has been already

said, the Aryans were, like the Dravidians, Mesopotamians, Egyptians and the Sindhu people, branches of the Mediterranean race. During the hundreds of generations when the pre-Dravidians, the Dravidians and the Sindhu people were developing the pre-Āryan civilisations of India, the Aryans were gradually developing their culture in the area from Kashmir to Bactria, till about 4000 B.C. they began to be in the van of human progress. As the Aryans belonged ethnologically to these races and had free mixture with them, any other conclusion would leave a gap which ethnology does not justify. To come into contact with and to assimilate the Sindhu men who were contemporaneous with the early dynasties of Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Aryans must have been sufficiently active before the third millennium B.C.

It can be now seen that the history of the Aryan progress in India can be divided into three periods. During the first or Rg-vēdic age, which lasted down to 2000 B.C., the Āryans were in the Panjāb, Afghanistan, Sindh, and Kashmir. In the second period, which may be roughly attributed to about 2500 B.C.—1000 B.C., the Aryans were engaged in the conquest and colonisation of Hindustan. The later Vēdas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Araṇyakas, the Upanishads, the early Sūtras, and the kernels of the epic literature indicate this wider area of Aryan occupation and activity. In the age of the Rg-veda, at any rate in the later part of it, the centre of the Āryan civilization had drifted to the holy land between the Sarasvati and the Dṛshadvati. In the Brāhmaṇic period, the Aryan culture spread further east. The centre of life was no longer the east Panjāb or the north-west, but the land of the Kurus and the Pañchālas, the Vasas and Uśīnaras, known as the Madhyadēśa or middle country. The Kōsalas, the Vidēhas and the Magadhas rise in the provinces now forming Oudh, North Bihār and South Bihār; while the Satvants figure in the south, and the Uttara Kurus and Uttara Madras in the north, beyond the Himalayas, beyond the Panjāb and Kashmīr. As time progresses, the eastern half of the new land comprising Kōsala and Vidēha becomes more and more important, and the

Panjāb correspondingly loses importance, its tribes becoming unholy. Surrounding these Āryan people, there arises a belt of semi-Brahminised tribes—the Gandhāras, the Mūjavants, the Mahāvṛshas and the Kambhōjas in the north-west, and the Āndhras, the Puṇḍras, the Mūtibas, the Puḷindas, the Vidarbhas (modern Berar), and the Naishadhas on and around the Vindhyan borders, (the Vindhyas being named definitely as the southern mountains). The speeches of this semi-Āryanised belt of tribal states were dialectically different from the true Āryan tongue, the effects of which are seen to the present day. Post-Vēdic literature, then, indicates the progress of the Āryans throughout Hindustan from Dvāraka (Gujarāt) in the west to Bengal in the east. The Mahābhārata which, as has been already pointed out, deals with the historical geography of the same period, describes the conflict between the Āryan tribal states of the west, headed by the Pañchālas and the Kurus, and its effects on the growth of Āryan culture. Similarly the Rāmāyaṇa deals with the civilising activities of the Āryan kings of the eastern half of Āryāvarta, their spreading the Āryan culture to South India, and the momentous effects it had on Āryo-Dravidian relations. The materials of the period indicate not only the Āryan expansion over Āryāvarta but also the many-sided developments in the art of government, religious thought, economic improvement, literature, art and science.

The third period of Āryan history is illustrated by the early Sūtras and by the references, of a comparatively late character, in the epics and purāṇas. During this period, the Āryan expansion took the southern direction across the Vindhyas, and reached not only the southern confines of India, but also passed over to the island of Ceylon. Pāṇini does not refer to the southern states, while Kātyāyana does. We have also seen how the two Sūtrakāras—Bōdhāyana and Āpastamba—wrote their Sūtras after the localisation of the Āryan culture in the Dakkan. From these facts we may conclude that the conquest of South of India by the Āryans was completed between 700 and 600 B.C., or perhaps a century earlier.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The various authorities dealing with the chronology of the different layers of the Vēdic literature have been referred to in the footnotes. The following gives the bibliographical history of the research in this line in a convenient compass. In 1859 Max Muller published his 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' wherein he placed the Sūtras in between 600 and 200 B.C. and the *latest* portion of the Rg-vēda in about B.C. 1000. In his *Chips* (1868, I, 13) he is for 1100 or 1200 B.C.; in his 'Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religions of India' (1882), he is for 1000 B.C. but carries the 'collecting age' to 800 and the earliest portions to an uncertain date. In his *Physical Religion* (Hibbert Lectures, 1891), he laid down that the upper limit *might* go to even B.C. 3000. Subsequent writers *assumed* that Max Muller had *proved* the Vēdic literature to have been evolved from about 1500 or 1200 B.C. to B.C. 200. Occasionally, writers ventured to go to earlier dates. L. Von Schroeder (*Indiens Literatur und Kultur*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 291 ff.) was for carrying it to B.C. 2000. Martin Haug (*Aitarēya Brāhmaṇam*, 2 Vols. 1863, Introdn., pp. 47-8) fixed the commencement of the Vēdic literature between 2400 and 2000 B.C., the Samhitas between 2000 and 1400, and the Brāhmaṇas between 1400—1200 B.C. Whitney (*Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, 1873-4, Series I and II) was for the *later* dates. Adolf Kaegi (The *Rg-vēda*, Arrowsmith's trans., 1880, p. 22) placed the collection in 1500 B.C. Weber (*Hist. Ind. Lite.*, 2nd Edn., London, 1882), Hopkins (*Religions of India*, 1894), Macdonell (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1900), Keith (*Vēdic Index*, 1912, in collaboration with Macdonell, and *Cambridge History*, Vol. I, 1922, pp. 110—3 and pp. 146-9) have faithfully clung to the latest dates given tentatively by Max Muller. They have been impervious to all publications enjoining revision of views. In his *Report on Sans. Mss.* (1885) R. G. Bhandarkar was for placing the Brāhmaṇas in 1200—900 B.C.

In 1878-85 Ludwig (*Der Rig-vēda*, III, pp. 183 ff., etc.) discussed the question from the standpoints of the position of the Kṛttika, and the eclipses of the sun. F. Hommel and others argued the question from the standpoint of the stars (Z.D.M.G., 45, 1891, pp. 592 ff.). Jacobi elaborated the inquiry and arrived at B.C. 4500 (Festguass au Rudolf von Roth, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 68—73; NGGW of Gottingen, 1894, pp. 105—16; Transactions of Oriental Congress,

Geneva, 1894, pp. 103-8). Tilak published his *Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vēdas* in 1893, carrying the date to B.C. 6000, and giving different periods for the Vēdas and Brāhmaṇas ranging from 4000 to 2000 B.C. Buhler (*Ind. Antq.* 1894, pp. 238 ff.) supported a somewhat early chronology on general grounds. But Whitney (*Ind. Antq* 1895, pp. 361 ff.), Thebaut (*Ind. Antq.* Vol. 24, pp. 85 ff. and *Astronomie*, Grundiss, III, pp. 1 ff.), Barth (*Journal Asiatique*, 1894, pp. 156 ff.), Weber (Berlin Academy, 1894, pp. 775 ff.), Oldenberg (Z D M G, 48 pp. 629 ff.; 49, pp. 470 ff.; 50, pp. 450 ff.) have not supported the theory of early chronology on astronomical grounds. Jacob's replies and criticisms (Z D M G., 1895, 49, pp. 218 ff. 50, pp. 69 ff.) failed to convince men like Macdonell (*Hist. Sans. Lite.*, 1900) and Oldenberg (NGGW. 1909, pp. 544 ff.). But S.A. Dikshit (*Ind. Antq.*, 1895, pp. 245 ff.), B.V. Kamesvara Aiyar (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, 1922; *Ind. Antq.* 1919, pp. 95 ff.), D. Mukhopadhyaya (*Journal of the Department of Science*, Calcutta University, Vol. VI, 1923, pp. 41 ff.) have assigned the Brāhmaṇas to B.C. 3000 at the earliest. Winternitz was for an early date (Vol. I, p. 227); but he seems to have progressed the other way of late. See his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Trans. Calcutta, pp. 298-9 for his dependence on Prof. A. Prey's views about the *Kṛttikas* being due east about 1250 or 1100 B.C. There are possible dates of 2100 or 3100 B.C.; but these are not so suitable, he concludes.

The literature of discussion on the discovery of Boghazkoi is voluminous. Halévy (*Revue Semitique*, Vol. 16, 1908) doubted the identity of Āryan Gods, but he is alone in this respect. The contributors to the discussion are:—Meyer in S B A. 1908, pp. 14 ff.; Jacobi in J R A S. 1909, pp. 721 ff., 1910, pp. 456 ff. and 1911, pp. 387 ff.; J. Sayce in J R A S. 1106 ff.; Keith in J. R. A. S. 1909 (pp. 1100 ff.), 1910, pp. 464 ff., Bhandarkar Memorial Volume, pp.81 ff., and Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XVIII, Introdn.; Oldenberg in JRAS, 1909, pp. 1075 ff., *Ibid* 1910, pp. 846 ff. and NGG W. for 1918, pp. 305; Winternitz in Calc. Review, 1923; and Sten Konow in Royal Frederick University Publications of the Indian Institute, Kristiania, 1921. Dr. Sten Konow sees in the mention of the Nāsatyas in the Mitanni treaty influence of the Āryan rite of marriage, and infers "that the extension of Indo-Āryan civilization into Mesopotamia took place after the bulk of the Ṛg-vēda had come into existence." So, according to Sten Konow, the oldest portions of the Ṛg-vēda were considerably older than the Mitanni treaty. Pargiter believes (*Ind. His. Tradn.*, p. 300) that the Mitanni records

prove that there was an outflow of people from India before 1500 B.C., that they took Āryan gods with them, that their career in India must have been earlier, and that his own theory of Āryan expansion beyond the N.W. through the Druhyus would suit the available evidences better than the others. Dr. Giles (*Camb. Hist.* pp. 72-6) would place the borrowing of Aryan deities before B.C. 1400, but take it that it was a sign of the Āryan move towards the east, and that the borrowing took place before the Aryan division. This is the view also of Meyer and Oldenberg (NGGW, 1918, p. 91). But Winternitz (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I p. 305) takes them, like Sten Konow and Hillebrandt (who wrote on the subject in a research journal at Bresbane), to be Aryan gods, and says: "We shall have to assume that, just as there were Āryan immigrations into India from the west, there must have been isolated migrations back to the west. We may think either of warlike adventures or of connections by marriage. Nor should we forget that, at the time of the Rg-vēda, the Aryan Indians were as yet much nearer the west from the geographical point of view." As the Vēdic gods spread to Asia Minor about B.C 1400, the Āryans must have been established in N.W. India a very considerable time before this. It would be supported, he says, still further, if the Boghazkoi texts are proved to have traces of Indian numerals also.

The authorities for the later Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads, and Sūtras have been already cited. Many others have been consulted. Among these may be mentioned: Jogesh Chandra Roy's *Our Astronomy and Astronomers*; Sukumar Ranjan Das' *Seasons and Year-beginning of the Hindus* in *Ind. Hist. Qly.*, Vol. IV, 1928, pp. 653 ff.; Jainath Pati's *Is Indo-Aryan Invasion a Myth?* in *Ind. Hist. Qly.*, IV, pp. 678 ff.; Prof. E. J. Thomas' criticism on the above in Vol. V; C. V. Vaidya's view on Winternitz and Dikshit's date of 3000 B.C. for Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in Annals Bhandarkar Memorial Institute, Vol. IV; Sukumar Ranjan Das' *On Stars and Planets* in *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. II; Walther *Wust's Stilgeschichte and Chronologie des Rg-veda*, Leipzig 1928; etc. In his *Hist. Sansk. Lite.*, pp. 7—9 and 24—40 (Poona, 1930) Mr. C. V. Vaidya places the Vēdic or Sruti period in B. C. 4500—800. Numerous other treatises and contributions in Research Journals which I have looked into are noted in the bibliographies to the chapters on Vēdic culture in Part II of this work.

CHAPTER III.

THE ĀRYAN EXPANSION OVER INDIA.

Section I. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DATA OF THE RG-VĒDA.

It has been concluded in the first volume of this history that the original home of the Āryans lay in the area which included Kashmir, Afghanistan, and the lands on both sides of the Hindukush. The geographical data afforded by the Rg-vēda show that they spread themselves throughout the Panjāb, and then passed on south-eastward as far as the Ganges and southward, presumably at the expense of 'the Indo-Sumerians,' as far as the sea. The eastern limit is indicated by the fact that the Ganges is mentioned twice, and its tributary, the Gōmati (Gumti), more than twice. Indeed, according to some, the river Sarayu mentioned in the Rg-vēda (X. 64. 9 and V. 53. 9) was the same as Sarju in Oudh ; and this would, if the identification is correct, show the Āryan advance still further ; but several scholars would place the Sarayu in the Panjāb itself, some identifying it with the Krūmu, and others with the united course of the Satlaj and the Beas (*Vēdic Index*, II. p. 434). It has been suggested that the comparatively rare mention of the Ganges and the Jumna shows that only a few Āryan individuals or adventurers had advanced thus far in this period and that no national settlement had as yet taken place. The argument against this is that almost all the Rg-vēdic rivers (except the Sindhu and the Sarasvati) are mentioned only twice or thrice, and some of the rivers in the further west, with which the Āryans must have been well acquainted, are mentioned only once. But having in view the large geographical area under question, it may be that the Gōmati was reached only by a few stray people. The main centre of the Rg-vēdic civilisation lay in the plain of Kurukshētra and the further west.

THE SOUTHERN LIMIT.

The southward extension of the Rg-vēdic Ārvans was, as has been already said, probably the delta of the Indus, which, of course, was shaped in those days differently from later times. The reference to a Hariyūpīya in one of the hymns* seems to throw a light on the point. Ludwig took it as the name of a town on the river Yavyāvati† on the authority of Sāyaṇāchārya. Hillebrandt identified it with Haliab, a tributary of the Krūmū; but it seems to be really the Harappā of 'the Indo-Sumerian' culture, indicating thus the Āryan contact with the people of that civilisation. The Rg-vēdic statement that it was the scene of the defeat of the Vrīchivants‡ in the hands of Abhyāvartin Chāyamana evidently refers to a historical episode during the Āryan colonisation of this part of the country. And the conquest of Harappā must have been followed by the onward march of the Āryans as far as the sea. Macdonell§ and some others believe that the Āryans did not go further south than the junction of the Indus with its Panjāb tributaries. They indeed recognise that the word *samudra* occurs frequently in the Rg-vēda; but they suggest that it meant only the Indus which is so wide that a boat is invisible from either bank. They would defend this view on the grounds that the oceanic metaphors are lacking in the Rg-veda; that the ebb and flow of the sea were evidently unknown to the Āryans; that the mouths of the Indus, again, are not expressly mentioned; and that fish was not a known diet, thus indicating non-acquaintance with sea. All Vēdic references to navigation, according to this school, point only to the crossing of the rivers in boats. But this view seems to have been given

* VI. 27. 5.

† VI. 27. 6.

‡ VI. 27. 5. It is stated here that the Vrīchivants and the Turvaśas were conquered by the Śṛñjaya king. Some identify the Vrīchivants with the Turvaśa people, but others do not. The Pañchavimśa-Brāhmaṇa (XXI. 12. 2) refers to a struggle between them and the Jahnu king Viśvāmitra.

§ History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 133-4.

up by Macdonell himself when he compiled the *Vēdic Index* in collaboration with Keith; for, they observe herein that "it is probable that this is to circumscribe too narrowly the Vēdic knowledge of the ocean, which was almost inevitable to people who knew the Indus. There are references to the treasures of the ocean, perhaps pearls or the gains of trade, and the story of Bhujyū seems to allude to marine navigation." (*Vedic Index*, II, p. 432.)

THE RIVERS OF THE RG-VEDA.

All the other rivers of the Rg-vēda, which number about twenty-five, belong clearly to the Indus system. The Sindhu* is the most frequently mentioned, and, on account of its importance in early Āryan life, came to be synonymous with any river. The expression *Saptasindhavah*, which is often found in Vēdic literature, shows that the Rg-vēdic homes lay primarily in the land of the Indus and its tributaries. The seventh river is identified by some with the Krūmū, and by others with the Oxus. There is nothing improbable in these identifications, as we have got the Vēdic mention of the Kubhā† (Kābul), the Suvāstu ‡ (Swāt), the Krūmū§ (Kurrum), the Gōmatī‖ (Gōmal), and many branches of theirs west of the Indus; and it is certain that the Āryans knew the Oxus. But the most plausible view is to take the seven rivers as the Indus and the six rivers to the east of it, including the Sarasvati.

The first of these, the Vitastā¶ (X. 75. 5) was the Hydaspes of the later Greek writers. Keith infers from the

* See 'Vēdic Index,' II, p. 450 for all references.

† V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6. Kubhā=Greek Kophen.

‡ VIII. 19. 37.

§ V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6.

‖ *Ibid.* As has been already said, it is the name of the Gumtī also.

¶ The Vitastā was known to Ptolemy as Bidaspes, to the Muslims as Wihāt or Bihāt, and to the Kashmiris as Vēth (more correctly *Vyāth*). For a very interesting note on the evolution of the Greek name from the original and its philological significance by Prof. J Charpentier, see JRAS, January 1927, pp. 115—20.

rareness of its occurrence that the Panjab was not the seat of the activity of the greater part of the Rg-vēdic Indians; but this seems, as has been already shown, to be an untenable view. The Parushṇí* was the Irāvati of Yāska and the Rāvi of later days. It was the scene of a great battle in which king Sudās, one of the most celebrated figures in the Rg-vēda, defeated a league of ten kings, as the result of which many were drowned in the river. The Vipāś†, literally the fetter-less, has justified its name by changes in its course. It is the Urumjirā of the Nirukta, the Vipāsa of the later Vēdas, the Hyphasis (or Hypanis or Bipasis) of the Greeks, and the Beās of the present day. It is unjustifiably regarded as of small importance in the early Vedic period by Keith on the ground that it is referred to only twice. The next river, the Satadrū, ‡ the Zaradrous of the later Greek writers and the Satlaj of the present day, has been true to its name, which signifies 'flowing in a hundred channels'; for it is known that, in Arrian's time, it flowed independently into the Rann of Cutch, and the river came to have its present course only in very late times. The Sarasvati was, in some respects, the most interesting of the Vēdic rivers. Max Muller suggests that it must have been as large as the Satlaj and that it must have flowed towards the sea either after union with the Indus or independently; for it is described in the Rg-vēda as going to the ocean (VI. 61. 2, 8; VII. 96. 2). The exact course and termination, however, have baffled attempts at identification. On the whole, the present view seems to be that it was an ancient tributary of the Satlaj, which flowed towards the sea and is now extinct in the sands of Patiala. It has been identified by some with the Sarsūti which flows west of Thānesar and which, after being joined by the Ghaggar, and passing Sirsa, is lost in the desert at Bhatnair, leaving a dry bed from there to the Indus. The Sarasvati must have been full of

* 'Vedic Index,' I. 499, 500.

† Rv. XIII. 1. 3 and IV. 30. 11.

‡ Rv. III. 33. 1 and X 75. 5. The river was at first called *Śutudrī*.

*pools and ponds, to judge from its name. With the Dṛshadvati,** which has been identified with the modern *Chataung*, which flows to the east of Thānēsar, it formed in course of time the first of the Vēdic rivers (II. 41. 16), on the banks of which five Vēdic tribes (VI. 61. 12) and many kings (VIII. 21. 18) had their lands. It was on its banks, apparently, that the early Vēdic cult saw its greatest development, making it thereby singularly holy for the performance of sacrifices. Bounded by the Kurukshētra of the Bharatas in the east, it became, even in Rg-vēdic times, a divinity (*dēvitamē*), and was in later times transformed into the goddess of learning, wisdom and art.

A number of streams mentioned in the Rg-vēda cannot be clearly identified. These are the Ārjikīya (Upper Indus?); the Ūrṇāvati (literally, the woolly), known as such in consequence of its probable wealth in herds, and identified with the Indus or some tributary of it; the Trishṭāmā (X. 75. 6); the Marudvṛdhā (X. 75. 5) which was either the combined flow of the Asiknī (Akesines) and the Vitastā (Hydaspes) down to their junction with the Parushṇī (Rāvi), or the combined course of the first two with the Parushṇī; the Mehatnū (X. 75. 6), a tributary of the Indus or Krūmū; the Yavyāvati (VI. 27. 6); the Rasā (I. 112. 12; V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6); the Vāraṇāvati (IV. 7. 1), which might be the Ganges; the Vibāli (IV. 30. 12); the Śiphā (I. 104. 3); the Śvētyā (X. 75. 6); the Sushōmā (VIII. 64. 11); the Susartu (X. 75. 6) and others. Some of these have got counter-parts further west. The Rasā has been identified, for example, with the Araxes or Jaxartes, as the *Vendidād* mentions it in the Avestan form *Ranha*, and the Yavyāvati has been connected with the Djob (Zhobe) near the Iryāb (Haliāb) in Irān. Scholars (like Hillebrandt) see in these evidences of the early Āryan occupation of these lands; but even if the identifications are correct, they may

* The Mahābhārata and other classical works describe the Dṛshadvati as the southern boundary, and the Sarasvati as the northern boundary, of holy Kurukshētra or Brahma-varta. See S. N. Majumdar's Edn. of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 382.

be regarded as evidences of Aryan migration from India towards the west.

THE MOUNTAINS.

The mountains (*giri*, *parvata*) referred to in the Rg-vēda indicate the profound influence they had on the Aryan life, habits and character. The Rg-vēda refers poetically to their being tree-haired and to their being the sources of streams passing to the sea. It is remarkable that there is already in the Rg-vēda reference to the legend that mountains had wings. More natural is the reference to their wealth in mineral treasures, plants and aromatic products. The Vēdic references to particular mountains are rather disappointing. One of the local mountains figuring in the Rg-vēda is the Trikakud or Trikakubh, literally the three-peaked. It has been identified with the Trikōṭa, at the foot of which the Asikni (Chenab) flows. Another hill was Mūjavant or Muñjavant, which has been identified with one of the lower hills to the south of Kashmir. It was apparently the source of the Sōma plant which played, as we shall see presently, a very important part in the Vēdic religion. The most important mountain referred to is the Himavant, literally *snowy* (X. 121. 4). It was evidently given as the name of the Himalayas proper and its off-shoots. The impression made by the Himavant on the Āryan mind was profound. It inspired, to a large extent, their religious beliefs as well as their poetic gifts. The Indra cult could have been developed, for example, only in a land of magnificent mountains, rivers, clouds, storms, rains, and lightning. Indra was a monsoon-god presiding over mountains lofty enough to make them heavenly and low enough to be of the earth. He must have been born in the mind of a people in a land where the monsoons were experienced with admiration, awe and gratitude. To the people of the Panjāb in the Rg-vēdic age, the land further north, the land of the Uttara Madras and Uttara Kurus, was a holy land, a dēvakshētra

(VIII. 28). It is impossible to exaggerate the influence of the Himalayas on the Aryan imagination and gift for poetry.

PLANTS, TREES AND ANIMALS.

It must be obvious from the data afforded by the rivers and mountains that the Rg-vēdic world lay in the Panjāb, Kashmir and North-west. The plants, trees and animals show the same fact. The Sōma is an excellent evidence in this respect. Sōma was an intoxicating plant which grew on the mountains of the North-west. Later on, in the age of the later Vēdas, the difficulty of obtaining it led to the use of substitutes,* and made its very identity forgotten. Rice, which is familiar to, and considered by, the later Vēdas as one of the absolute necessaries of life, is not mentioned in the Rg-vēda at all. It has been surmised from this that the Aryans had not yet spread to the monsoon area. The Rg-vēda mentions the sacred Aśvattha, with which the Sōma vessel and the sacred fire were made, but not the Nyagrōdha or banyan tree, which is characteristic of interior India. Among wild animals, the Rg-vēda mentions chiefly the lion which had its natural habitat in the desert east of the lower Satlaj and the Indus; but the tiger, whose natural home is the jungle further east towards Bengal, is not mentioned, as in the later Vēdas. "The relation of the tiger to the lion in the Vēdas therefore," says Macdonell, "furnishes peculiarly interesting evidence of the eastward migration of the Āryans during the Vēdic period." Similarly, the Rg-vēda mentions the elephant, which it calls the the beast with a hand, and even speaks of its capture. As it figures only in two places, it has been suggested that

* *E.g.*, the pūtikā (see Vēdic Index, II, p. 11); praprōtha *(Ibid*, p. 37); the uśanā; the aḍārā; the kushṭha, etc. According to the Atharva-vēda the *kushṭha* was a plant which grew in the mountains along with Sōma. See V. Index, I, p. 175. It may be pointed out that the Parsis use a variety of the Ephedrine plant in place of the Sōma.

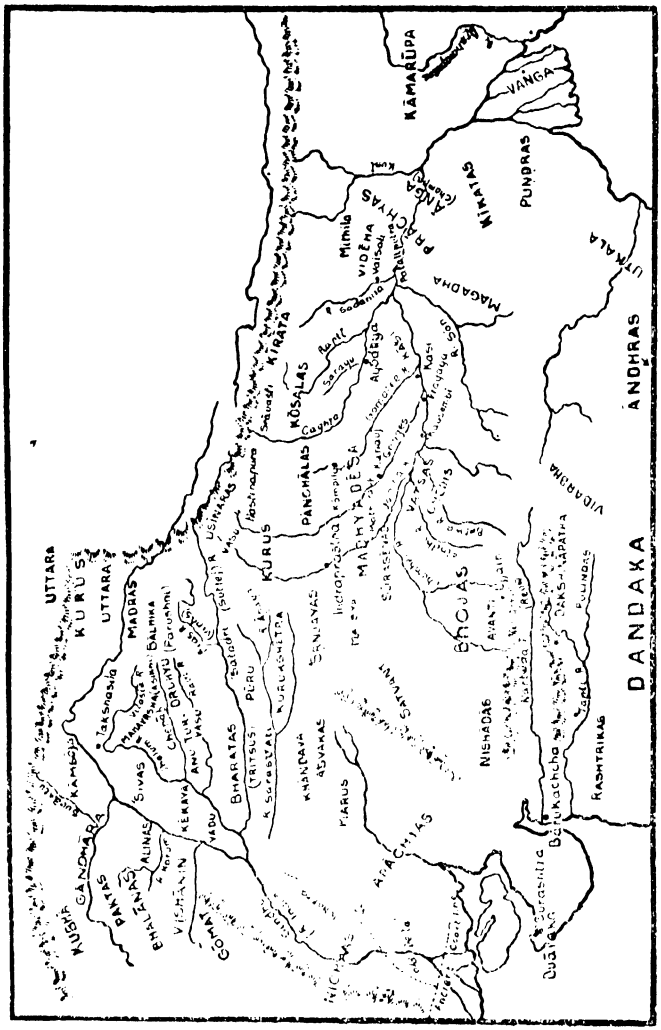
it became really familiar only when the Āryans were in Hindustan in the age of the later Vēdas and became acquainted with the low jungles at the foot of the Himalayas which formed its natural home. P t this scepticism is, as has been already pointed out, more pedantic than plausible. A passage in the Rg-vēda (X. 61. 8) mentions the Dakshiṇāpatha, as the place where an Āryan exile (*parāṛi*) went, on being expelled, thus indicating that it was beyond the limits of the Āryan world. The word means the road to the South, that is, the South country.

THE EFFECT OF THE SETTLEMENT IN THE PANJAB.

One result of the naturalisation of the Āryans in the Panjāb was the singular veneration with which the original home to the west and north came to be regarded. The Āryans looked upon the north, the *uttara-dik*, as their most sacred home. The Rg-vēda complains that, when the Āryans became wealthy, they gave up sacrificing and thus disregarded Indra, who was the *uttara* of all. The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka says that Indra arose in the northern quarter. The Rāmāyaṇa refers to the archaic tradition that the northern limit of the Āryan home was the land of the Kurus and that none should proceed further. Kuśika compares the heavenly state of his embodied condition to the holy Uttara-Kuru or Amarāvati. Lastly, the Purāṇas describe the popular and traditional conception of Bhāratavarsha (from the Himalayas to the sea) as the southern-most quarter of the Jambu-dvīpa. The land of the Uttara Kurus was thus regarded, throughout the Vēdic times, as the land to which the Āryans had to look for their most sacred associations. And this must have been due to the fact that the Indra cult was first fancied, if not elaborated, in this region.

Section 2. THE ENEMIES OF THE ĀRYANS.

The condition of the Panjāb at the time of the Āryan movement into it and further south and east was one of



VEDIC INDIA.
From B. C. 3000 to B. C. 650.
[*By courtesy of the Indian Publishing House.*]

racial and cultural complexity. The major portion of the Panjāb was occupied by the aborigines and the Dravidians, and the Sindh valley was under the so-called Indo-Sumerians. It is quite possible that these were fighting with each other or in friendly terms, as circumstances demanded, in the areas in which they came into contact with each other. The relations between the Sindh people and the pre-Aryans of the Panjāb are uncertain. According to some, both were Dravidian, but there is no evidence to prove this. Nor is there any information available about their relations towards the aborigines.

THE DASYUS.

The enemies whom the Āryans encountered are generally called by them Dasyus. These are described as *kṛshṇa-tvachah* or black-skinned: *anāsa*, meaning either flat-nosed or incapable of understanding the Aryan speech; *mṛdhravāchah*, which has been variously explained as hostile, fiendish, stammering, or unintelligible in speech; *akarmāṇah* or ignorant of Āryan rites; *avratāh* or lawless; *abrāhmaṇa* or God-hating; *ayajvāh* or non-sacrificing; *adevayu* and *devapīyu* or indifferent and hostile to the gods; *anagnis* or ignorant of the fire-cult; *anindras* or non-worshippers of Indra; and so on. These epithets show that the Dasyus were, from the Aryan standpoint, uncivilized, irreligious and unsociable. Ignorant of the Aryan customs, language and methods of worship, they were the enemies of the gods, and so the Āryans were helped by the gods, to obtain victories over them.

It is difficult to say who the Dasyus were. Some scholars identify them with the Iranian Danhu or Daqyu, meaning a *province*, and suggest a change of meaning on Āryan advent into India. Some think that *Dasyu* and *Dāsa* were identical, indicating a religious rivalry between the Iranian and Indian sections of the Āryans, which led to their separation. These views, of course, pre-suppose the Āryan advent into India through Persia. As the root *das* means to lay waste or waste away, the terms Dasyu and Dāsa are

suggested by Dr. Keith to be connected with the notion of a hostile land or people.

And who were these hostile people? One view is that they were the primitive Āryans themselves who were black-skinned on account of exposure and nomadic life and who attacked the homes, lands and institutions of their more civilized brethren. Some would see only religious, and not social or racial, rivalries between the Āryans and the Dasyus. This view is not supported by the generality of scholars. They are disposed to identify the Dasyus either with the aborigines, or the Dravidians, or with the people of Sindh. The last school would hold that the Dasyus were the same as the Asuras and Dānavas with whom they would identify the people of the Harappā and Mohenjo-daro culture. From the fact that the Dasyus are called flat-nosed, the authors of the *Vēdic Index* would make them identical with the Dravidians and the aborigines, represented in one part of the country by the Brahui ; but this view is distinctly erroneous in clubbing the comparatively prominent-nosed Dravidians and the flat-nosed aborigines together.

The problem of identification is thus baffling. One thing is certain, namely, that at the time when the Āryans moved into the land, there were in the Panjāb a people fairly advanced in Neolithic culture. As early as 1880 a well-made celt with pointed butt and rounded edge was discovered at Shadipur on the banks of the Indus, twenty-one miles south-west of Attock, by W. Theobald of the Geological Survey of India. The Panjāb find is not indeed so interesting as the highly remarkable flint cores discovered further south in Sindh ; but it is much bigger than those which could have been turned out of the Sindh cores. (Brown's Catalogue, pp. 119-20). Whether the makers of these celts were allied with or akin to the people of Sindh, they must have been the chief opponents of the Āryans. They might have been the Piśāchas of the Vēdic literature who extended as far as the Hindu Kush and who spoke the Dārdic or Paiśāchi languages of later days.

THE DĀSAS.

Another enemy of the Rg-vēdic Aryans were the Dāsas. They are sometimes described in the same terms as the Dasyus, but sometimes differently. It is therefore impossible to say whether they were one and the same, but both the terms have come from the same root. The Dāsas were divided into clans (*vishah*), and lived in fortified villages (*puras*). They were the worshippers of the phallus. From the fact that the word Dāsa came to mean a slave, it is plausible to argue that the conquered Dāsas were, as a rule, enslaved by the Aryans. Much speculation exists about the ethnology of the Dāsas as about that of the Dasyus. They have been connected with the Dahae of Iran or the Caspian Steppes, with the Turanian Daoi or Daai, and with the Indian aborigines, particularly of mountainous regions. As is usual with Hillebrandt, he would locate them originally in Arachosia or the far west, as he does the Sarasvati itself and its people. Most of these views belong to the stock of fantastic ideas so common in regard to Vēdic ethnology. It is perhaps safest to assume that the Dāsas were aboriginal or Dravidian Indians, cultured enough to have a definite social organization, a fairly high military skill, and a religion which, whatever might be the feeling of the Aryans about it, was not without influence on the religious history of the masses.

The Dāsas did not lack opulence, to judge from several Vēdic passages. One of the prominent Dāsas figuring in the Rg-vēda was Chumuri, who was defeated by Indra himself, together with his friend Dhuni, for the sake of an Aryan named Dabhiti. The latter, it seems, won over Indra by his energetic preparation of sōma! He also propitiated the Aśvins. These gods, in return, sent 30000 Dāsas to sleep for his sake, and further bound many Dasyus with cords! Another obnoxious Dāsa was Pipru. He was an Asura to boot! He had a black brood, a set of black allies, and a number of forts. Varchin, still another Dāsa and Asura, was of course, like all Dāsas, an enemy of Indra. He has been connected with the Vrichivants. Perhaps the most interesting Dāsa chief was Śambara, the son of Kulitara. Owning

a hundred forts, he regarded himself as a very Dēvaka (godling); and so his great enemy Divōdāsa Atithigvā had to vanquish him with the aid of Indra! Hillebrandt thought that Śambara might have been an Āryan prince in Arachosia, converted into a demon after immigration into India; but, as the authors of the *Vēdic Index* observe, Śambara was "quite possibly an aboriginal enemy in India, living in the mountains." Later Paurāṇic mythology makes him an enemy of Kṛshṇa and connects him with the sea. Stealing away Kṛshṇa's son, Pradyumna, he threw him into the sea. A fish swallowed him, and when it happened to be caught and brought to Śambara's wife, Māyāvati, the Yādava prince came to be her ward. Eventually, Pradyumna killed Śambara and rejoined his father. The story connects the Dāsas and Asuras with the sea. Is it a disguised method of connecting them with the so-called Indo-Sumerians of the Indus?

THE ASURAS.

Equally elusive is the origin of the Asuras who were also the enemies of the Vēdic Āryans and their gods, the Dēvas. But the case of the Asuras is singularly perplexing for the fact that the term is not always used in a bad sense. Indeed it is used in the best sense in a number of passages. God Varuṇa himself was an Asura. But if the term was used in a good sense, it was not so for long. The Asura came to be an enemy of the gods and men. What was the origin of this change? Why should the Asuras be regarded as the enemies of the gods and the Āryas? One suggested reason is that they were immigrants from Assyria, the followers of the Asura cult.* The Asuras, points out Banerji Śastri, are represented in the legends as having come from the seas. There were struggles between them and the Āryans on land and sea. Such a fight was possible, he contends, only

* Banerji Sastri in the *Modern Review* for 1926 and *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XII, 1926, pp. 110-39.

because they came into India by the Indus mouths. That is why they are said to have 'ascended up'* (*dyām ārōhantām*) the country. The term *asura* denoted in the west a deadly enemy to Egypt, Babylon, Palestine and Persia down to 900 B.C. The Indo-Europeans met them in the west. The Vēdic Āryans similarly met them in the Saptasindhu†. It was part of a general Āryan clash with the Asuras. The Vēdic hostility was only part of a wide-spread Āryan hostility. But in the west the Asuras had their revenge. The Asura cult came to be professed by the Babylonians. The Persians too came to be the worshippers of Ahura-mazda‡. Similarly in India there was a synthesis after a grim struggle. Only, this struggle and synthesis was the result of direct and earlier contact with the Asurs of Mesopotamia through the sea, and not of land-contact as in the case of the Persians. Beginning with a struggle between the seafarers and the Āryans for the possession of the Indus water-ways, it later on developed into a gigantic conflict for the possession of the major portion of the country itself; for the invading Asuras were not only able to establish themselves in Mohenjo-daro, Harappā and other parts of the Sindh valley, but advanced along the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna as

* Rg-vēda, II. 12. 12.

† "Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, Villi and Brahui mark the Asuras' greatness and fall." Again, the Ashur cult "is part of India's inheritance from the past. Ashur absorbed the cultures of Egypt and Babylon; and passed it on to Eran and India. Ashur holds the key to a fuller comprehension of Indian civilization, its realised facts as well as intimate tendencies."

‡ "Assyria lived on in Persia who inherited her Babylonian-Assyrian empire and a Babylonian-Assyrian pantheon. Both the empire and the pantheon were of the second period of Assyrian supremacy which had already deified Ashur in her Indo-European pantheon." Mr. Banerji holds that these were accomplished facts in the Gāthas, 'the oldest part of the Avesta.'

far as Assam itself.* The grim struggle between the Aryan invaders and the Asurs lasted for centuries. It was serious and deadly in the Vēdic days, but it did not cease for centuries even after, as it extended from Dvāraka to Prāgjyōtisha (Assam). The Pūrus, Turvasas, Yadus, Anus, Druhyus, Bhṛgus, Paṇis, Pārāvatas, Bṛshayas and other enemies who fought with the Aryans in the Saptasindhu were Asura invaders. Vṛtra, Bala, Pūrukutsa, Rauhiṇa and others were Asura leaders. The Viśvāmitras and Bhṛgus belonged to them. The Purus and Pulihas were Pelasgians; the Bhṛgus were Phrygians, the Kratus Cretans, and Rāvaṇa a Pulaha or Pelasgian colonist! The Purāṇas, points out Mr. Banerji, continue the tradition of enmity. The Asuras, Daityas and Dānavas were deadly enemies of the gods. They churned the ocean as rivals. The Danavas carried away the Vēdas, and Vishṇu had to rescue them. Their chief, Hiraṇyakaśipu, had to be slain by Vishṇu as man-lion. The Daityas ruled the sea and owned its riches. They had the Nāgas as their standard-bearers, and fought with the Dēvas for 32,000 years. Their chief Asura-nāga tried in vain to consume his enemies by poison. They were eventually defeated and compelled either to plunge into the sea or enter the bowels of the earth. Mr. Banerji interprets this to the effect that many of the vanquished Asuras had to leave once again for the west carrying the hatred of the Aryans and Dēvas with them. It was from these that the Zoroastrian cult of Ahuramazdah was developed. Those who remained lost their existence as a separate entity on account of assimilation with the conquerors and the formation of Asura-Dāsa-Aryan body politic. (Mr. Banerji † believes that the Asuras were different from the Dāsas but identical with the Dravidians). This

* "All the available data suggest a base at the Indus mouth, the Asuras trying to occupy all the waterways in their *upward march* following the course of the Indus. That this branch of the Asuras were *par excellence* a sea-faring people is proved by their subsequent occupation of important centres on the Ganges and the Jumna."

† The Dāsas, he points out, were black, while the Asuras were brown or rather golden (*hiraṇya*) or even white (*śvēta*).

synthesis, he points out, is evident in the adoption of the cult of Śiva, which was an Asura cult, as part of the Vēdic system of worship. Varuṇa and other Asura gods were incorporated into the Vēdic pantheon. The gods of the Asuras and the gods of the Tṛtsus became one. A social amalgamation came into existence with fruitful results. The Asuras and Dēvas were made sons of the same father-god. Many Vēdic kings and Rshis came to have Asura blood in them, as is indicated by their colour. Sages like Vasishṭha, Agastya and Viśvāmitra were given the same Father, Mitrā-varuṇa. The Purāṇas make the Asuras or Dānavas the descendants of Kāśyapa and Danu, and frequently refer to intermarriages with the Āryans. Śarmishṭa, the daughter of the Dānava king, married Puru. Similarly, Vaiśvānara's two daughters were wedded to Kāśyapa, and from them were descended 60000 Dānavas. The Daityas were the descendants of Kāśyapa through Diti, and so half-brothers with the Dānavas. The Asura skill in magic, medicine, sculpture, architecture, etc., was fully imbibed by the conquerors. The combined Asura-Dāsa-Āryan people spread the Indian culture throughout India and abroad.

Such are the views which have been advanced on the basis of the identification of the Asuras with the people of the Indus valley and with the Dravidians. Some scholars would regard the Asuras not only as the Sindh men and the Dravidians, but as the ancestors of all aboriginal tribes of North and Central India; of the Mūṇḍa-speaking tribes of Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Central Provinces and Central India; of the hill-tribes of South India. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy†, who originally shared in this view, has, as the result of his discoveries in the Central Indian plateau, concluded that the ancient Asurs were different from the Mūṇḍas; that they had occupied the country before the

* An evidence of the lateness of the Persian borrowing is suggested by Mr. Banerji to be the substitution of *h* for *sh* in names like Asur, Nāsatya and Svar, while *s* is retained, in Sanskrit as in the records of the Mitanni and others in the further West.

† Journal of Bihar Research Society, Vol. I, VI and XII.

Mūṇḍas came; and that a section of the Mūṇḍas later on adopted their name and occupation, chiefly, of iron-smelting. He refers to a tradition, among the Mūṇḍas about this *previous* occupation of the country by the metal-using Asurs and their eventual subjugation by the former with the help of their deity Sing-boṅga. Mr. Roy describes a large number of Asura sites in the Chota Nagpur plateau and the extensive remains of ancient brick structures, stone temples, sculptured statues or statuettes, phalli, cinerary urns, huge sepulchral slabs, large tanks, and iron and copper smelting discovered by them. One fact he notes is that the iron-smelting activities of the Asuras "greatly disturbed the even tenor of the existence of the Mūṇḍas and their deities who were as yet innocent of the use and manufacture of metals." Another fact is the existence of numerous ruins of ancient brick buildings with terracotta and other things including traces of working in copper and iron. A third fact is the existence of many grave yards associated with these Asurs and containing huge slabs, cinerary urns with bones, copper ornaments, stone crystal beads, copper implements, and miniature pottery of different sizes and shapes. "Finally, there still dwell in the hills and jungles on the west of the Chota Nagpur plateau, a small tribe, speaking a dialect of the Mūṇḍa group, and bearing the name Asura. They claim descent from the ancient Asurs, and their main occupation is iron-smelting. Except in the name *Asur* and in their occupation of iron-smelting, they hardly differ either in their physical characteristics or in their culture from the Mūṇḍa-speaking tribes of the Chota-Nagpur plateau." Mr. Roy infers that these present-day Asurs are but members of the Mūṇḍa or 'Kol' stock who adopted the tribal name and characteristic occupation of the ancient Asurs. Making an analytical study of the divisions, occupations, food, totems, ideas of kinship, birth-ceremonies, death-ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, sacrifices, magical practices, and superstitions, he shows the modern Asurs to be Mūṇḍa in race, but with the name and iron-smelting work of a previous people of superior

culture. And who were these ancient Asurs? He suggests that they were "a Caucasian race who had moved on into India at a more primitive stage of Caucasian culture than that represented by the Vēdic Āryans, and on their arrival in India gradually absorbed an indigenous melanoderm race—the Nishādas of ancient Sanskrit literature—and thus became somewhat transformed in physical features by long-continued miscegenation, and worked out the Asur civilization referred to in the Rg-vēda, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, and other early Sanskrit works; and that, being finally worsted by the invading Āryans, such sections of the Asurs as did not submit to Āryan supremacy retreated to the eastern, central and southern parts of India." He further suggests that there was a considerable strain of Asur blood among the Bengalis. Writing a few years later in the light of the discoveries in the Indus valley, he says: "Further consideration of the subject now inclines me to think that Dravidian culture is indeed based on this or an allied ancient culture, and there is a considerable strain of Asur or Nāga-asura blood in Southern India as in Bengal. A visit to the ancient ruins of Harappā and Mohen-jo-daro has given me a wider view of what I suppose to have been the ancient Asur or Asur-nāg civilization. I am impressed with some remarkable resemblances between the Chota Nagpur Asur sites and the finds they yield (now in the Patna Museum) and those ruins of the Indus valley, which I would provisionally refer to the Nāg branch of the Asurs, and the finds that are being unearthed therefrom." Though unwilling to make any dogmatic theorisation for lack of details, Mr. Roy is inclined to think, on the ground of important differences among the finds of the Indus valley, Chota Nagpur, and Southern India, that "the ancient Asurs of India had more than one main division;" that these divisions "had developed important differences in their respective environments and in the course of their respective social and economic history;" that, in short, the Āryan period of Indian History was preceded by what may be termed the *Asur Period*, or rather the Asur-nāg Period; and that "the Asur contribution to the make-up of the

Indian people and Indian culture was at least no less important and widespread than the Āryan contribution."

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar*, while not agreeing with Mr. Roy in several matters of ethnical identification, is, however, one with him in taking the Asuras of Chota Nagpur to be a people foreign to the Kol race but talking a Kol language. "It is impossible to assert now if the Asuras of the Vēdic days had many sections of theirs in past time, but references to them in the Vēdic literature point to the fact that the Asuras constituted by themselves a distinct and separate mighty people." After maintaining that the Asuras were distinct from the Śabaras—a view supported by Mr. Roy—Mr. Mazumdar observes: "Not only in the eastern part of Chutia Nagpur as has been noticed by Mr. Roy, the Asuras and the Mundas must have fought out their cause against each other over a vast tract of country extending to the State of Kalahandi; in the State of Kalahandi (which borders upon the district of Ganjam) where the Kandhs or the Kui people are most dominating of all aboriginal races, the Mundas and the Asuras once struggled against each other for supremacy, and Mundagarh and Asurgarh lying in proximity to each other in the Zemindary of Kashipur in the State of Kalahandi still bear the history of that struggle in these place-names." Mr. Mazumdar then makes the curious surmise that, thanks to the name *asura* held by this non-Āryan people, the Āryans gave up their own term *Asura* in relation to God† "The impression of the Asuras upon their opponents was deep and abiding. Very likely they were all extirpated, for no mighty tribe survives today with

* In his *The Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India*, (Calcutta University Publication, 1927).

† "The Āryan term Asura signifies supreme God; from the root *as*, breath, comes the word *asu* (life), and this word, taking the suffix *ra* came to denote the 'Being' whose life is endless and inexhaustible. This highly-honoured term for God (unchanged in meaning in Iranian) had to be forsaken by the Vēdic Rishis because a mighty and hated well-known people of non-Āryan speech had the term for their tribal name." (p. 23).

this tribal name of unknown meaning, excepting the small number of the Asuras in Chutia Nagpur who may be a degraded and disintegrated remnants (*sic*) of them.' Mr. Mazumdar strongly dissents from the theory of the etanical connection of the 'Sabara-kol' people with the Dravidians, and regards them as quite distinct. He does not seem to support a single pre-Āryan culture to which a particular term like *asura* or *nāga* can be applied.

Attention must be drawn, in this connection, to the theory of Prof. Jean Przyluski* that the Dravidians were the descendants of a black people of the south, whom he calls the Proto-Dravidians, and that the Muṇḍas were a bright-complexioned posterior people who subdued them. The Muṇḍas "super-imposed themselves in India upon a black population, wherefrom the present Dravidians originated." He thinks that "the *pūjā* should be at the base of the cult of the black aborigines, while the animal sacrifices might have been introduced by the over-running Mundas." He believes that "the pre-Dravidian theory is out of date;" that "the present Dravidians, although they may be of mixed blood, had for their distant ancestors the black people of the Deccan. Also, as far as one can trace their history, these were already established in India; one cannot therefore speak of a Dravidian invasion," after the Muṇḍas. "In non-Āryan India the Kols with bright and probably yellowish skin were in direct contrast to the Proto-Dravidians whose deep-coloured skin verged upon black." As the result of the super-imposition of the bright-coloured Muṇḍas over the dark-skinned aboriginal Proto-Dravidians,

* See *Ind. Hist. Qly.* Vol. VI (1930), pp. 144–9. The author wrote previously on the subject in *Journal Asiatique*, (Jan.-Mar. 1926), *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Nov.-Dec. 1927), *Memoirs of the Society of Linguistics* (1921), etc. Dr. P. C. Bagchi has included these in a publication on the 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India' under the auspices of the Calcutta University. Dr. Przyluski criticises Prof. Sylvain Levi on his Pre-Dravidian theory (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1920). While there is much in the particulars of his criticism, his general conclusion, is not convincing.

"these two ethnic elements lived together in the same territory; an aristocracy with a bright complexion and a body of Plebians with a dark complexion. This organization is of great importance to the historians as also to the linguists; it is specially helpful in the explanation of the presence of numerous Munda loan-words in the vocabulary of the Dravidian language."

It seems to me that Prof. Przyluski's theory of one-ness between the Dravidians and the black aborigines is not correct. He ignores the anthropological evidences* given in the first volume of this history to prove that there was a pre-Dravidian people to whom the hill-tribes have to be traced. These were black, short and broad-nosed, while the Dravidians were darkish, shortish and medium-nosed. Nor does the Professor's view throw light on the place of the Asuras in the ethnological history of India.

It must be obvious from what has been thus far said that an attempt to definitely identify the Vēdic Asuras with any of the peoples known to Indian history is beset with great difficulties. While the Asura cult of 'the Indo-Sumerian' culture is a powerful argument in favour of identifying the Vēdic Asuras with the people of the Sindh valley, there is the difficulty caused by the presence of the Asurs among the savage peoples of Central India. To make the Sindh people and the Asurs of Chota Nagpur members of the same race is not warranted by the evidences now available. Nor does the identification of the Asuras with the Dravidians, or with the Muṇḍas, as the speculations of different scholars suggest, carry conviction. The available data do not warrant a definite conclusion. There is no evidence of a distinct Nāga or 'Asura culture' of an *all-Indian* character which some seem to suggest. There *could* be no such cultural unity in pre-Āryan India. The only plausible conclusion under the circumstances seems to be that the term *Asura* was, from the later days of the Ṛg-vēdic period, applied indiscriminately by the Āryans

* See Pre-Historic India, pp. 98—103.

to all their enemies, cultured or uncultured, men of the plains or of the mountains, aboriginal or comparatively advanced.

THE PANIS.

Another enemy of the Āryans were the Paṇis* who are often mentioned along with the Dāsas. The Paṇis are described as opulent but not characterised by the making of offerings to the gods and gifts to the priests. They were therefore heartily disliked by the Rshis. They were niggards and wolf-like: *bekanāṭas* or usurers; demons with-holding cows and the waters of heaven†; Dasyus with hostile speech (*Mṛdhravāchah*); Dāsas of inferior status. The identity of the Panis has given rise to much controversy. Some see in them an aboriginal or non-Āryan people; some interpret the word *Bekanāṭas* as Babylonians, while others connect it with Bikanir, and still others with the Parṇians, the Dahaes and other Iranian tribes. The theory has been expressed that the Paṇis were non-Āryan caravan traders who opposed the Āryan invaders. Mr. R. Chanda would take them to be the mercantile people of the Sindh valley who became amalgamated with the Vēdic Āryans, and probably became the Vaiśya and other business communities as distinguished from the priests and Kshatriyas. Mr. A. C. Das would regard them as Aryan sea-traders who navigated the four seas which he locates around the Vēdic Saptasindhu, and carried the Aryan civilization—to the Dakkan, South India, and the coasts of the Persian Gulf, Baluchistan, the Arabian and the Red Seas. He would make them further the colonists (together with the Aryanised Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas) of Mesopotamia, the founders of the Chaldaean or Sumerian civilization, the ancestors of the Punic race in Egypt, and

* Rg-vēda, V. 34. 6-7; VII. 6.3; Atharva-vēda, V. 11. 6. Also *ante*, p. 147.

† Rg-vēda, X. 108.

of the Phoenicians of Palestine.* One of the Paṇis figuring in a hymn (VI. 45, 31. 33) as a generous donor is Bṛbu.

OTHER ENEMIES.

Amongst the other adversaries of the Āryans we find the Kīkaṭas (III. 53. 14), whose leader at one time was Pramagaṇḍa. The Kīkaṭas are associated, on the authority of Yāska, with Magadha, and regarded either as the aborigines of that region or as Āryans who became Vrātyas there But there is no sufficient evidence, points out Keith, to connect them with Magadha. Some place them farther west somewhere in the Panjāb hills, where the sōma and cows were plentiful, but neglected, and so had for their adversaries the Rg-vēdic Āryans, who coveted their wealth. Similarly, there were the Pārāvatas, whom Hillebrandt locates in Gedrosia, but who are found in later Vēdic literature to have been on the banks of the Jumna. They seem to have been, to judge from their name, hill-men whose customs were obnoxious to the Āryans. Then there were the Bṛshyas, who are mentioned in the Rg-vēda in company with the Pārāvatas and the Paṇis. As usual, Hillebrandt locates them in Drangiana or Arachosia, but they might be any savage people in the Panjāb who had an unsavoury reputation as sorcerers and the very demons. The Ajas who were one of the tribes (VII. 18. 19) headed by Bhēda and defeated by Sudās might have been non-Āryans, though some scholars hesitate to come to any dogmatic conclusion on the point. The same uncertainty prevails regarding the Yakshus (VII. 18. 6-19). These are mentioned, says Keith, "once in the singular and once in the plural, in the hymn of the Rigveda which celebrates Sudās' battle with the ten kings. Who they were and what part they played in that conflict is uncertain. They seem, from the wording of the text, to have taken part in two conflicts," one on the Ravi and the other on the Jumna. "It is, however, at least possible

* See his *Vēdic India*, Chap. I– III, XII, and *Rg-vēdic Culture*, pp. 148—52. Also Part II of this work.

that in the former passage *Yadu* should be read for *Yakshu*, or at any rate, Yakshu be deemed a contemptuous substitute of the name of a possibly non-Āryan or unimportant tribe (as their allies, the Ajas and Śigrus, clearly were) for the name of the certainly famous Yadus, as is suggested by Hopkins" (*Vēdic Index*, II, p. 182). With regard to the Śigrus who are mentioned along with the Ajas and Yakshus as sustaining defeat at the hands of the Tṛtsus under Sudās, the same differences of opinion prevail. "If Śigru is connected with the later *sigru* 'horse-radish' (*moringa pterygosperma*), which is quite probable, it is possible that the tribe was totemistic and non-Āryan, but this is a mere matter of conjecture" (*Vēdic Index*, II, p. 378). The Simyus who were among the enemies of Sudās are connected with the Dasyus in another passage of the Rg-vēda (I. 100. 18), and therefore seem to indicate a non-Āryan enemy of the Āryans. Some scholars take these with less plausibility, as non-sacrificing Āryans.

Section 3. THE ĀRYAN TRIBES OF THE RG-VEDA.

The Āryans of the Rg-vēda are invariably found in the form of tribal settlements or kingdoms. The reduction of the Panjāb and the area further east and south must have naturally occupied centuries, as the enemies against whom they had to contend were strong enough, both in numbers and resources. The prolonged struggle resulted in unequal success over, and displacement of, the different indigenous tribes; but the conquerors themselves differed considerably from one another in strength, vigour and vicissitudes. The order in which the different tribes reduced the Panjāb, the routes which each took, the fortunes which attended each, are not easily ascertainable. All that we can do is to take a static view of the situation, and survey the activities of the settlements as they are found described in the Rg-vēda.

THE TRIBES OF THE EXTREME NORTH-WEST.

In the north-western limit of the Rg-vēdic world, we find the Gandhāris (from whom the name Kandahar has

been derived). These are said to have been great breeders of sheep. "Zimmer considers that they were settled in Vēdic times on the south bank of the Kubhā up to its mouth in the Indus, and for some distance down to the east side of the Indus itself." To the south of the Kubhā (Kābul river) and to the north of the Gōmati (the Gōmal) lived the four tribes of the Pakthas, the Alinas, the Bhalānas and Vishāṇins. The Pakthas* lived just in the hills where the Khurrum (Krūmu) takes its source, and have been identified with the Pakhthuns (Pathans) of Eastern Afghanistan. The Alinas† lived to the east of them on the northern banks of the little stream known as the Mehatnū, which falls into the Indus just half-way between the Kubhā and the Krūmu. They have been located to the north-east of present Kafiristan. The Bhalānas‡ and Vishāṇins§ lived south of the Krūmu and north of the Gōmati, the more western of the two giving rise probably to the name *Bolan*. All these tribes opposed king Sudās, the head of the Tṛtsus, a celebrated conqueror and fighter, who figures as the performer of a miracle of strength in the Rg-vēda and to whom reference will be made presently. Some scholars are disposed to take them as Sudas' allies, but this view is not plausible. It may be mentioned that the Ārjikīyas (or Ārjikas), who seem to have received their name from the river called Ārjikīya, have not been exactly located by scholars. Yāska places them near the sea, but has received no support. Keith¶ places them along the upper course of the Indus on the borders of Kashmir, but others locate them on the Vitastā (Jhelum), the Vipās

* VII. 18. 7. The Pakthas were the allies of the Pūrus and the enemies of the Tṛtsus. They were associated in the Vēdas with Trāsadasyu and the Aśvins.

† VII. 18. 7.

‡ *Ibid.* See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 99 and references therein.

§ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 313.

¶ VIII. 7, 29; IX. 113. 2; IX. 65.23; X. 75. 5.

(Beās), and the Arghesan, a tributary of the Arghanab. Hillebrandt identifies Arsaces, the Abhisāra king of the Greek writers, with a chief of this ancient tribe. It may be mentioned that the Kambojas, (or Kāmbojas), who figure in later literature as a people living in the country to the north of the Gandhāris and east of the Suvāstū (Svāt), are not mentioned in the Rg-vēda.

BETWEEN THE SINDHU AND THE VITASTA.

We have thus far dealt with the tribes west of the Indus. Passing on to the east of it and the long stretch of land between it and the Vitastā (the Jhelum), we find the following tribes:

1. The Śivas.
2. The Kēkayas.
3. The Vrīchivants.
4. The Yadus.
5. The Śṛñjayas (probably).

The Śivas, who seem to have been the northern-most of the tribes west of the Vitastā, shared the misfortunes of the Alinas, Pakthas, and others, in the war with Sudās. The Śivas have been identified with the Sipar of the Greeks, who dwelt between the Indus and the Akesines (Asiknī or the Chināb) in Alexander's time. The place Śivapura connected with Pāṇini might have been named after them. Mr. A. C. Das suggests that they might have been the worshippers of Śiva or Phallus. The Kēkayas next to them are incidentally referred to in *later* Vēdic literature as a very ancient people. The Yadus, the southern-most of the Vēdic tribes living west of the Vitastā, figure in the Rg-vēda as many as fifteen times, often massed together with the Turvaśas, a tribe to the north-east of them across the river, and seem to have proved their mettle in the struggle against Sudās. The Yadu king, like the Turvaśa and unlike the Anu and Druhyu kings, apparently succeeded in escaping from the field. We have already seen how, in the view of some

writers, the Yadus were non-Āryans, as they and the Turvaśas are called Dāsas in one Vēdic passage (X. 62. 10); that they were probably 'Indo-Sumerians.' Others would regard them as Āryans who were for a time seceders (Dāsas) on account of migration beyond the seas, and who were brought back by Indra into the orthodox fold. Whatever might have been the original position of the Yadus, we find them later on taking a prominent part in the Āryanisation of Western Hindusthan, and it was from them that some of the most important peoples and individuals of Indian history have arisen. The Vrīchivants who lived further north figure in the Ṛg-vēda as the allies of the Turvaśa king and as the victims of the Śṛñjaya king Daivavāta. The location of the Sṛñjayas is one of controversy. Hillebrandt places them in Drangiana, Zimmer in the upper Indus, and the authors of the *Vēdic Index* in a region much farther east in the area south of the Dṛshadvatī in the very extreme limit of the Ṛg-vēdic world. But there seems to be nothing serious against the theory that they occupied the land south of that occupied by the Yadus and Anus and west of the Bharata-Tṛtsu area, on both sides of the Sindhu after its junction with the Panjāb rivers. This tribe played an important part in Āryan history, and was associated with the names of Divōdāsa, the Vītahavyas, and others. Their power is obvious from the fact that they had a hereditary monarchy of ten generations, and that they drove out one of their kings, Dushṭarītu Paumsāyana, and his minister Rēvōttaras Pāṭava Chākra Sthapatī who, however, succeeded in effecting the king's restoration, even though this was opposed, for some unknown reason, by the Kuru prince Bālhika Pratītya. This incident is of constitutional interest, as it speaks of the expulsion of a king by his subjects and his restoration by a minister. It gives a clue to the existence of long-standing states in the Ṛg-vēdic world, the interference of foreign kings, the part played by ministers, and the political energy of the people. The Śṛñjayas seem to have neither skulked in times of war nor been tame in times of peace.

BETWEEN THE VITASTĀ (JHELUM) AND THE ASIKNI (CHINĀB).

Passing on to the land between the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the Asiknī (Chināb), the only important Vēdic tribes are the Mūjavants to the south of Kashmir; the Mahāvṛshas further to the south; and the Uttara Kurus and Madras to the east of them. The Mūjavants commanded the area from which Sōma was obtained. The Uttara Kurus and Madras were between the land of the Mūjavants, the Himalayas and the Trikakud* (modern Trikota) mountains, famous for an unguent named Vṛtra's eye in later Vēdas. It has been already pointed out how, from the fact that the later Vēdic literature† describes the Kuru region as the Dēvakshētra and as a particularly sacred land of the Āryas, the Kuru-Madra country might have been the original home of the Āryans from which the historic Kurus of the further south migrated. The Rg-vēda indeed does not mention the tribes directly; but the Brāhmaṇas‡ distinctly indicate their historic importance. The Kurus and Madras formed in fact the eastern-most of the Udīchya or northern tribes, their allies or relations in the west being the Kāmbojas§. Their place in Āryan history is obvious from the fact that the language spoken by them was the purest, and that the Brahmanical scholars of the Kuru-Pāñchāla region proceeded to them to learn it or to engage in literary contest¶. Franke has suggested that Sanskrit was specially developed in Kashmir, and the authors of the *Vēdic Index* accept it. The latter also accept Zimmer's view that "the northern

* Also known as *Trikakubh* or three-peaked.

† Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 23.

‡ *Ibid*, VIII. 14.

§ The later Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa shows the connection. See *Vēdic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85, and Vol. II, p. 512, for all references. "The Kambojas were later settled to the northwest of the Indus, and are known as Kambujiya in the old Persian inscriptions."

¶ *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 86-7.

Kurus were settled in Kashmīr, especially as Kurukshētra is the region where tribes advancing from Kashmīr might naturally be found." But while doing this, they have not gone far enough to state the implications of their concession. Why should the land have been so sacred? Why should scholars of the south have gone so far north to learn pure Sanskrit? Certainly it is more natural to expect migration from the north to the south than from the fertile south to the cold and difficult north. The only inference, under the circumstances, is that the Uttara Kuru-Madra land and further west, the region of the Udīchyas, which extended beyond the Indus and the Suvāstū, was the original home of the Āryans.

BETWEEN THE ASIKNĪ (CHINĀB) AND THE PARUSHNI (RĀVI).

Passing on to the land between the Asiknī (Chināb) and the Parushṇi (Rāvi), we find the Anus, the Turvaśas, the Druhyus, and (possibly) the Bālhikas, from the south to the north. The Bālhikas, the northern-most of these, figure in later Vēdic literature with the Mūjavants and the Mahāvṛshas. The authors of the *Vēdic Index* locate them just south of the Uttara-Madras but on this side of the Trikakubh mountain. It is held by some scholars (*e.g.*, Weber and Roth) that the Bālhikas were connected with Balkh, indicating thereby an Iranian influence; but this view is denied by others (like Zimmer, Keith and Macdonell). It seems, however, that Bālkh and Bālhikas might be connected, and that the former might indicate a settlement of Vēdic Bālhikas. There is as much reason for locating the Bālhikas much farther west, or north of the Mahāvṛshas and Mūjavants, instead of to the south-east of them as the authors of the *Vēdic Index* have done; and the probability of a Bālhika settlement further west is not at all questionable. The same remark applies, it may be added, to the Parśus. From certain passages in the Rg-vēda which refer to the *Pṛthu-parśavah* (literally, strong-ribbed) and to *Pārthava*, it has been surmised by some scholars (*e.g.*, Ludwig and

Weber) that they were connected with the Parthians and Persians. But this is disputed by others. Keith and Macdonell observe: the Parśus "were known to Pāṇini as a warrior tribe; the Pāraśavas were a tribe in south-west Madhyadēśa; and the *Periplus* knows a tribe of Parthai in North India. At most, the only conclusion to be drawn is that the Indians and Iranians were early connected, as was of course the case. Actual historical contact cannot be asserted with any degree of probability." It seems to me, however, that there is nothing improbable in the connections of the Pāraśavas or Parśus with the Persians, though there are difficulties in accepting Prof. Ludwig's particular speculations. The appearance of the Pāraśavas to the south-west of the Madhyadēśa in later times is easily explicable in an age of constant tribal migrations; and the Parśus, like the Bālhikas, might have been imbued by the common spirit of adventure, and sent out emigrants who perpetuated their name in Persia. The process would not have been difficult, as their habitation was probably much nearer the frontier in the early Vēdic times. It is true that "Hillebrandt, who is inclined to see relations with Iran in early times (see *Paṇi*, *Pārāvata*, *Sṛñjaya*), does not in this connection quote Parśu at all, and though he mentions Pārthava, does not regard it as probably referring to a Parthian;" but this is no argument against the theory of the origin of the names Persian, Parthian and Balkh from Parśu or Parśava, Pārthava and Bālhika. As regards the terms *Paṇi*, *Pārāvata* and *Śṛñjaya* as indications of early relations with Iran, all that need be said is that there is equal probablity of the spread of Āryan settlements from India westward.

Immediately in the vicinity of the Bālhikas lived the Druhyus, one of the famous *Pañcha-jana* or five tribes of the Ṛg-vēda, whose exact identity has given rise to a cloud of speculation. The Druhyu king shared in the misfortunes of his co-kings in the war with Sudās, and evidently perished in the waters. The father of Sudās had similarly met the Druhyus in battle. There seems to have been a sort of

hereditary enmity between the Druhyus and Tṛtsus. Later Vēdic traditions connect the Druhyus with the Gandhāras.

The Turvaśas (who were closely connected with the Yadus) lived in the region apparently to the south of the Druhyus. Their identity and vicissitudes have been themes of interesting controversial literature. The Ṛg-vēda describes them in some passages as Dāsas. It has been shown already how this is interpreted by some as an indication of immigration from beyond the sea and of probable connection with the people of Sindh. It has been suggested* that the Turvaśas, together with the Yadus, probably lived near the mouth of the Sarasvati on the Rajputana sea; that they crossed this sea towards the area now forming Gujarāt; that, brought back by Indra (as some Vēdic passages assert), they settled in the Saptasindhu and distinguished themselves by their enthusiasm in performing sacrifices; and that the term *Dāsa* was applied to them (X. 62-10) as they were, on account of separation, heterodox in faith for some time. Though it is not certain that every link in this description is historically justifiable (*e.g.*, the actual existence and boundary of the Rajputana sea in the Vēdic times), there can hardly be a doubt as to the importance of the Turvaśas and their allies in the development of the synthetic ethnology and culture of the Vēdic age. The Turvaśa king was defeated by Sudās, but made good his escape unlike the kings of the Druhyus and Anus. We have reasons to believe from a few hymns that the Turvaśas and Vṛichivants were allies in a battle on the banks of the Hariyūpiya and Yavyāvati on behalf of two chiefs named Śṛñjaya and Dēvarāta; but the incident is very obscure. As has been already said, Hariyūpiya was probably the celebrated Harappā. The Turvaśas seem to have been good horsemen. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa later on mentions the Turvaśas as allies of the Pañchālas and as having supplied 6033 horse-soldiers, though this interpretation is by no means certain. The Turvaśas were apparently merged in the Pañchālas, in later times.

* A. C. Das in *Rig-vēdic Culture*, p. 354.

The Anus or Ānavas who lived on the banks of the Parushṇī and who, to judge from one Vēdic passage, might have been connected with the Bhṛgus, were one of 'the five tribes' who took part in the war with Sudās.

THE TRIBES OF THE ŚATADRU AND ĀPAYĀ.

Passing on to the further east, we come to the great tribes known as the Tṛtsus, Bharatas and the Pūrus, concerning whose exact relationship there has been considerable speculation. The Tṛtsus had apparently a hereditary dynasty to rule over them. One of the early kings of the line was Divōdāsa. He seems to have begun an aggressive career by a contest with the Turvaśa Yadu. He had the surname Atithigvā. A descendant of his was named Pratardana, and a still later descendant was Sudās*. Sudās is said to have received a queen named Sudēvi (I. 112. 19) from the Aśvins who were always well disposed towards him. He was, for a time, apparently, discomfited by Pūrukutsa, but later on had Trāsadasyu, the son of the latter, apparently as a friend. Sudās had Vasishṭha as his Purōhit, and was very generous in his patronage of him. But soon a rivalry arose between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra for the post of Purōhit. Sudās had many sacrifices performed by the latter, and rewarded him amply. In one of the hymns (III. 53. 11), Viśvāmitra addresses his sons to be careful, to let loose the horse of Sudās for winning riches, slaying the enemies in the east, west and north, and performing worship in the choicest places of the west. It has been inferred from this passage that Sudās made conquests in all directions except the south; that he probably followed the example of his father and tried to bring the different Aryan peoples under his rule; and that Viśvāmitra

* There is some doubt with regard to the exact ancestry of Sudās. "He is called Paijavana, 'son of Pijavana,' as Yāska explains the patronymic. If this explanation is correct, Divōdāsa must have been his grand-father. If he was the son of Divōdāsa, Pijavana must be understood as a more remote ancestor. The former alternative seems the more probable." *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 454.

was the inspirer in this project. Whatever might have been the case, Viśvāmitra did not enjoy the patronage of Sudās for long. Vasishṭha apparently claimed* that he was the only proper person to hold the post. Viśvāmitra, accordingly, left the court of Sudās and took refuge with the Bharatas. We are not clearly told what the relations between the Tṛtsus and Bharatas were. Some scholars regard them as rivals. Some take them to be allies and even identical. Still others would take them to be different sections of a single tribe. The view has also been expressed that the Bharatas were subject to the Tṛtsus. It is difficult to say which of these is true. Only one thing is certain, namely, that the Bharatas lived on the lands of the Sarasvati, Āpayā and the Dṛshadvati, and that they were powerful enough to later on give their name to most of the royal clans. At the time when Viśvāmitra joined them, they were apparently in inimical terms with the Tṛtsus†.

The rivalry between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra soon gave rise to a gigantic battle between Sudās and ten confederate kings, ruling over the Matsyas, Pakthas, Bhalānas, Alinas, Vishāṇins, Śivas, Ajas, Śigrus and Yakshus. The kings are named as Simyū, Turvaśa, the Druhyu, Kavasha, the Pūru, Anū, Bhēda, the Śambara, the two Vaikarṇikas, and perhaps Yadu. It is obvious that some

* A passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII. 6.1, 41) says that Purōhits should be from the Brāhmaṇas alone. This view was held by Vasishṭha in order to dispute Viśvāmitra's claim apparently. If the later traditions are true, Viśvāmitra was a Kshatriya raised to Brahmanhood, for which Vasishṭha's consent was regarded as necessary.

† Hillebrandt held that both the Bharatas and Sudās invaded from the side of Arachosia and became one with the Tṛtsus and the Vasishṭha priests. He identifies the Sarasvati with the river of that name in Arachosia and the Paṇis (with whom Sudās fought) with the Parṇians. Keith does not agree with the view. He regards the Sarasvati as none else than the Indian river. In the other references also he sees no reason to go beyond India.

of these tribes were non-Āryan.* It is quite possible that Viśvāmitra persuaded those tribes and kings who felt the yoke of Sudās to join the Bharatas in a league.

THE BATTLE OF THE TEN KINGS.

Whatever might have been the underlying reason for the battle, there is no doubt that it considerably impressed the contemporaries. It is picturesquely described in several passages. The eastern peoples had to cross the Śatadru and the Vipāś before reaching the Parushṇī, on the banks of which Sudās awaited them. The two rivers obstructed them with their swollen floods. Viśvāmitra prayed to them to afford passage in this simple appeal. "Hear then, sisters, what the poet says! I come to you from far with heavy wagons. Bend ye low, give me an easy passage, and let your waves not even touch the axles" (III. 33-9). The rivers reply that they would give ear to his word as he had come from far with heavy wagons, and that they would bend low before him as a willing slave to his master, and as a bride to her lord! The Bharatas then advanced over the subsiding floods. Full of the martial spirit and the desire for cattle, they reached the Parushṇī. Apparently, they planned the breach of the embankment of the river higher up so as to sweep away the Tṛtsu ranks and lands; but the project failed. Vasishṭha was overjoyed. He says feelingly (VII. 18. 8, 9) that the stupid and evil-minded enemies of Sudās crossed the humble river, Parushṇī, and broke down its banks; and that Sudās, who pervaded the earth by his greatness, saw Kavi, the son of Chāyamāna, slain in battle, and then remained the victor, thanks to Indra's help. The victorious king apparently took the offensive, crossed the river in secret higher up,

* The battle is said to have taken place on the Parushṇī (the Ravi), but there is also reference to a fight on the Yamunā with some at least of the tribes forming the league. It is difficult to reconcile this. Keith observes that there is not perhaps much accuracy in the actual number and identity of the confederate kings and peoples. Some scholars see a counter-league formed by Vasishṭha.

and vanquished the enemies by a sudden and unexpected attack. A large number of the defeated ranks threw themselves into the Parushṇī, and were drowned. Many were killed or made captives. As many as twenty-one leaders were slain, their heads being cut off as the sacred grass by the priest! The chief, Bhēda, was among the slain. Sixty-six thousand six-hundred and sixty people of the Anus and Druhyus perished. Such was Indra's glory and grace! He scattered the enemies of Sudās over the earth! From certain passages of the Rg-vēda we have reasons to believe that Sudās owed his victory not only to his strategy and the grace of Indra, but the help of the elements. Even the rivers are said to have flowed in a way to give him the victory. The Maruts are invoked (VII. 18.10,11) in gratitude for their help. Vasishṭha has recorded the result of the battle in this picturesque and pious fashion. "Indra has effected a valuable donation by a pauper! He has slain an old lion by a goat! He has cut the angles of the sacrificial post with a needle! He has given all the spoils of the enemies to Sudās!" (VII. 18. 17).

As the result of the victory, Sudās was able to take the offensive. He quickly demolished seven cities with their strongholds; annexed the territory of the Anus; humiliated the Turvaśas, Druhyus and Bharatas; and made the dwellers on the Yamunā glorify Indra through Bhēda. The Ajas, Śigrus and Yakshus offered the heads of the horses killed in the battle as sacrifices to Indra. Sudās collected much booty, and distributed it amongst his followers. He enriched every eminent person. Vasishṭha praises him to the sky; for he himself was favoured with two hundred cows, two chariots, and two wives! Four horses with gold trappings steadily took these heavy but acceptable gifts. The seven worlds praised Sudās, as if he was Indra himself! His fame spread through the spaces of heaven and earth!

The friendly attitude between the Sudāsas and the Vasishṭhas did not always continue as such. In later Vēdic days, a Saudāsa cast Śakti, son of Vasishṭha, into the fire

and the bereaved father avenged himself on the royal family with success. Evidently, the rivalry between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra led to terrible situations at times.

The Battle of the Ten Kings seems to have been followed by the eventful amalgamation of the Tṛtsus and Bharatas into a single nationality, or, as some would say, a rapprochement between the parties of Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, that is, the orthodox and the popular, the puritanical and the liberal. Indeed, the vanquished became the eventual victors; for the Bharatas became the most famous of the royal families of later times, namely, the Kurus, so highly celebrated in the Epics and later Vēdic literature.

Closely connected with the Tṛtsus and Bharatas were the Pūrus. They occupied the region apparently to the north of that of the Bharatas, west of the Sarasvati and east of the Satlaj. As they are included amongst the enemies of Sudās, some scholars have suggested that they were non-Āryans, probably Sindhians; but it is quite unnecessary to take this view. It is not denied that some of the enemies of Sudās were Āryan. The Pūrus were probably one of them. One of the great Pūru kings was Pūrukutsa, the descendant of Durgaha and Girikshit. He is said to have had the grace of the gods and conquered the Dāsas. According to one version, Pūrukutsa was killed in battle, and his queen secured a son, named Trasadasyu, by the Niyōga system, in order to maintain the continuity of the line; but according to another, Trāsadasyu was born as the result of an Aśvamēdha performed by Pūrukutsa for the sake of a son. Trāsadasyu had a son named Tṛkshi. The Pūrus eventually coalesced with the Bharatas and Tṛtsus to form the Bharatavamśa or Puruvamśa of the later Vēdic literature. It may be mentioned that there was a Purukutsa, and Trāsadasyu, in the solar or Aikshvāku line. Pargiter places them much earlier. He suggests that the Pūru family was a minor branch of the Bharatas.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ĀRYAN EXPANSION OVER HINDUSTHAN—(*Continued.*)

THE KURU-PANCHALA GROUP.

We have thus far studied the tribes and clans figuring in the Ṛg-vēda. In course of time, the Ṛg-vēdic Āryans passed over to the country now forming the main portion of Hindusthān, or Āryāvarta as it was called in those days. We have already seen that, according to Dr. Hoernle and Grierson (p. 115), the Āryan expansion was due to a second wave of migrations from the north-west and the struggle of the new-comers with the Āryans who had moved from the Panjāb, as the result of which an Āryo-Dravidian set of peoples or kingdoms described in the Mahābhārata were formed. We have also seen (p. 117), how it is more reasonable to conclude that the Tṛtsus, Bharatas and Pūrus, that is, the peoples who occupied the basins of the South Satadrū, Sarasvati, the Āpayā, and the Dṛshadvati, extended themselves further east, and formed, after amalgamation with the Pañchālas, Vasas, Uśinaras, Śṛñjayas and others, the two groups of peoples known as the Kuru-Pañchālas and Kōsala-Vidēhas, with a semi-Āryan belt around them. Even in the Ṛg-vēda (X. 33.4) we find a clue to this evolution in the fact that Kuru Śravaṇa was a descendant of Trāsadasyu, the Pūru king. In later days, it is patent from incidents like Bharata's dealings with the Satvants on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, and of Satrājita Śatanīka with the Kaśis. In the royal proclamations of the period we find that the terms Pūru, Kuru, Pañchāla, Kuru-Pañchāla and Bharata were identical. Forming themselves into a group, these peoples absorbed others too in course of time, and under the name of Pūrus or Bharatas carried the torch of Āryan culture further and further into non-Āryan areas.

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE SARASVATI.

It is not clearly known under what circumstances the movements from the Panjāb to Āryāvarta began. Perhaps the explanation is sufficient that it was due to the growth

in numbers and the spirit of enterprise. But there seem to have been some physical and geographical causes too at the bottom. There are indications in the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa (XXV. 10. 1) that the Sarasvati, on the banks of which the Ṛg-vēdic civilization was developed to its greatest height, disappeared in the sands of the desert; for it says that the Sārasvata sacrifice should be initiated at the Vināśana, the place where the Sarasvati disappeared. The disappearance of the river might have been the cause of the tribal movements.

THE NEW ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PANJAB AND SINDH.

One natural and logical result of the Kuru-Pañchāla-group formation was the change in the angle of vision towards the old home of the Ṛg-vēda. The Āryans of the Saptasindhu came to be styled Nichyas and Apāchyas, low-born, ill-mannered 'westerners.'* It can hardly be doubted that they were so-called because they lost their purity on account of mixture with later immigrants. In his Śrauta-Sūtra, Baudhāyana (XIII. 13) clearly says that the lands of the Araṭṭas and the Gandhāris in the Panjāb and further west were not suitable for orthodox Āryans, and that those who went there should perform the Chatushṭōma. In his Karmasūtras he is even plainer. He says that they were of mixed blood, and that those who visited their land must offer a *Punashṭōma* or *Sarvaṛshṭi*. The Mahābhārata says that none should spend more than two days in the land of the Araṭṭas. The Vālhikas were the offspring of two devils. They were low-born and ignorant of law. Their Brahmans did not study the Vēdas or perform sacrifices. The gods could not accept the offerings of these Vrātyas. The Epic calls the Madras, Gandhāris and Sindhus, vicious and wicked.

* Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 14.

THE KURU LAND.

The Kuru land which, together with that of the Pañchālas, was called Madhyadēśa in this period, extended from the Sarasvati to the Ganges, and was further known as Kurukshētra and Kurujāṅgala. According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa it had the Kāṇḍava-vana in the south, the Turghnā in the north, and the Pariṇā in the west. The Mahābhārata locates it between the Sarasvati and the Dṛshadvati, and further says that it lay between Aruntaka and Taruntaka, had two lakes known as Rāma and Machakruka, and was further known as Sāmanta-pañchaka. It was practically identical with modern Thānēśvar, Delhi, and the Upper Duāb. It was watered by the Hiraṇvatī, the Kauśiki, the Aruṇā, the Āpayā, the Pastyā, the Sarasvati, and the Dṛshadvati. It had a great lake named Śāryanavant. The Kurus had the north Pañchālas to their east and south. Manu calls this land Brahmavarta. "The plain of the Kurus, the Matsyas, Pāñchālas and Śūrasēnakas—these form, indeed, the country of the Brahmarshis, ranking immediately after Brahmavarta (land between the Sarasvati and the Dṛshadvati)." The same tradition is reflected in the application of the term Dharmakshētra to the Kuru land and in the choice of it as the scene of sacrifices by kings like Nahusha and Yayāti. What is more striking, it came to be regarded as the land of heroes *par excellence*. Manu advises a king, desirous of conquest, to place the people of Kurukshētra, the Matsyas, the Pañchālas, the Śūrasēnas, and others who were tall and light, in the fore-front of battles. Buddhistic literature continues the tradition of Vēdic literature, and describes the Janapada of the Kurus as wealthy and rich in grains and gems. The Buddha devoted some of his most pious labours to the conversion of that land.

The most note-worthy fact in regard to the history of the Kuru-Pañchāla group of kingdoms is that traditions came to be invented by the chroniclers of this and later epochs to prove that the Bharatas were the progenitors of all the important dynasties of India. The authors of the

tradition* belonged to the Madhyadēśa; and so even the tribes of the Panjāb and those of the further east and south came to be given genealogies branching from the main group of the Kuru-Pañchāla country. The growth of the tradition shows the pride which all Āryan clans came to have in tracing their descent from 'the Bharatas.'

THE KURU, BHARATA OR PŪRU LINE.

According to the majority of the Purāṇas, the dynasties of Āryāvarta during this period were descended from a single progenitor, Manu, through his daughter Ilā and his son Ikshvāku. The descendants of Ilā came to be regarded in tradition as the members of the lunar line, and those of Ikshvāku as members of the solar. The former had their capital first at Pratishṭhāna, near Allahabad, and later on at Hastināpura, and the latter at Ayōdhyā.

The lunar line had this history. Ilā's son by Budha, Purūravas, fixed his capital at Pratishṭhāna. He was an ardent sacrificer, a friend of the Dēvas, and an enemy of the Asuras, whom Indra himself rewarded with half his seat and the hand of the nymph Urvasi, whom Purūravas rescued once from robbers (R. V. X. 95 and Śatapatha Brāhmana XI. 5, 1, 1). Purūravas was thus a hero of mythical legends in the earliest period of Āryan expansion. Still he is said in the Purāṇas to have died proud and unhappy in quarrels with his Vipra ministers, whom he despoiled of their jewels, and with the Maharshis of the Naimiśa forest, whose golden sacrificial floor he coveted. Pargiter thinks that he was no friend of the Brahmans who, he absurdly suggests, were originally priests of, and partial to, the Dānavas.

Purūravas had two sons, Āyu and Amāvasu. The former ruled at Pratishṭhāna, but the latter founded a branch line at Kanyākubja (Kanauj). Āyu figures in some hymns of the Rg-vdēa as the enemy of Tūrvayāṇa (king of the Pakthas?) whom Indra aided, and in another hymn as the enemy

* James Kennedy's *Purānic Histories of the Early Aryas*, J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 507 ff.

of a Vesa, whom he vanquished with Indra's aid.* On the former occasion, Āyu suffered misfortune in the company of a score of kings, as their enemy Susruva (Tūrvayāṇa) had 60099 soldiers. Paurānically, Āyu was a friend of the Rshis and Brahmans. He married a daughter of a Dānava king named Svarbhānu. It is clear from all these facts that Āyu was a conqueror and conciliator of the Āryans and Asuras, though Pargiter's views about the Brahmanical partiality to the Asuras are absurd and contrary to correct interpretation of the data.

Āyu's eldest son, Nahusha, carried on the main line at Pratishthāna. In his time, his brother, Kshatravṛddha, founded the branch dynasty of Kāsi. Another brother, Raji, is said to have been a veritable lion of the lunar dynasty, with whose aid Indra retrieved the glories of the Dēvas. Probably, he was an ardent enemy of the non-Āryans. Still, his descendants, the Rājeya Kshatriyas, are said to have perished in a contest with Indra. From Anenas, Nahusha's youngest brother, a branch line of about a dozen kings known as Kshatradharmans, is given in the Purāṇas. Their history is obscure. As regards Nahusha, he was at first a great conqueror of the Asuras, a friend of the Rshis and Brahmans, and a great sacrificer who rose to be a rival of Indra himself. But having risen to power, he became a degenerate tyrant. He robbed and ill-treated the sages. He asked the foremost of them to bear his palanquin and he was cursed by Agastya to become a serpent. From the fact that Nahusha's wife had the name of Virajā it has been surmised by Pargiter that he married his sister. It is quite possible that Nahusha's *abrahmaṇya* or ungodly career, which roused the ire of the sages, was due to his fall from Āryan ideals and methods of life. Possibly, it was his fate which made the eldest of his six sons, Yati, spurn royalty and become a hermit, leaving the throne to his younger brother Yayāti.

Nahusha's successor, Samrāṭ Yayāti, was a great conqueror. He reduced all Madhyadēsa west of Ayōdhyā

* I. 53, 10; II, 14, 7; VI. 18, 3; VIII. 53, 2; X. 49, 5; X. 61, 1.

and Kanyākubja and north-west as far as the Sarasvati. He also acquired the lands south, south-east and west of his territory. He had two queens,—Dēvayāni (the daughter of the Bhṛgu sage Śukra) and Sarmishṭā (the daughter of the Daitya-Dānava king Vṛshaparvan). By the former, Yayāti had two sons, Yadu and Turvaśa, and by the latter the three sons Druhyu, Anu, and Pūru. These five sons became the rulers of five different kingdoms. While Pūru* continued the main line, the others founded the Yādava, Turvaśa, Druhyu and Ānarta dynasties in the area now forming the Panjāb and Sindh. From Pūru the main line came thereafter to be called Pūruvaṃśa. The story of his four brothers shows, as has been already said, how the ancient Vēdic tribes of the Panjab were fitted into the Paurāṇic traditions by the chroniclers of the Madhyadēśa. While Pargiter would take it that the Panjāb dynasties were really scions of the Bharatas, and carried the Āryan civilization farther west, it is generally held that the Panjāb tribes, much more ancient than those of the Madhyadēśa, were made the branches of the Bharata or Pūru line by the chroniclers. In any case, it is obvious that, by Pūru's time, the Aila race had established seven kingdoms, namely Pratishṭhāna, Pañchāla, Kāśi, Yādava Turvaśa, and Ānarta.

Taking the Pūru line, we are told that till Tamsu there were about fourteen generations† from Pūru. The Mahā-

* The cause assigned for the succession of the youngest son is his exchanging his youth for his father's age. Probably Pūru distinguished himself more than his brothers in the administration during his father's old age. The identity of the areas occupied by the different sons is not uniform in the different Purāṇas. One version takes them even to Gandhāra. Pargiter places them in the basin of the Chambal (Charmaṇvati), the Betva (Vētravati), the Ken (Suktimati), the Karusha area around Rēwa, etc.

† These were: Pūru, Janamējaya (I), Prāchīnvant, Pravīra, Manasyu, Abhyada, Sudhanvan (Dhundhu), Bahugavas, Samyāti, Ahamyāti, Rudrāśva, Ṛchēyu, Matināra and Tamsu. The difference between the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata after Tamsu is great. After an uncertain interval came Dushyanta, the father of Bharata.

bhārata omits two of these, but substitutes in their place ten generations which are generally placed in the Purāṇas *later*, that is four generations before Śantanu, the father of the celebrated Bhīshma of the Mahābhārata. From Pūru to Śantanu, in other words, there were according to both the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, thirty-eight generations, more or less. Two generations later came the Bharata war.

Of the sovereigns of this period, the greatest is said to have been Bharata, the son of Dushyanta by Śakuntala. He figures largely in the later Vēdic literature, the Epics, and the Purāṇas. He is represented as a universal ruler, and a tireless performer of sacrifices. With Kaṇva's aid he performed 100 Aśvamēdhas on the banks of the Jumna, 300 on the banks of the Sarasvati, and 400 more on the banks of the Ganges. He also conducted thousands of Vājapēya, Agnishṭōma, Atirātra, Ukta, Ishṭi and Satra-yāgas. His sacrificial pillars, numbering a thousand, were a thousand spans high, and a thousand spans round! Richly adorned with gems, they were planted by the gods themselves. Of the priests who were enriched by him, Kaṇva was loaded with the presentation of 1000 *padmas* of gold and plenty of lands, elephants, horses, buffaloes, camels, sheep, goats, servants, money, grains, cows, and crores of houses! Divine and invincible, Bharata gave his name to the dynasty in which he was born. After him the Pūru line came to be known as that of the Bharatas.

We have reasons to believe that it was in Bharata's time that Pratishṭhāna ceased to be the Kuru capital and that Hastināpura took its place. We do not know why Hastināpura came to be so called. According to the Mahābhārata it was so named because it was founded by a later king named Hastin; but it inconsistently refers to its existence even in the earlier days of Bharata. Probably, as Pargiter says, it was founded by Bharata, and enlarged by Hastin. The foundation of Hastināpura by Bharata must have been due to the fact that it was more convenient, on account of his extensive territory, to have his headquarters in the northern portion of the Ganges-Jumna Duāb.

Very wild legends exist about Bharata's sons and their deaths. Whatever might have been the truth, Bharata had to adopt a Bharadvāja from the highly celebrated Vēdic clan, as his son. Bharadvāja was followed by his son Vitatha, and he by Bhuvamanyu, Bṛhadkshatra, Suhōtra and Hastin, in succession. It is to this Hastin that the foundation of the city of Hastināpura is attributed.

Hastin had two sons Ajamīḍha and Dvimīḍha. The former, whose name occurs in a hymn of the Rg-vēda (IV. 44. 6), continued to rule at Hastināpura, and the latter set up a separate kingdom, as Pargiter plausibly suggests, in the modern district of Bareilly.* Ajamīḍha's death was followed by the partition of his kingdom among three sons. Hastināpura was under Rksha, and his two brothers settled in North Pañchāla (with Ahichchhatra for capital) and South Pañchāla (with Kāmpilya and Mākandi for the capitals).

A cousin of Hastin, Rantidēva Saṅkṛti, established a kingdom at the expense of the Yādavas south of the Chambal (Charmaṇvati), with Dasapura for capital. He was a great and liberal 'emperor.' His line was closely connected with the Āṅgirasas, and later on became, according to Pargiter, Kshatriya-Brahmans. A latter Saṅkṛti was Guruvīrya, Gurudhī, or Ruchiradhī. He is described as an Āṅgirasa. A Gauraviti Śāktya figures as a hymn-maker in the Ṛg-vēda (V. 29), but his position is obscure. The Saṅkṛtis had thus a share, though a small one, in the expansion of Āryan culture.†

* Dvimīḍha's dynasty as described in the Puṛāṇas, which are not quite consistent with one another, consisted of about a dozen kings, namely, Rukmanātha, Supārśva, Sumati, Sannatimant, Sanati, Kṛta, Ugrāyudha, Kshēmya, Suvīra, Nṛpuñjaya and Bahuratha. Pargiter places these in the generations before and during the Bhārata war, and discredits the story of earlier origin. He disputes Kṛta's place in the genealogy. See his *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn*, pp. 105, 148 and 294.

† See *Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 112, 247-8. The genealogy given on p. 112 shows that the later Saṅkṛtis were descended from Bhūmanyu of the Bharata line.

Very incredible legends have gathered round Samvaraṇa, the next king, about whom we possess information. He is said to have been driven out of his kingdom by the Pañchāla king. He took refuge in the woods and hills of the Sindhu for a thousand years, we are told, till he was restored to his original position and glory by Vasishṭha. Pargiter would make the Pañchāla king who displaced Samvaraṇa identical with the Ṛg-vēdic Sudāsa who fought with the ten kings. "About this time," he says, "there reigned in N. Pañchāla Śṛñjaya, his son Chyavana Pijavana, and his son Sudāsa Sōmadatta, the Vēdic Sudās. Chyavana was a great warrior, and Sudās extended his territory. They raised the dynasty to its height. They seem to have conquered both the Dvimīḍha dynasty and South Pañchāla, for there is admittedly a gap" in the genealogies of both, which cannot be explained otherwise. "Sudās drove the Paurava king Samvaraṇa of Hastināpura out, defeating him on the Jumna. His conquests stirred up a confederacy of the neighbouring kings, to resist him,—Pūru (Samvaraṇa), the Yādava (the Yādava king of Mathurā), the Śivas (Śivas, who were Dānavas, p. 109), Druhyus (of Gandhāra, *ante*), Matsyas (west of Sūrasēna), Turvaśa (the Turvasu prince, apparently in Rewa), and other smaller states. Sudās defeated them in a great battle near the R. Parushṇi (Ravi), and Pūru, Samvaraṇa, took refuge in a fortress near the R. Sindhu (Indus) many years. Sudās was succeeded by his son Sahadēva, and grandson, Sōmaka, and the kingdom declined. Samvaraṇa recovered his kingdom of Hastināpura with Vasishṭha's aid (p. 210) probably from Sōmaka, and so conquered North Pañchāla." (*Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 281).

There is no doubt that the names Sudās, Chyavana Pijavana, and Sōmadatta, occur in the Ṛg-vēda. But it is very difficult to say whether they were actually the kings mentioned in the Ṛg-vēda. The identifications of the persons and places which Pargiter proposes do not stand on

unquestionable evidence. The later chroniclers of the Madhyadēśa always wove their stories around persons to whom they very often found Vēdic names. It is therefore difficult to support Pargiter's synchronisms and the sequences arising from them. The localities which he assigns to the Śṛñjayas, to the Turvaśas, and to others, are by no means certain. All that we can infer from Samvaraṇa's story is that there was rivalry between the main line of the Pūrus and the Pañchālas, and that, on one occasion, the latter were temporarily able to displace their rivals at Hastināpura.

Samvaraṇa had by Tapati (who is said to be Sūrya's daughter, indicating probably her birth in the solar line) a celebrated son named Kūru. He "raised the Paurava realm to eminence and extended his sway beyond Prayāga, which means that he subdued South Pañchāla which intervened. He gave his name to Kurukshētra and to Kurujāṅgala, which adjoined it on the east and in which Hastināpura lay. His successors were called the Kurus or Kauravas, a name that was extended also to the people."* Kuru was so celebrated for his *dharmic* rule that he made the Kurukshētra famous all over the earth for its holiness. His greatness lent his name to the very dynasty of which he was such a worthy son.

From Kuru to Śantanu, the grand-father of Dhṛtarāshṭra and Pāṇḍu, and great-grandfather of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, the Vishṇu Purāna gives fourteen generations.† The thirteenth of these, Pratīpa, is said to have been world-famous as a righteous ruler. He had three sons, Dēvāpi, Vāhlika and Śantanu. Of these, the eldest was a leper and could not come to the throne. The second abdicated

* *Anct. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 281. Pargiter regards Kurukshētra as the cultivated portion of Kuru's territory and Kurujāṅgala as the uncultivated portion east of it. *Ibid*, p. 76.

† These included Janhu, Suratha, Viduratha, Sarvabhauma, Jayasēna, Aravi (Arnava), Ayutayū, Akrōdhana, Dēvatithi, Rksha, Bhīmasēna, Dilīpa, Pratīpa and Śantanu. The other Purāṇas have slight variations.

in favour of his younger brother, and so Śantanu became king. The Mahābhārata gives numerous legends about him. These gather chiefly round his marriage with Gaṅga and their son Bhīshma, perhaps the most amiable figure in the Mahābhārata. Bhīshma renounced his right to the throne in favour of his younger half-brothers, Chitrāṅgada and Vichitravīrya. These were weak and died without issue; but the queen of Vichitravīrya had, by *niyōga* to sage Vyāsa, the three sons, Dhṛtarāshṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura. The Mahābhārata tells us how the eldest of these was blind, and so the second, Pāṇḍu, ruled the country; how, on the death of Pāṇḍu, a succession dispute arose between his five sons, the Pāṇḍavas, and the 100 sons of Dhṛtarāshṭra, the Kauravas; and how the great battle of Kurukshētra decided the dispute in favour of the Pāṇḍavas.

It has been already shown how the Mahābhārata war has been made an all-India affair; how the conflict between the two sections of the Kurus was magnified into a world-cataclysm; how each and every dynasty* in India of later times has connected itself in some way or other with the participants in the war. It has also been shown how the original bardic poetry has expanded into an encyclopoedia of political, didactic, religious, social and other matters from the age of the Mahābhārata War down to the second century A.D.; how to understand the growth of Indian civilization in all aspects for more than fifteen centuries we have to dive into its endless chapters. It is enough for the

* The Matsyas, Chēdis, Kārushas, Kāśis, Pañchālas (south), Magadhas, and the Yādavas of Gujarāt and Saurāshṭra joined the Pāṇḍavas, while the peoples of the Panjāb, the rest of N. India and N. Dakkan, were on the side of the Kauravas. The non-mention of the war in later Vēdic literature is a mystery. Pargiter is not surprised at it for two reasons. First, it was a purely political contest, and did not interest the authors of the Brāhmaṇas. Secondly, the very significance of the term Pāṇḍavas, as distinct from the Kauravas, was forgotten after the war, and the term *Kurus* alone remained. The war, says Pargiter, interested the Kshatriyas alone, and the fact that it is ignored by the authors of the Brāhmaṇas seems to him to be a capital evidence of the futility of depending on priestly books for secular history. *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 283-4.

present purpose to note that the Pāṇḍavas left this world after a rule of thirty-six years, crowning Parīkshit, the grandson of Arjuna, as the ruler of Hastināpura. Indraprastha, we are told, was placed, just before the Pāṇḍavas' retirement, under a Vṛshṇi prince named Vajra who was the sole survivor of the Yādavas from a suicidal civil strife which took place among them after Kṛshṇa's death.

Parīkshit* is represented in the epic as having expelled Kali from the world and so kept the world virtuous. This seems to be an echo of the story of a Parīkshit given in the Atharva-vēda to the effect that he was high above mortals, and that his subjects had a happy domestic life, commanding plenty of barley, curds and drink! Parīkshit was eventually killed by Takshaka, king of the Nāgas or serpents. The mythical story of a curse is given in explanation of this event; but the genuine fact seems to have been the rise of the Nāgas, with their capital at Takshaśilā, in the Panjāb. These Nāgas were probably the civilized aboriginal tribes of the north-west. Their establishment of the principality of Takshaśilā was probably due to the destruction of the Panjāb powers in the Mahābhārata war. Parīkshit died evidently in his attempt to check their aggression.

The traditions are not unanimous in regard to the names and numbers of Parīkshit's sons; but all agree that he was succeeded by Janamējaya.† This monarch is said to have been a Sārvabhauma who conquered every part of the earth. His chief exploit was the performance, in order to avenge his father, of a Sarpayāga, in which all the Nāgas perished. The story is perhaps only a symbolical way of

* According to Pargiter there were three Parīkshits, the post-Bhārata-war Parīkshit being the third of the name.

† The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to Parīkshit and his son, Janamējaya. Pargiter distinguishes Janamējaya III, who lived after the Bhārata war, from Janamējaya II, the son of another Parīkshit and an earlier member of the line. He ascribes the references in the later Vēdic literature to this earlier Pārikshita Janamējaya. He left a short-lived line consisting of Śrutasēna, Ugrasēna and Bhīmasēna.

representing his conquest of Takshaśilā in revenge for his father's death. Apparently, Janamējaya came into conflict, for some unknown reason, with his priests, and he had to pay a heavy penalty for it. The Matsyapurāṇa says that he abdicated, crowned his son, and went away to the forest. The Vāyupurāṇa simply says that he perished, and that the priests made his son king. The story is incorporated in the statement of the *Arthasāstra*: *Kōpājjanamējayō Brāhmaṇēshu vikrāntah.*

Janamējaya's career is referred to in the later Vēdic literature. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says that he performed the Aśvamēdha, with the help of the priest Indrōta Daivāpa Śaunaka. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa† describes the Punarabhishēka and the Aindra Mahābhishēka ceremonials which he performed with the help of Tura Kāvashēya. On account of this, we are told, he became invincible to the arrows of men and gods. Janamējaya's trouble with the Brahmans and his misfortune in consequence of it are also incidentally referred to. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says that he preferred the ministration of the Bhūtavīras to that of the Kāśyapas,‡ and that the latter took forcible possession of the conduct of the sacrifice from their rivals. This incident seems to have developed into a great struggle between the king and the priestly class in general. Later Vēdic literature mysteriously refers to the sinful work of the family. The Bṛhadāraṇyakōpanishad indulges in a philosophic disputation about their character, and reflects sadly on their fate! The Purāṇas are thus corroborated by Vēdic traditions.

The history of the Kuru country after Janamējaya is rather obscure. Many stray kings and their priests are referred to, but it is difficult to construct a connected account.

* XIII. 5, 4, 1, *et seq.*; XI. 5, 5, 13. He is said to have owned horses which, when wearied, were refreshed with sweet drinks.

† VIII. 34; VIII. 11. 21; VIII. 21. The royal city is said to be Āsandivant, literally *possessing the throne*. It seems to be another name for Hastināpura.

‡ The Kāśyapas seem to have been also known by the name of Asitamṛgas. Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa VII. 27; Jaiminīya B. I. 75; Shaḍvimśa B. I. 4.

The later Vēdic literature mentions a Kuru king Abhipratārin Kākshasēni,* who engaged in philosophic discussions, and who divided his property among his sons while he was alive. Again, a Vṛddhadyumna Abhipratārina who was, as is obvious from his name, a descendant of Abhipratārin, is described as a Rājanya in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (III. 48, 9), and his priest was the praiseworthy Suchivṛksha Gaupalāyana. He is said in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV. 16. 10—13) to have erred in a sacrifice, as the result of which he was cursed to lose Kurukshētra. These obscure references seem to indicate a line of kings in Indraprastha. Buddhistic literature also describes several traditions regarding a Kuru king of the name of Dhanañjaya Koravya (Korabba), who was a member of the Yudhitthila-gōtta and who ruled at Indapatta. One of the Jātaka tales† says that he educated himself at Taxila, that he was appointed local governor by his father, and that, after the death of the latter, he distinguished himself by his punctilious observance of the *Kuru-dhamma* with its five *śīlas*, without violating the *Rāja-dhamma*, as the result of which the whole country was prosperous. We are told that the king, his queen, his younger brother, his minister, his *Rajjugahaka* (police superintendent?), his agricultural adviser, his banker, and all other officers were equal adepts in the practice of *Kuru-dharma*. Just at this time, continues the story, the Kalinga kingdom was suffering from lack of rains on account of the lack of *Kuru-dharma* in it. It was expected that the mere presence of the elephant of the Kuru king would end the drought, and so it was taken to the Kalinga kingdom; but as this was fruitless, the Kalinga king sent a few Brahmans to the Kuru kingdom to learn the *dharma*. They returned with the proper equipment, and then had the doctrines engraved in gold plates: and the country was saved from destruction. The Kalinga capital is said to be Dantapura; and the Kuru king who was the hero of such

* Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, I. 59. 1; III. 1. 21; III. 156; Chhāndogya Upanishad, IV. 3, 5; Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, X. 5, 7; XIV. 1. 12. 15.

† Cowell's Transn., Vol. II, pp. 251 ff.

achievements is described as a liberal builder of almonries, who was rewarded, together with his subjects, with heaven on his departure from this world.

Another Jātaka* tale says that Dhanañjaya Koravya had a Brahman priest named Suchirata; that this teacher proceeded to Benares, learnt the modes and observances of good life from its teachers, and wrote them down in golden tablets, so that his king and people were fit to go to heaven Still another tale† is to the effect that Koravya had a son named Sutasēma who liked the Sōma juice, who was educated at Taxila, and who went to heaven for his numerous acts of charity.

Another story‡ is that Koravya was not satisfied with the Brahmans to whom he gave charities; and that his minister, Vidura, introduced several others who were wise, good, free from lust or drink, and contented with one meal a day. The king entertained them in the presence of the 'Pachchekabuddhas' whom he is said to have miraculously got from Mt. Nanda in the Himalayas by throwing flowers into the air. A variant of the story is that Vidura Paṇḍita, who was an expert in temporal and spiritual matters, and who charmed all the kings of Jambudvīpa by his sweet and eloquent discourses, persuaded Dhanañjaya to give up the company of his 16000 courtesans and to lead the virtuous life of an ascetic. The king is then said to have had a disputation with one Śakka about a question of worship, in which Vidura Paṇḍita acted as arbitrator§. Curiously enough, the king was a gambler and he was beaten in the presence of a hundred kings by a Punnaka. Vidura Paṇḍita is said, in another Jātaka‖ story, to have been an expert scholar of

* Cowell, Vol. V, pp. 31 ff.
† *Ibid*, pp. 240 ff.
‡ *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 227 ff.
§ *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 126 ff.
‖ *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 241 ff.

Taxila, who persuaded King Dhanañjaya, who was defeated by his adversaries on account of his preferring strangers to his own people in military service, to overcome the disaster by enlisting and employing his subjects.

It has been suggested* from the references in the later Vēdic literature and in the Jātakas that the kingdom of Indraprastha continued to be separate from that of Hastināpura and that it existed "long after the destruction of Hastināpura and the removal of the main line of the Kuru kings to Kauśāmbi." On the other hand it has been maintained that, owing to the Nāga aggression, the principalities on the Sarasvati and at Indraprastha disappeared soon after the time of Janamējaya, and that Hastināpura alone remained the outpost of the kingdoms of North India, till even the latter was superseded by Kauśāmbi in the time of the fourth successor of Janamējaya. The latter view seems to be more plausible. Indraprastha might have had some sporadic chiefs like Kakshasēna, Abhipratārin and Vṛddhadyumna. But whether there was a continuous dynasty is extremely doubtful. The Buddhistic legends concern practically one king, and are of no value from the view-point of political history.

The history of Hastināpura and the main line of the Kurus or Pūrus is not so obscure. According to the Purāṇas † there were about twenty-eight kings from Janamējaya to Kshēmaka. The following genealogical tree can be constructed from the list:

* For example, by Raychaudri, in his *History of Ancient India*. The contrary view is held by Pargiter.

† The Purāṇas are not quite consistent. They actually give twenty-eight kings down to Kshēmaka while they *say* that there were twenty-five kings:—

पञ्चविंशनृपाख्येते भविष्या पूरुवंशजाः ।
अत्रानुवंशश्लोकोऽयं गीतो विप्रैः पुरातनैः ॥

1. Janamējaya

2. Śatānīka — Śaṅkukarṇa

3. Aśvamēdha-datta

4. Adhisīmakṛshṇa

5. Nichakshu (who removed the capital to Kauśāmbi)

6. Bhūri or Ushṇa

7. Chitraratha

8. Śuchidratha (Kaviratha, Kuviratha)

9. Vṛshṇimāu (Vṛshṇimat, Dhṛtimat)

10. Sushēṇa

11. Sunīta (Sutīrtha)

12. Rucha (Ṛcha)

13. Nṛchakshu (Tṛchaksha)

14. Sukhībala (Sukhīnala), (*dāyāda*, probably adopted)

15. Pariplava (Paripluta, Parishṇava)

16. Sunaya (Sutapa)

17. Mēdhāvī (*dāyāda*, probably adopted)

18. Nṛpuñjaya

19. Durva (Urva, Mṛdu, Hari)

20. Tigmātmā.

21. Bṛhadratha

22. Vasudāna (Vasudāma, Sudānaka, Sudāsa)

23. Śatānīka

24. Udayana (Udāna, Durmadana)

25. Vahīnara (Mahīnara, Ahīnara)

26. Daṇḍapāṇi (Khaṇḍapāṇi)

27. Nirāmitra (Naramitra, Nimi)

28. Kshēmaka

Śatānīka, Janamējaya's son and successor, is said to have been a student of the Vēdas under Yāgñavalkya, and of the science of weapons and actions under Śaunaka.* He figures under the name of Śātānīka Sātrājita in the Brāhmaṇas† and in the Atharva-vēda.‡ He is said to have waged war with Dhṛtarāshṭra, king of Kāśi, and taken away his sacrificial horse. Nothing is known of his son, Aśvamēdhadatta; but *his* son Adhiśīmakṛshṇa is given a very interesting place in the Purāṇic traditions. It was in his time that the Vāyu-purāṇa (of which the Brahmāṇḍa is believed to be a later counterpart) and the Matsya-purāṇa are said to have originated. These Purāṇas call his successors 'future kings,' though the *Bhavishyat*, the *Vishṇu*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Garuḍa* Purāṇas date 'the future kings' from the time of Janamējaya onward or even a little earlier. Pargiter suggests that the kernels of the Purāṇas originated in the century following the Mahābhārata war. § One is tempted to ask whether Adhiśīmakṛshṇa was not an original man who, in his love of literary patronage, fostered the type of composition which, in course of time, developed into the Purāṇa. The Mahābhārata records the tradition that, in a great sacrifice performed by sage Śaunaka in the Naimiśa forest in the time of this king, the *Mahābhārata* too was recited, like the Matsya and other Purāṇas.

* The Bhavishya-purāṇa.

† Aitareya B. (VIII. 21. 5); Śatapatha B. (XIII. 5, 4. 9—13).

‡ I. 35. 1.

§ अधिसीमकृष्णो धर्मात्मा साम्प्रतं यो महायशाः। See *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 51-8. Pargiter quotes the Arthaśāstra, the Atharva-vēda, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the Sūtras, to show that "a collection of tradition must have been made within a century or so after the Bhārata battle, thus closing 'the past' and its traditions, whence all subsequent occurrences belonged to the future." He sees a proof of this in the mention of Itihāsa as a Vēda in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, which he places in the fourth century B.C.

In the time of Nichakshu*, Adhisīmakṛshṇa's successor, Hastināpura is said to have been destroyed by the Ganges, and so the Kurus had a new capital at Kauśāmbi, more than three hundred miles to the south (across South Pañchāla). Kauśāmbi has been identified with Kosām, thirty miles to the west of Allāhabad. The Purānic explanation for the change of capital to Kauśāmbi is not quite accurate ; "because, if that were the whole truth, he (Nichakshu) could have chosen some other town nearby as a new capital, and there was no necessity to move more than three hundred miles south across South Pañchāla to Kauśāmbi. Manifestly he was obliged to abandon all the northern part of the Ganges-Jumna Duāb, and there can be no doubt that he was driven south by pressure from the Punjāb." Pargiter surmises that this retreat "mixed up the Kurus of Hastināpura with the South Pañchālas, and led to the combination of the Kurus and Pañchālas (including the Śṛñjayas), that is, blended the Kuru-Pañchālas, a fusion which may be reckoned.....at about 820 B.C." The Kaurava-Pauravas then reigned at Kauśāmbi in the Vatsa country.

The chronology of Pargiter is not in accordance with the view adopted in this treatise ; nor is his notion of the amalgamation of the Kurus, Pañchālas and Śṛñjayas *only after* the removal of the Kuru capital to Kauśāmbi sustained by any evidence. But it is quite possible that the Kuru kingdom was subject to troubles from enemies further to the north or north-west, and that it was these troubles that led to the shifting of the Pūru head-quarters from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbi in the Vatsa country.

The Vatsas of the Epics and Purāṇas were the same as the Vaṁśas of the Buddhistic literature and the Vaśas of the Rg-vēdic age. A member of the tribe, Vaśa Aśvya, is

* The Purāṇic variations of the name include Vivakshu, Vichakshu, Nṛchakshu, Nṛchakru, Nṛchaka, Nṛvakshu, Nichakru, Nischakru, Nēmichakra, Naimichakra, etc.—a capital example of the inaccuracies and adaptations of the Purāṇic writers. Pargiter believes that the true name might be Nṛchakshas occurring in Rg-vēda, X. 14, 11.

mentioned in a number* of hymns as having enjoyed the protection of the Aśvins. Aśvya himself was the author of a hymn (VIII. 46). The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 11. 13) records the tradition that he received 60,000 horses, 1,000 brown mares, and a lakh of cows adorned with three red patches, from a Pṛthuśravas Kānita. Possibly, the Vatsas were the members of the clan of which this Vaśa was the Rg-vēdic representative. The Purāṇas, however, say that they were the descendants of Vatsa, the son of Pratardana, the Paurava king of Kāśi; and Pargiter† is disposed to accept this version. He believes that Vatsa, the Kāśi prince, conquered the country around Kauśāmbi‡ from the clan of the Vītihōtras who formed a branch of the Haihaya Tālajaṅghas (whom Pargiter compares with the later Mahrattas in the range and character of their exploits). He also believes that Vatsa's descendants drove the main Pauravas to the north of the Ganges, annexing their capital, Pratishṭhāna, to the Vatsa country. Probably, the Rg-vēdic Vaśas were given a place in the Madhya-dēśa group§ by the early Paurāṇists in the form of a close relationship with the Kāśis who, as we have already seen, were a branch of the Pauravas. That the Vaśas or Vatsas were closely allied to the Kurus, Pañchālas, Matsyas and Uśīnaras of the Madhya-dēśa group is amply proved by the later Vēdic literature. The Vatsas were the allies of the Pāṇḍavas in the Mahā-bhārata war. Later on, when the main Pauravas of Hastināpura were pressed hard by the Nāgas, they were compelled, in the time of Nichakshu, to migrate to the Vatsa country and to make Kauśāmbi their capital.

The history of the Pūrus after the removal of the seat of government to Kauśāmbi is obscure. As has been shown

* I. 112, 10; 116, 21; VIII. 8, 20; X. 40, 7; etc.

† See *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 269-70.

‡ The origin of Kauśāmbi is explained in a later section.

§ The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14. 3) mentions the Vaśas along with the Kurus, Pañchālas and Uśīnaras of the Madhyadēśa. The Kauśītaki Upanishad (IV. 1) unites them with the Matsyas, and the Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 9) with the Uśīnaras,

in page 212 there were twenty-three kings after Nichakshu as far as Kshēmaka, the last of the line about whom we have any information. The most interesting personalities in the royal list were Śatānika and his son or (according to the Skandapurāṇa which introduces a Sahasrānika in addition) grandson, Udayana. Śatānīka is said to be a fit descendant of Arjuna, and to have died in a war between the Dēvas and Asuras. His son, Sahasrānika, says the Skandapurāṇa, married Mṛgavati, the grand-daughter of Kṛtavarmā of Ayōdhyā. While *enciente*, we are told, she was carried away by a bird, and then dropped from the sky. Brought up by sage Jamadagni, she gave birth to a son named Udayana in his cottage. In course of time Udayana married a Nāga girl, and had a son by her. Guided by the clue of a bangle given by Udayana to a hunter, king Sahasrānika traced his queen and son to Jamadagni's hermitage, and then joined them. Sahasrānika saw his son crowned, and then ascended to the celestial world in consequence of the bath in a sacred water called Chakratīrtha.

Buddhistic literature records the same legend with material alterations. It says that king Parāntapa (whom it mentions in the place of Sahasrānika) had a queen who, while seated with him, was carried away by a bird called Hatthiliṅga, which had the strength of five elephants, and was then dropped down at night in a forest in the midst of rains. Early in the morning, a son was born to her. A hermit of the neighbourhood took her and her infant to his hermitage; and in course of time the sage helped the boy to regain the throne.

The story of Udayana has formed the nucleus of a very extensive romantic literature, Hindu, Jain, and Buddhistic. The most famous of the former is that given in the great romance *Vāsavadattā*. In this we are told that Udayana married Sāgarikā, the daughter of a king of Ceylon, who was ship-wrecked, brought to his palace, and kept concealed by queen Vāsavadattā till she came to the notice of the king, and won his heart. With regard to Vāsavadattā herself, the king's elopement with her—

she was the daughter of his enemy and captor Chaṇḍamahāsēna—is a well-known story. Other stories connect Udayana with a Kshatriya princess, Padmāvati, and other heroines. Buddhistic tradition has a number of versions concerning him and his wives. For some reason or other, Udayana thus became famous in the world of romance. The *Lalitavistara* says that he was born on the same day as the Buddha. He is also said to have become the disciple of the Buddha and renounced the world. If this is true, the age of Udayana takes us to the close of the Vēdic period and right into the age of the Buddha. Kauśāmbi, too, figures prominently in the life-story of the Buddha. There was, we are told, a discussion in the Tushita heaven as to what family the Buddha was to be born in. One Dēvaputra suggested that the city of Kauśāmbi in Vatsa country had a king called 'thousand excellences' and a prince called 'hundred excellences;' that the land was rich in elephants, horses, the seven gems, and armies; and that the Buddha might be pleased to be born there. To this, however, another member replied that, though what was said was true, yet the mother of the king of Vatsa was born of a strange parent; that the son was not therefore of pure descent; and that the Buddha must take his birth elsewhere. A similar tradition is recorded in the *Lalitavistara*, wherein the land of Vaṁśas was rejected for the Buddha's birth on the ground that the Vaṁśas were rude, rough, and destructive (*uchchhēdavādin*). As the Vatsa country was a centre of Brahmanical learning, the conversion of its scholars by the Buddha was one of his great achievements.

If the Buddhistic traditions regarding Udayana are believed in, we shall have to place the last ten kings in the genealogical list given in p. 212 in the same age as that of the Śaiśunāga dynasty of Magadha, which, as will be shown presently, rose about B.C. 650, and the fifth king of which was a contemporary and patron of the Buddha.

As Udayana is said to have survived the Buddha, his death will have to be assigned to, say, B.C. 530, even if we take the traditional date of the Buddha's date (B. C. 543) as the correct one.* If Udayana died about B. C. 530, his four successors down to Kshēmaka would have to be regarded as the contemporaries of the later Śaiśunāga kings who, we know, gave place to the Nandas.

Such a chronological conclusion seems, however, to be very questionable. In the first place, the Buddistic traditions regarding Udayana's contemporaneity with the Buddha do not seem to be in consonance with historical facts. Udayana was a favourite hero with romancers and tale-makers. He is a hero of many stories in the Jaina and Hindu literatures as well, and it is impossible to reconcile all these. The Buddhistic tales seem to have been woven round a name already celebrated for semi-mythical romance. Further, to bring Udayana down to B. C. 530 would mean the discrediting of the number of generations which elapsed from the time of Janamējaya. It would be inconsistent with the date assigned to the Mahābhārata war (see p. 106).

The Purāṇic account itself indirectly shows this. It carries the history of the Pauravas without interruption down to the time of Kshēmaka, and says that, on reaching him, the Paurava race,† much honoured by the gods and sages, and the source of many-Brahma-kshatriyas, would reach its end in the Kali age. The Purāṇas then go on to give the history of the Aikshvākus (with which we shall deal presently); then the Bārhadrathas of Magadha who are said to have been thirty-two in

* The majority of scholars place his death between 487 and 477 B. C.; but the traditional view is now gaining ground.

† After the verse quoted in p. 211 (footnote) we have :—

ब्रह्मक्षत्र्य यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः ।
क्षेमकं प्राप्यराजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

number and ruled for 723 years;* then the Pradyōtas of Malwa who were five in number and who ruled for 138 years†, and then the ten Śaiśunāga kings of Magadha who ruled for 360 years‡. The Purāṇas observe that, *contemporaneous with these aforesaid kings*, there were 24 Aikshvākus, 27 Pañchālas, 24 kings of Kāśi, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kalingas, 25 Aśmakas, 36 Kurus‡, 28 Maithilas, 23 Śūrasēnas, and 20 Vītihōtras. "All these kings will endure the same time." The next

* The Purāṇas give 1000 years also as the total duration, but it is shown elsewhere, with Pargiter, that this is due to a confusion, and that the version of 723 years is comparatively acceptable.

† Generally, the Pradyōtas are taken to be the successors of the Bārhadrathas, and predecessors of the Śaiśunāgas, in Magadha. But they seem to be the rulers of *Malwa* contemporaneously with the Bārhadrathas of *Magadha*. So, in the total duration of the Magadhan chronology, their 138 years would have to be left out.

‡ Pargiter would interpret it as 163 years without sufficient justification.

एतैः सार्धं भविष्यन्ति तावत्कालं नृपाः परे ।
तुल्यकालं भविष्यन्ति सर्वेह्येते महीक्षितः ॥
ऐक्ष्वाकश्च चतुर्विंम्शत् पंचालाः सप्तविंशतिः ।
काशेयास्तु चतुर्विंम्शत् अष्टाविंशति हैंहयाः ॥
कलिंगाश्चैव द्वात्रिंशत् अश्मकाः पंचविंशतिः ।
कुरवश्चापि षट्-त्रिंश दष्टाविंशति मैथिलाः ॥
शूरसेनस्त्रया विंश द्वीतिहोत्रश्च विंशतिः ।
एते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति एककालं महीक्षिताः ॥

The general figures in this passage are not consistent with the particulars given in connection with each dynasty. The Kuru list, as given elsewhere, is 28 or 25. But even in regard to *this* general passage, there are different versions. Taking the case of the Kurus, for instance, we have, instead of Shaḍ-triṁśad (36), the expressions *Shaḍvimśad* (25), *trimśad* (30), pañchāśad (50), *ūnavimśad* (about 20), etc. It is best to take the version of 28 kings as given on p. 212. The cases of the other dynasties are dealt with in their proper places.

section of the Purāṇas deals with the rise of the Nandas. It is clear from this that 36 Kuru kings are equated chronologically to 1083 years before the rise of the Nandas, and 723 years before the rise of the Śaiśunāgas. Apparently, the figure 36 is either a mistake for 25 or 28, or it includes some kings *before* Janamējaya. In either case, the 28 kings given in the post-Bhārata-war list of the Pauravas would have to be assigned to a period lasting for more than a millennium at least *before* the rise of the Nandas, and seven centuries at least *before* the rise of the Śaiśunāgas. It is quite probable that Kshēmaka, the last Paurava, was conquered by the rising Śaiśunāga power of Magadha.

Some General Features in Paurava History.

The sketch of the history of the Pauravas given above indicates some general features of a very interesting character. The succession of ninety-five generations* previous to the Bhārata war would carry Manu, the traditional progenitor, to an age consistent with the chronology of the Vēdic period discussed in the last chapter. It would, in a way, explain the transmission of the legends connected with Manu to the west and to the east as well. The tradition regarding the floods, in which Manu plays such an important figure, seems to have been transmitted from India to the other parts of the world, some time about the rise of the North Indian dynasties, headed by the Purūrava and Ikshvāku stocks, from Manu. The idea of the four ages too, with their notions of graded virtues and happiness, which arose out of the historical trend of events in India, seems to have spread then. As has been explained in pp. 97-8, the notions of the Kṛta, Trēta and Dvāpara ages which ended with the Bhārata war, can be explained on the basis of the Āryan history in Āryāvarta. The duration of the Paurava succession of kings shows contemporaneity with the gradual development of the later Vēdic literature. Vēdic personages—kings, sages and others—

* Pargiter calculates 95 generations from Manu to the Mahābhārata war. See *Anct. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 144-8.

figure often in the careers of the Paurava kings. The centuries which elapsed from Purūravas to Kshēmaka were also the centuries in which the different Vēdic Samhitas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, the earlier Sūtras and the germs of the Epics and Purāṇas took their shapes.

Another important lesson derived from the Paurava history is that almost all the dynasties of India traced their origin to the Pauravas or Ailas. Pargiter distinguishes the Aila stock from a Mānva stock, which he regards as Dravidian, and from the Saudyumna stock which he regards as Muṇḍa. These theories are distinctly speculative and absurd. If there is any lesson which is distinctly derived from the Purāṇas, it is this,—that the Ailas, Aikshvākus and Saudyumnas were all derived from Manu, and were therefore Mānavas. The ethnical differentiation made between them does not stand on evidence. All of them are equally Āryas. But while they were intimately connected, the Aila or Paurava section seems to have given rise to the vast majority of Indian dynasties. Starting their career in Pratishṭhāna, the Ailas sent the members of their clan in different times to found the various kingdoms of North India. From the main line of the Kurus or Bharatas arose the Pañchālas; and with the latter were connected the Śṛñjayas, Sōmakas, Chēdis, Matsyas, Bārhadrathas and Kārushas. As has been already said, even the Panjab clans of the Turvaśas, Druhyus, Ānavas, Śivis, and Uśīnaras, came to connect themselves with the Pauravas. Then again the Yādavas, with the various branches of the Haihayas, Vaidarbhas, Sātvatas, Vṛshṇis, Andhakas and others, also connected themselves with them. It is obvious that, excepting the Aikshvākus of East Āryāvarta and the comparatively few branches of theirs, the whole of India was dominated by the Pauravas, either on account of actual blood-connection or by pretensions to it. Beginning at Pratishṭhāna (Allahabād), they spread out west as far as East Afghanistan, south as far as the Dakkan, east into Bihar and even Bengal. These formed the Madhyadēśa, the land of pure Sanskrit, and the 'outer band' of Āryan languages defined by Sir

G. Grierson*. Though the latest opinion is not quite convinced of the correctness of Grierson's theory, the expansion of the Pauravas can hardly be denied. Pargiter would place the origin of the Ailas in and beyond the middle of the Himalayas, and trace the expansion of the Āryans from the Madhyadēśa in all directions. He would place the composition of the Ṛg-vēda, the battle of the ten kings, and the origin of the Āryan civilization in the Madhyadēśa. He would regard the Panjab and farther northwest only as a country conquered and colonised by the Ailas. This view has not been accepted in the present treatise. It has been shown that the original home of the Āryans lay in Kashmir and the north-west; that they then spread southward and eastward; and that, when they became the settlers in Madhyadēśa, they regarded their original home as unholy, though they connected its kings with their own royal clan. Apart from this difference of view, it is obvious that the Pauravas were the Āryanisers of the major portion of India.

Another lesson which is obvious in Paurava history is that the dynasty did much to develop the Āryan culture. The Kuru country came to have a high reputation as the land of authoritative *dharma*. It was from it that even distant regions like Kalinga obtained teachers of *dharma*. Brahmanical and other seekers of truth resorted to it in order to equip themselves as true Āryas. The Kuruvaṁśa became synonymous with all that was the best in Āryan civilization. It is very doubtful whether the Āryanisation of a large part of India would have been possible without the patronage of the Kuru kings. Many of them were not inferior to Brahmans in sacrifices, learning and asceticism. Some branches of them, indeed, came to be known as Kshatriya-Brahmans. The Urukshayas, the Kāpyas, the Saṅkṛtis, the Gārgyas were sages who were descended from them, and who were therefore Kshatriya-Brahman. Intermarriages also seem to have occasionally taken place. The

* Imperial Gazetteer of India (1907), I, pp. 349 ff. See *ante*, pp. 114-7.

Kurus set the model to other kings in the patronage of Āryan culture. They also promoted that Aryo-Dravidian synthesis, without which the Indian civilisation would not have developed, and they influenced even the outside world like Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

THE PANCHĀLAS.

Next to the Kurus, the Pañchālas formed the most important people in the Madhyadēśa. The name indicates the amalgamation of five tribes, but there is no material throwing light on the point. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa seems to indicate their origin from the Krivis, as it names a Pañchāla king named Kraivya. The Purāṇas derive them from the five sons of some king or other. The Vishṇupurāṇa calls them the sons of Kuru Haryaśva. The Vāyupurāṇa makes them the sons of Rksha of the family of Dvimīḍha. The Agnipurāṇa says they were the sons of Vāhyaśva. The Bhāgavata makes them the sons of Bhṛmyaśva of the family of Dushmanta. Nor is there unanimity in regard to the names of the five princes; but Mudgala, Śṛñjaya and Kāmpilya are among them. Pargiter has in a way reconciled this conflicting maze. He concludes that, on the death of Ajamīḍha of the Puru line, his eldest son Rksha continued to rule at Hastināpura, and his two other sons, Nīla and Brhadvasu, became the rulers of the Krīvi country (with whom the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa connects the Pañchālas), dividing it into a northern and southern kingdom; "a northern called Ahichchhatrā, of which the capital was then or soon afterwards Ahichchhatrā and Chhatravatī, and a southern, of which the capitals were afterwards Kāmpilya and Mākandī" (*Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 274). Still later, continues Pargiter, the Krīvi country, comprising the above two kingdoms, came to be called Pañchāla when Bhṛmyaśva divided it among his five sons, 'jocosely nicknamed capable.' The Pañchālas were thus, like many another dynasty, scions of the Paurava line.

This account of the division of the Pañchālas into the northern and southern branches differs from the traditions

of the Mahabhārata and Buddhistic literature. The former says that Drōṇa, the teacher of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, had Drupada, the then Pañchāla king, chastised for his pride, and deprived him of half his kingdom, reserving the northern half for himself, giving rise thereby to the Uttara and Dakshiṇa Pañchālas. According to this version, the division of the Pañchāla country took place before the Mahābhārata war. The story is well-known how Drupada obtained by penance his son Dhṛshṭadyumna, who afterwards slew Drōṇa, and his daughter Draupadī who became, under singular circumstances, the common wife of the Pāṇḍavas. Pargiter, however, would place the rise of South Pañchāla many generations earlier, as can be seen from the above genealogical account, and regards Drōṇa's exploit as an incident which put an end to the old North Pañchāla dynasty and transferred it to the southern kingdom.

With regard to the Buddhistic tradition: One of the Jātaka tales (Cowell, III, p. 275 ff.) says that one of the five sons of an untruthful king of Chēdi was induced by the family priest, Kapila, to proceed to the north and found a city, where a jewelled wheel-frame was found, under the name of Uttara Pañchāla. This carries improbability in its very face, and can be dismissed as a fabrication.

A genealogical table of the North Pañchālas is given in the next page. A few interesting features may be noted in it. In the first place, the Pañchālas had their origin in the Pūru line, claiming descent from Ajamīḍha. Pargiter suggests that, as each of them must have received a small district, they were 'jocosely nicknamed' Pañchālas, 'the five capables.' Whatever might have been the case, it is clear that the Paurāṇic traditions connect Sṛñjaya and Kāmpilya* (or Kapila or Kṛmilāśva) among the divisions of the Pañchālas.

* The history of this place is given at the end of this section.

GENEALOGY OF THE NORTH PANCHĀLAS.

Ajamīḍha
(of the Puru line)
Nīla
(First ruler of N. Pañchāla)
Śuśānti
Purujānu
(or Purujāti)
Rksha
Bhṛmyaśva (who had five sons called the *Pañchālas*)

Mudgala (ancestor of the Maudgalyas) | Śṛñjaya | Bṛhadvīshu | Tavīnara | Kāmpilya (Kapila or Kṛmilāśva)

Brahmishṭha (= Indrasēnā)
Vadhryaśva = Mēnakā

Divōdāsa (Atithigvā ?) | Ahalyā (= Śāradvant (Āṅgīrasa)

Mitrayu
Maitrēya Sōma (ancestor of the Maitrēyas) | Śatānanda
Śṛñjaya
Chyavana | Satyadhṛti
Pañchajana
(Pijavana ?)
Sudāsa (Sōmadatta)
Sahādēva
Sōmaka Ajamīḍha
Jaṇtu

Pṛshata | Kṛpa | Kṛpī
(The Guru of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas)
Drupada
(becomes ruler of S. Pañchāla)

Dhṛshṭadyumna | Draupadi (= the Pāṇḍavas)
Dṛshṭakētu

The eldest of the five Pañchālas, Mudgala, was destined to be the founder of the main or most distinguished branch. Amongst his descendants there were Vadhryaśva, Divōdāsa, Mitrayū, Maitrēya Sōma, Śṛñjaya, Chyavana Pañchajana, and Sudāsa or Sōmadatta. The Purāṇas are not consistent with regard to these names. Some of them give the name of Sōmadatta in place of Sudāsa. In spite of these difficulties, Pargiter suggests that these are the kings who figure in the Rg-vēda. He indeed takes this as a capital example of the trustworthiness of the Purāṇas in the absence of clear Vēdic evidences. "Mudgala (called Bhārmyaśva in the Anukramaṇī) is mentioned in hymn X, 102, 5, 9; Indraśēna in verse 2, and Vadhryaśva may be hinted at by the words *vadhriṇāyujā* in verse 12. Vadhryaśva is named in X, 69, 1 f., and in VI, 61, 1, which says Divōdāsa was his son. Śṛñjaya is mentioned in IV, 15, 4. Chyavana is probably meant in X, 69, 5, 6, and his other name Pañchajana is no doubt a misreading of Pijavana. His son Sudāsa is named as Sudās Paijavana in VII, 18, 22, 23, and verse 25 says Sudās was son (*i.e.*, descendant) of Divōdāsa. Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa VII, 34 says Sahadēva was descended from Śṛñjaya, and hymn IV, 15, 7—10 says Sōmaka was his son. Further, III, 53, 9, 11, 12, 24 and VI, 16, 19 show that Divodāsa and Sudās were decendants of Bharata. In all these particulars the hymns agree with the genealogy, and they are too numerous and too closely inter-related to permit of any doubt that these Vēdic kings were the North Pañchāla kings." (*Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 120). Farther on, he observes: "This is the only dynasty to which connected references occur in the Rg-vēda and that can be tested thereby. Those references entirely corroborate the genealogy; and the statements in the latter show that it could not have been framed therefrom but was

independent. Its genuineness, accuracy and independence prove that it must have been contemporaneous with the dynasty and as old as the hymns themselves. This affords a very strong presumption that the other genealogies are also genuine and true; the want of evidence regarding them is wholly on the side of the Vēdic literature, and its silence proves nothing adverse." (*Ibid*, pp. 120—1)

The identification of Divōdāsa with Atithigvā, of Chyavana Pañchajana with Chyavana Pijavana, of Sudāsa with the hero of the Daśarāgña battle, and of Śṛñjava with the son of Maitrēya Sōma, would make the geographical environment of the Rg-vēdic culture different from that which has been adopted and described in the previous pages. It should not be forgotten that it is in connection with these very names that the Purāṇas disagree. Apparently, the Rg-vēdic names were included by some of the Purāṇic chroniclers of the Madhyadēśa. Further, the Vēdic names were very common in those days, too common to justify the identity of kings on their basis.

Another noteworthy feature in the history of the dynasty, to which Pargiter draws attention, is the rise of Brahma-Kshatriya or Kshatriya-Brahma clans from some of its members. The descendants of Mudgala, for example, were "Kshatriya-Brahmans who joined the Āṅgirasas." Vadhryaśva and Divōdāsa* "both exercised priestly functions as the Rigvēda shows, and appear to have joined the the Bhārgavas, for both of them are named in the Bhārgava-vaṁśa." Similarly, the descendants of

* Hymns X. 69, 2, 4, 9, 10; VIII, 103, 2. "Hymn I, 130, 7, 10 proves that some of the descendants of Divōdāsa the *warrior* were rishis and brahmans; and X, 133 is attributed to Sudās." (*Ind. Hist. Tradn.* p. 120.)

Mitrayū, the Maitrēyas, came to be included in the same priestly *vaṁśa*. While it is perhaps too loose to talk of the members of the line having become Brahmans, it can be readily granted that many of the kings and their descendants were eminent in the practice of religion, and that their right to exercise priestly functions was recognized.

The history of the Pañchālas was one of occasional enmity with the Pauravas. The Mahābhārata refers to the victory of a king of Pañchāla over Samvaraṇa, the father of Kuru, to which reference has been already made. The Pañchāla victory was ephemeral (See p. 204), and the dynasty became insignificant. That is why we find a large gap after Jantu. Pargiter, in fact, notes that the gap covers over a period of twenty generations, until Pṛshata revived the dynasty in Bhīshma's times (See *Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 148).

The Mahābhārata contains, as has been already said, some of its most essential traditions in connection with Drupada, Pṛshata's son. It is well-known how Drōṇa, who was a study-mate of Drupada, was treated with scant respect by the latter, and how Drōṇa chastised him by depriving him of North Pañchāla, and transferring "him to South Pañchāla, so that this family reigned over South Pañchāla in the period treated of in the Mahābhārata.

The South Pañchāla line had begun with Ajamīḍha, and passed through a line of kings whose genealogy has thus been summed up by Pargiter :—

GENEALOGY OF THE SOUTH PĀNCHĀLAS*

Ajamīḍha
(of the Puru line)
|
Bṛhadvasu
(First ruler of S. Pañchāla)
|
Bṛhadishu
|
Bṛhaddhanus
|
Bṛhatkarman
|
Jayadratha
|
Viśvajit
|
Sēnajit
|
Ruchirāśva
|
Pṛthusēna
|
Pāra I
|
Nīpa
⋮
Samara
⋮
Pāra II
|
Pṛthu
|
Sukṛti
|
Vibhirāja
|
Aṇuha
|
Brahmadatta
|
Vishvaksēna
|
Udaksēna
|
Bhallāṭa
|
Janamējaya
Killed by Ugrāyudha of the Dvimīḍha line
(After him the kingdom
came to be ruled by Drupada
of N. Pañchāla dynasty
on account of Drōṇa)

* There is disagreement about the first five kings in the different Purāṇas. The Matsya connects Samara in the above genealogy with Sēnajit instead of Nīpa. "The Bhāgavata omits most of these successors, and the Gāruḍa the last three kings." The Vishṇu omits the last king Janamējaya, and tacks on the line of the Dvimīḍha's to Ballāṭa, Janamējaya's father. That the Vishṇupurāṇa is incorrect is maintained by Pargiter on these grounds. It would make Ugrāyudha of the Dvimīḍha dynasty tenth in descent from Ballāṭa, but he killed Janamējaya, Ballāṭa's son, and both of them were contemporaries of Bhīshma.

There is no information worth recording in regard to the first seventeen kings in the above list. King Aṇuha figures in some Paurāṇic legends. He married Kṛtvī or Kīrti (or Kīrtimati), a daughter of a certain Śuka, and had by her his son Brahmadatta. Paurāṇic writers identified this Śuka with Vyāsa's son, and introduced a lot of chronological confusion thereby. Pargiter draws attention to this confusion, and shows how Vyāsa's son was six generations later than his namesake, the grandfather of Brahmadatta, and how the Paurāṇists have misplaced "Aṇuha and Brahmadatta from their true position to one some six generations later." Pargiter distinguishes, in this connection, the Kshatriya tradition from Brahmanical tradition, and observes: "Kshatriya tradition is right, and the Brahmanical lack of of the historical sense produces the absurdity that Aṇuha or Brahmadatta would have been king of South Pañchāla at the time of the Bhārata battle when, as the Mahābhārata shows, Drupada was reigning there." The observation displays a very surprising lack of the sense of humour, born out of the forgetfulness of the elementary fact that *all* traditions worth speaking of and forming the bases of historical inferences are Brahmanical and Brāhmanical alone. The theory of a distinction between Kshatriya traditions and Brāhmanical traditions is too absurd to be accepted. It may be granted that Pargiter of the twentieth century possesses more historical sense than the Paurāṇic writers of ancient days, and that there *are* inaccuracies enough in the Purāṇas which require to be carefully scrutinised for purposes of chronological and historical conclusions; but it is quite unnecessary to lay down extreme and insane theories of separate Kshatriya and Brahmanical traditions.

Brahmadatta, Aṇuha's son, seems to have been an important figure. He figures much in the Epic and Paurāṇic traditions. He is called a *Pitṛvartin* in consequence of his

having brought glory to his line. He married Sannatī,* the daughter of a Dēvala Asita who seems to have been a member of the priestly clan of the Kāśyapas. A sage named Jaigīshavya, who is also associated with Asita Dēvala in some myths, is said to have been Brahmadatta's teacher in *Yōga-tantra*, and the royal pupil bestowed wealth on one of his teacher's two sons, Śaṅkha and Likhita. The teachers associated with Brahmadatta are all connected with the mind-born daughters (*mānasī-kanyās*) of the seven classes of Pitṛs, and it is difficult to put any credence in their wild legends.† These myths are of the nature of folk-tales, in which mountains, rivers, sages, divine beings, and historical personages of the lunar and solar lines are incongruously connected with one another in hopeless defiance of chronology and probability. The rivers and mountains are personified, and made the wives, fathers or sons of

* The name, it is obvious, connotes an abstract idea, like Maryādā.

† Pargiter summarises the main parts of these legends in these words: "The seven classes of Pitṛs had each one mind-born daughter (*mānasī-kanyā*), namely, Menā, Achchhodā (=Satyavatī), Pīvarī, Gō, Yaśōdā, Virajā, and Narmadā. The account, subject to minor variations, stands thus. Menā was the wife of Mount Himavant. They had a son Mount Maināka and three daughters, Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, and Ēkapāṭalā. Aparṇā became the Goddess Umā; Ekaparṇā married rishi Asita and had a son the rishi Dēvala; and Ekapāṭala married Sataśilāka's son, the rishi Jaigīshavya, and had two sons, Śaṅkha and Likhita. Achchhodā, the river, transgressing against the Pitṛs, was born as a low caste maiden (*dāseyī*) from king Vasu of Chedi and a fish who was the apsaras Adrikā; and she became (Kālī) Satyavati, who was mother of Vyāsa by Parāśara, and of Vichitravīrya and Chitrāṅgada by king Śantanu. Pīvarī was wife of Vyāsa's son Śuka, and had five sons and a daughter Kīrtimatī who was Aṇuha's queen and Brahmadatta's mother. Gō, called also Ekaśṛṅgā, married the great rishi Śukra and was ancestress of the Bhṛgus. Yaśōdā was wife of Viśvamahat, daughter-in-law of Vṛddhaśarman, and mother of Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga (king of Ayōdhyā). Virajā was the wife of Nahusha and mother of Yayāti (of the lunar line). Narmadā, the river, was wife of Purukutsa and Trasadasyu (of Ayōdhyā)".

people associated with them. The fabulous character of these traditions is attributed by Pargiter to the mistaken etymology given to the word *pitṛ-kanyā* by Paurāṇic writers. The only inference we can perhaps draw from Brahmadatta's connection with them is that he was a staunch believer in the ancestral cult, and that he was a Yōgin as well as Brahmavādin of no mean type. His teacher Asita, who seems to appear in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 4, 3, 11) with the surname Dhānva,* and in the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa (XIV. 11, 18, 19) and Kāṭhaka Samhita (XXII. 11) with the surname Devala or Daivala, was, as has been already said, a Kāśyapa. The connection is also in a way indicated by the discipleship of an Asita Vārshagaṇa to Harīta Kaśyapa in the Bṛhadāraṇyakōpanishad (VI. 5, 3). An even earlier indication of Asita and Devala as Brahmavādins is found in certain hymns of the Rg-vēda (IX. 5—24). On the contrary, the members of the Asita and Daivala clans are contemporaries of Bhīshma and the Pāṇḍavas. Dhaumya, the Purōhita of the Pāṇḍavas, was in fact a Dēvala. The Asitas were thus a celebrated clan of Brahmavādins throughout the Vēdic period; and with them were connected not only the Kāśyapas mentioned above, but the Śāṇḍilyas, the Naidhruvas, and the Raibhyas. Brahmadatta's vigorous and observant life among such clans seems to indicate a life filled completely with spiritual ambitions, experiences and things. He seems to have moved in a circle of enthusiasts, whose interests centred on intellectual and spiritual matters. The example set by his teachers did not only influence him but also his queen and ministers; for even these are said to have practised the austere life of the Yōgin.

* This identity, however, is uncertain. This Asita seems to be connected with the Asuras. A magician of the same name figures in the Atharva-vēda.

Purāṇic traditions* further indicate that Brahmadatt had an intimate touch with the people who had a h nd in the revisions and rearrangements of the Vēdic and exegetical texts. His ministers, K ṇḍarīka† and Gālava (Subālaka) Bābhravya Pañchāla, who were the disciples of Garga, and with whom their king is elsewhere connected in tales on the basis of transmigration, are said to have had a share in putting the texts of the Ṛg-vēda together. Garga himself, who is also called Bhāradvāja, was, according to the *Anukramaṇi*, the author of a Ṛg-vedic hymn (VI. 47), and the Kāṭhakasamhita and the Sūtras recognize the Gargās as *Prāvarēyas* and institutors of some Vēdic feasts.‡ A lady of the Gārgya family, Vāchaknavī, was a rival of Yāgñavalkya himself. There were several Gārgīputras (one of whom was Pālākī) in the age of the Upanishads as teachers, ritualistic authorities, and grammarians. The Gārgyas were thus "long connected with the development of liturgy and grammar;" and Kaṇḍarīka was evidently a disciple of one of the scholars of the family, though his story is recorded in the Purāṇas and not the Vēdic literature. With regard to Gālava, he is expressly mentioned in the Vēdic literature. The Gālavas were teachers, ritualists, and grammarians. The terms *Bābhrava* and *Bābhravya* also occur as the names of teachers in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads. The Bābhravas, one of whose progenitors was the author of a *Sāman*, were also relatives of the family of Sunakshēpa or Devarāta Vaiśvāmitra; and a Śaṅkha of the clan—namesake of Brahmadatta's co-pupil—figures in the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa. The Gālava Bābhravya, who was the minister of Brahmadatta, was probably a descendant of both the Babhrus and the Gālavas. He seems to have composed the *Kramapāṭha* of the Ṛg-samhita.

It is clear from these facts that Brahmadatta was a rare personality who belonged to very learned circles. As

* These are chiefly found in the Harivamśa, the Mahābhārata, the Matsya-purāṇa, etc.

† An alternative name of his is Puṇḍarīka.

‡ See *Vēdic Index*, I, pp. 226-7.

Pargiter observes, "Kaṇḍarīka is described as *dvivēda, chhandoga* and *adhvaryū*, and as the promulgator (*pravartaka*) of the Vēda-śāstra. Bābhravya Pañchāla was *bahuvṛcha* and *ūchārya*, and knew all the Śāstras. He composed the *śikshā* and instituted it; he also devised the *krama*, mastered it thoroughly and instituted it." Pargiter concludes from these statements that Kaṇḍarīka made the Rg-vēdic hymns into a collection; that he was also, to judge from his epithets, specially efficient in the *Sāman* and *Yajus* departments; and that Bābhravya worked on that collection, applied himself specially to the Rg-vēda as his epithet *bahvṛcha* suggests, composed the Śikshā, and devised the Kramapāṭha.* "Tradition thus declares that the first substantial compilation and study of the hymns of the Vēda in its triple departments of *ṛk, yajus* and *sāman* were made in South Pañchāla by these two Brahman ministers of Brahmadatta, whose position may be estimated as about a century and a half before the Bhārata battle." Pargiter goes on to observe that "Kaṇḍarīka's compilation was not the Vēda as we have it now, first, because certain hymns such as Devāpi's, for instance (X. 98), could not have been included since they were later; and secondly, because tradition is unanimous that Vyāsa 'arranged' the Vēda, which means a real arrangement of the Vēda as it was finally settled.....Vyāsa must have added all the hymns that were incorporated latest, and completed the canon." As tradition clearly says that he arranged the Vēda, and that he divided it into four, it cannot be ignored. "Only a rishi of commanding ability, knowledge and eminence could have made it a canon accepted unquestioningly thereafter, and that is exactly the character and position which tradition unanimously attributes to Vyāsa, a rishi pre-eminent above all others. He would probably have completed that work about a quarter of a century before the Bharata battle," and Pargiter would place it at about

* Some of the Purāṇas give *Kāmasūtra* in place of *Kramapāṭha*; but Pargiter convincingly shows how it is a mistake. See his erudite note 4 on p. 317 of *Anct. Hist. Tradn.*

980 B.C. In the fact that Vyāsa is nowhere mentioned in the Vēdic literature, while he figures in the Purāṇas as the compiler of the Ṛg-vēda itself as of the other Vēdas, Pargiter sees 'a conspiracy of silence' on the part of the Brahmans; for such a recognition would militate against the theory of the ever-lasting character of the Vēda. He sees in this the untrustworthiness of the Vēdic literature 'as regards any matter which the Brahmans found awkward for their pretensions.' He recognizes that, where Vēdic literature is positively informing, it is more accurate than the Epics and the Purāṇas, but he sees that its value is detracted by its religious, not historical, character; by the lack of historical sense on the part of its Brahmanical authors; and by the lack of clear knowledge on the part of the same authors in consequence of their life in secluded hermitages.

It seems to me that Vyāsa—he is eternal according to the Purāṇas—would not be very proud of his twentieth century champion from the west, as against the conspirators of his own holy caste; but it is unnecessary to refute a charge so crudely and so stupidly made. The most orthodox Brahman sees no inconsistency between the eternality of the Vēda and Vyāsa's hand in the arrangement of it. The silence of the Vēdic literature need not mean a conspiracy against Vyāsa; nor is there a conflict between it and the Purāṇic literature concerning him. The Vēda and the Purāṇa are supplementary to each other, and a large number of traditions belonging to the Vēdic age are recorded in the latter while they are entirely ignored in the former. The Purāṇas in their present literary forms are late works, and they include late historical facts; but it is not denied that some of the traditions recorded in them go to the earliest times, and throw light on events which would otherwise be dark; and it does no violence to the prejudices or convictions of orthodoxy to believe that the revisions of the Vēdic texts and the preparations of Vēdic grammars were made in the time of Brahmadatta as in the times of other kings.

Nothing is known of Brahmadatta's immediate successors till his great-grandson, Janamējaya Durbuddhi. He seems to have been a tyrant who destroyed all his friends and relatives. He was killed by Ugrāyudha, a prince of the Paurava line of the Dvimiḍhas; and shortly after this, the South Pañchāla kingdom came to be ruled by Drupada of the North Pañchāla dynasty, as Drōṇa deprived him of his kingdom and compelled him to remove himself to the latter.

The Pañchālas played a very important part in the age of the Mahābhārata. They were, through the marriage of Draupadī with the Pāṇḍavas, the staunchest allies of the latter, and acknowledged their supremacy, though occasionally they were defeated by Karṇa and compelled to pay tribute to the Kauravas. The Pañchāla prince, Dhṛshṭadyumna, was the commander-in-chief of the Pāṇḍava army in the battle of Kurukshētra. The incidents in which the Kaurava generals and the various Pañchāla princes were engaged in the course of the battle, are copious. These princes included Kshatravarmā; Śikhaṇḍi, the nominal slayer of Bhīshma, about whom curious legends are in vogue; his son Kshatradēva; Yudhāmanyū; Uttamauja; Mitravarma; and Kshatradharmā. Drōṇa killed Drupada, but he in turn was slain by Dhṛshṭadyumna who, indeed, was born, as the result of penance, to slay him. Śikhaṇḍi, as has been already said, slew Bhīshma. His son, Kshatradēva, was killed by Duryōdhana's son, Lakshmaṇa. Some of the picturesque passages in the Epic are devoted to the description of the fine and variegated breeds of war-steeds ridden by these Pañchāla princes, and the high place their archers occupied in the tactics of the battle.

The history of the Pañchālas after the Mahābhārata war is obscure. The Purāṇas say that there were twenty-seven kings down to the time of Nanda, but no list is available of these kings. It is quite possible that *some* of the kings referred to in the later Vēdic literature belonged to this period. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 7) refers to a king named Kraivya who was powerful enough to perform

Aśvamēdha. Another, Kēśin Dālbhya (or Dārbhya), figures as a very wise man. The name Kēśin has been suggested to be one of the three branches into which the Pañchālas are said to have been divided in a Saṁhita (Kāṭhaka, XXX. 2). He had once a dispute about some ritual with a certain Shaṇḍika or Khaṇḍika. He composed a *Sāman* (Panchavim. Brāh. XIII. 10. 8); and he is said to have been taught by a golden bird (Kaus. Brāh., VII. 4).* Another king, Durmukha, is said in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 23) to have been a world-conqueror. Probably it is this very king who figures in a Jātaka tale (Cowell, III, pp. 239 ff.) as a hater of lust, the cause of all sorrow, and became a saint. Possibly, the king Dvimukha of Jain literature, who rose to be a Pratyēka-buddha, refers to the same king. Durmukha seems, therefore, to have been a great monarch who lives in the traditions of all religionists. Other famous kings referred to in Vēdic literature are: Pravāhana Jaivāli, a philosopher, who figures in the Upanishads; Sōṇa Sātrasāha, who performed an Aśvamēdha-yāga; and Koka, the son of the last.

The Pañchāla kings seem to have earned a reputation for martial valour. The Taittirāya Brāhmaṇa (I. 8. 4. 1. 2) says that they used to go on raids during the rainy season and return in the hot season. One of the Jātakas (Cowell, VI, p. 202) refers to the large number of footsoldiers and others who used steel weapons in the Pañchāla country. The references to 'universal conquests' and the performance of Aśvamēdhayāgas seem to indicate the vigour of stray kings.

Some of the kings seem to have been notorious for vicious rule. One of the Jātaka stories (Cowell, V, pp. 54 ff) refers to a Pañchāla king whose oppression drove his subjects to forests. Jain traditions refer to a Brahmadatta who enjoyed the highest pleasures and then sank into the deepest hell.

* As these references are solely to the wisdom of Kēśin Dārbhya, the authors of the *Vēdic Index* doubt whether he was a king at all; but the Śatapatha B. refers to him as such.

On the other hand, the dynasty won a high name for righteousness, wisdom and learning. One of the Jain Sūtras makes the statement that the Pañchāla kings were not guilty of any terrific actions. Vēdic literature describes them and their priests as busy participators in philosophical discussions and as zealous performers of the Rājasūya and other sacrifices. Speech is said to have sounded higher amongst them as amongst the Kurus. Brahman scholars of their country proceeded to the Vidēha court for taking part in intellectual contests. Their Kshatriya kings were at times highly learned. Pravāhana Jaivāli once perplexed Svētakētu Ārnēya and his father by his subtle questions, and taught the latter some valuable knowledge. He was further an authority on the *Udgîta* (mystic syllable), and vanquished learned Brahmans in a discussion on that subject. Similarly, when Śona Sātrasāha "was sacrificing, wearing beautiful garlands, Indra revelled in Sōma, and the Brāhmaṇas became satiated with wealth." We have already seen how some of the Pañchāla kings rose to be Brahma-Kshatriyas on account of their asceticism and learning.

The Pañchāla kingdom thus continued to be prosperous down to the time of the Buddha. It was one of the sixteen states referred to in early Buddhistic times. Extending from the Himalayas to the Charmaṇvati (Chambal), and from the lands of the original Kurus, Śṛñjayas, Matsyas and Sūrasēnas in the west to the lands of the Kōsalas and Kāśis in the east, it included the districts of the United Provinces to the north-west of Oudh and of the Ganges-Jumma Duab beyond Prayāga. It is said to have been rich in seven kinds of gems. It had three important cities. One of these, Parichakrā or Parivakrā, was the place where Kraivya performed his horse-sacrifice. Its exact locality is uncertain. Ahichchhatrā was the capital of the Northern Pañchālas. It has been identified with modern Ramnagar in Bareilly District. It has been so called because its earliest king, Ādi Rāja, was protected

before his elevation to kingship, by a hooded cobra while asleep; but this local story is a later invention. The city goes back to Vēdic times, and was probably originally in the hands of the Nāgas before the Aryan occupation and settlement. The local fort, associated at once with Ādi Rāja and with the Pāṇḍavas, is probably an ancient one. Kāmpilya was the capital of the South Pañchālas. That its history goes back to Vēdic times is obvious from a reference to Kāmpīla-vāsini as the king's chief queen in the Yajur-vēda (*Vēdic Index*, I, p. 149). It was the seat, as has been already mentioned, of the Pañchāla government for many centuries. It has been identified with Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaon and Farruckabad, about thirty miles to the north-east of Fatgarh. The supposed ruins of Drupada's palace are pointed out by the local people amidst the mounds on the north bank of the Burgaṅgā.

The history of the Pañchāla country includes that of Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj) which attained the rank of an imperial city during an important period of Indian History. In early times it was known also as Mahōdaya or Mahōdayapaṭṭaṇa. It is said to have been founded by Amāvasu,* one of the sons of Purūravas. If this were the case, the city should have been practically as ancient as Pratishṭhāna itself, the seat of the Aila or Purūrava line. A second version†, however, traces the origin of the city to Jahnu, a son of Ajamīḍha of the Purūrava line. Pargiter is disposed to accept the former and not the latter version,

* The majority of the Purāṇas give this version. Some of the Purāṇas give the name Vijaya to Amāvasu.

† The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Agni-purāṇa. The Brahma and Harivaṁśa give both the versions inconsistently, as Pargiter points out.

and his argument is worth quoting*. "The derivation from Ajamīḍha is certainly wrong. He was the seventh successor of Bharata. Viśvāmitra was the descendent of Jahnu by some eight steps, and must, if Jahnu was the son of Ajamīḍha, have been some fifteen generations below Bharata; but it is well-known that Bharata was son of king Dushyanta and Śakuntalā who was daughter of Viśvāmitra; so that Viśvāmitra was an ancestor of Bharata. Viśvāmitra cannot have been both an ancestor and a descendant of Bharata. The story of Śakuntalā is one of the best alleged tales in ancient tradition, so that Viśvāmitra was certainly prior to Bharata and therefore to Ajamiḍha, and the versions which make his ancestor Jahnu, son of Ajamīḍha, are certainly wrong." Jahnu and Viśvāmitra belonged to the age of the *early* Aikshvāku and Paurava kings.

* *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 99—100. Pargiter also draws attention to the inaccuracy in the second version which gives North and South Pañchāla, which comprised Kānyakubja in entirety, as something geographically different. The inconsistency in the Viśvāmitra traditions is traced by Pargiter to the fact that the Purāṇas confounded a 'later' Viśvāmitra, the priest of Sudās, with his 'earlier' namesake. He believes that Jahnu, an earlier figure, was made the son of Ajamīḍha by some of the Purāṇas in consequence of this confounding of the different Viśvāmitras with each other. "As regards (these) mistakes, the fact that the Rigveda, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra connect 'Viśvāmitra' with the Bharatas in no way disturbed the best Purāṇas in their derivation of the Kānyakubja dynasty from Ayu's son, Amāvasu; and the derivation of it from Bharata's descendant, Ajamīḍha, was manifestly known to be doubtful, because the Brahma and Harivaṁśa, though they give it, give also the true version, and none of the other Puranas adopted it except the late Agni; so that mistaken post-Vēdic interpretation was powerless to overthrow the Kshatriya tradition, and even the late brahmanical Bhāgavata was unmoved by it" (*Anct. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 123). It is quite possible to endorse this view without supporting Pargiter's speculations regarding Sudās and the distinction between Kshatriya and Brahman genealogies.

Concluding, then, that Kānyakubja was a much earlier city than what *some* of the traditions say, we have to consider why it came to be so called. The Rāmāyaṇa says that Jahnu's fourth successor, Kuśa, had four sons named Kuśāmba, Kuśanābha, Amūrtarajas, and Vasu Uparichara, and that these built respectively the cities of Kauśāmbi, Kānyakubja, Dharmāraṇya and Girivrajā. The cases of the other cities are dealt with in other places. Taking Kānyakubja with which we are concerned at present, the story is that it had also the names of Mahōdaya, Gādhipura, Kauśa, and Kuśasthala. The origin of the name Mahōdaya is inexplicable. Gādhipura seems to have been an anachronism, as it could have arisen only after king Gādhi who was later than Kuśanābha. Kauśa and Kuśasthala might have been connected with the names Kuśa and Kuśanābha. Kānyakubja has been explained on the basis that Kuśanābha's daughters were cursed by Vāyu, the wind-god, whom they refused to marry, to become *Kubjās* (hunch-backed), and that the place took its name from them. But there is the difficulty in accepting the view that the city came into existence after Kuśa, because it had already been ruled by a number of generations. Probably, the city was originally named Mahōdaya, and later on came to be called Kānyakubja in Kuśanābha's time. Whatever might have been the original name, the city had, as has been already said, a very ancient history.

The kings of the Kānyakubja dynasty, on whom the Paurāṇic traditions throw light, do not seem to form a continuous chain. Pargiter gives a list of fourteen kings from Amāvasu to Lauhī, with whom the dynasty became extinct, but distributes them over thirty-three generations, showing gaps amongst the earlier and later kings. In any case, the dynasty was not a long-standing one as it was absorbed, for obvious reasons, in the Pañchāla line.

The genealogy of the kings can be expressed in this table :—

Amāvasu
|
Bhīma
|
Kāñchanaprabha (or Kāñchana)
|
Suhōtra
|
Jahnu
|
Sunaha
|
Ajaka
|
Balākāśva
|
Kuśa
|
Kuśāśva (Ishīratha ?)
|
Kuśika
|
Gādhi
|
Viśvāmitra
|
Ashṭaki
|
Lauhī.

Of these kings, the first great figure seems to have been Jahnu. As has been already said, some Purāṇas wrongly trace the dynasty itself from him, connecting him with Ajamīḍha of the main lunar line. Jahnu is one of the great traditional emperors of the Epic and Paurāṇic traditions. Probably, he exercised supremacy over the Purūravas for a time. From the fact that after Tamsu there was a big gap in the Paurava genealogy, and that it was at this very time that the Kānyakubja kings from Jahnu to Lauhī were active, we may perhaps infer that Jahnu's imperialism at the expense of the Purūravas was maintained by his successors. As his queen, Kāvērī, was the grand-daughter of Yauvanāśva II or Māndhātṛ of the solar line, it may be that his greatness was due to the marriage alliance with the solar dynasty of Ayōdhyā. The Purāṇas make Jahnu a contemporary of Bhagīratha of the solar line, and further

describe them as* the agents of the descent of the Ganges to the earth, on which account the river came to be known as Jāhnavī and Bhāgīrathi; but this is inconsistent with Jahnu's marriage with Kāvēri and with his contemporaneity with Purukutsa-Trasadasyu of Ayōdhyā, who was anterior to Bhagīratha by eighteen generations at least. Perhaps the river came to be known after Jahnu in consequence of his mastery over the most fertile portion of her basin; and Bhagīratha was later on connected with him by fable for the same reason. Pargiter would regard the traditions connected with Jahnu, Bhagīratha and the Ganges as characteristic Brahmanical fables, and disregard them altogether as historical evidences.

The next important figure in the dynasty was Kuśa. We have already seen how, according to the traditions of the Rāmāyaṇa, one of his sons gave the name Kānyakubja to the capital. One of Kuśa's younger brothers, Amūrtarayas, is said to have carved out for himself a kingdom in Dharmāraṇya, a forest near Gayā "in the country known afterwards as Magadha; and this was quite possible, for the only intervening territory was Kāśi, which had been ravaged by the Haihayas. Gaya reigned in the Gayā district and was a king of note." He is one of the sixteen great emperors of Paurāṇic reputation. The dynasty founded by him, however, seems to have been a short-lived one; for the Rāmāyaṇa says that it was overthrown by 'the Rākshasas.' On the other hand, a later king of Ayōdhyā, Dilīpa (II), is said to have married a Magadhan princess, and this seems to indicate the continuity of the dynasty, however obscurely it might have been. "The genealogies give Amūrtarayas a younger brother Vasu and it is said that Vasu founded a kingdom at Girivrajā;" but Pargiter doubts the genuineness of this, and believes that this Vasu was probably confounded with Vasu Chaidya, a Chēdi king, who founded the Magadha kingdom. The Aryanisation of Magadha seems to have been partly the

* The story which is also connected with Sagara, Bhagīratha's great-grandfather, is narrated in the section on the history of Ayōdhyā.

work of the princely adventurers of Kānyakubja, and partly of those of Chēdi.

Kuśika, the grandson (?) of Kuśa, was another celebrated monarch of the Purāṇas. Kuśika married Paurukutsī, a princess of Ayōdhyā, and had a famous son named Gādhi. It was from Kuśika that the well-known clan of the Kuśikas came to have their name.

Gādhi is another noteworthy figure included among great emperors by the Purāṇas. He is described as the incarnation of Indra, which Pargiter interprets to the effect that he probably "had also the name Indra or one of its synonyms such as Purandara." Gādhi's daughter, Satyavati, was the wife of the Bhārgava sage Ṛchika Aurva. The curious story given in connection with this marriage is that, when Ṛchika sought Satyavati's hand, the king tried to evade it by demanding a gift of a 1000 peculiarly-coloured horses, but that Ṛchika succeeded in supplying them and thus gaining his object. Ṛchika had by Satyavati a number of sons, the eldest of whom was the famous Jamadagni. The incident shows how the Bhārgavas had marriage relations with this royal family.

It is very probable that Gāthin, son of Kuśika and father of Viśvāmitra, who is referred to in the Sarvānukramani, is the same as the Gādhi or Gādhin of the Purāṇas The authors of the *Vēdic Index* doubt the correctness of the Vēdic tradition, but acknowledge that "it derives some support from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 18), where reference is made to the divine lore (*daiva-vēda*) of the Gāthins, which is said to be shared by Śunakshēpa as a result of his adoption by Viśvāmitra." Gāthin's descendants—Viśvāmitra and his sons—are styled Gāthinas. Apparently, Gāthin was a promoter or expert in the *Gātha* style of literary composition which, like Ṛk, Nārāsamsi, Raibhi, Kumbyā, Yajus and Sāman, was common in the Vēdic period.* The Bhārgavas and Viśvāmitras were evidently closely connected with this literary school.

* See *Vēdic Index*, I, pp. 224—6.

We come now to the highly interesting figure of Viśvaratha or, to use his more celebrated name, Viśvāmitra, the son and successor of Gādhi (or Gāthin). According to the Epic and Paurāṇic traditions, Viśvāmitra tried to deprive Vasishṭha of his divine cow, and that, as the result of his discomfiture by the superior spiritual power of that sage, he sacrificed his kingship, devoted himself to Brahmanical penance, and eventually got himself recognized as a Brahmarshi even by Vasishṭha. Viśvāmitra was connected with the house of Ayōdhyā by marriage; and after he became a Brahmarshi, he is said to have, in opposition to Vasishṭha, taken up the cause of the Ayōdhyā king Satyavrata, who had incurred the displeasure of the latter, and raised him to divine eminence. Viśvāmitra is also said to have oppressed Harischandra, the son of Satyavrata, in various ways, for the reason that Vasishṭha regarded him as unrivalled for his virtues. The story of the rivalries between Viśvāmitra and Vasishṭha is not only endless but even hereditary according to the Epics and Purāṇas.

Now, we have seen that Viśvāmitra was the author of the third maṇḍala of the Rg-vēda. He and the Kuśikas are referred to in various other hymns too. Further, as has been already shown, he was, according to the Rg-vēdic hymns, the rival of Vasishṭha as the priest of Sudās, and as the result of this, organized the confederacy of the ten kings, and played a prominent part in the campaigns which followed.

Naturally, the question suggests itself whether Viśvāmitra, the Brahmanized king of the Panchālas, was the same as the enemy of Vasishṭha and of Sudās figuring in the Rg-vēda. The Epics and Purāṇas seem to support the identity; for, amidst much chaos and inconsistencies, they say that he slew Śakti and other Vāsishṭhas through the Saudāsas, and they further connect Sunakshēpa, the protegé of the Vēdic Viśvāmitra, with Rōhita, the son of the purāṇic hero Harischandra. But it is patent from the details of these legends that they confuse different Viśvāmitras with one another, and roll them into a single person, giving

rise naturally to considerable chronological and genealogical confusion. Thus, the Viśvāmitra who figures in the story of Sunakshēpa is made the same as his namesake who was priest to Sudās. "Again the Rāmāyaṇa wrongly identifies the Viśvāmitra of Rāma's time with the first Viśvāmitra, and naively makes Satānanda narrate in 'Viśvāmitra's' presence the fable of the first Viśvāmitra's discomfiture by Vasishṭha." The story of Śakti, Vasishṭha's son, cannot be reconciled with that of Sudās' enemy Viśvāmitra.

Apparently, the Rg-vēdic hero Viśvāmitra was included by the Paurāṇic chroniclers of Kānyakubja in the genealogy, and the story of his Brāhmanization was then invented to explain the quarrel with Vasishṭha. Or, it may be that Viśvaratha or Viśvāmitra was a real king of Kānyakubja, but identified on account of his name with the Vēdic composer. Whatever might have been the case, popular legends rolled all Viśvamitras into a single all-dominant person; and there is no more fascinating figure throughout the Vēdic period.

With Lauhi, Viśvāmitra's grandson, the Kānyakubja line ended; and the kingdom became apparently absorbed in the Pañchāla state, of which it had been a sub-division. The city of Kānyakubja, however, did not lose its greatness, and was destined to figure in the history of post-Vēdic India.

THE MATSYAS

Closely connected with the Pañchālas of Madhyadēśa were the Matsyas, whose territory included the present Alwar State with portions of Jaipur and Bhartpur. The Matsyas are mentioned in a passage of the Rg-vēda (VII. 18-6) as an enemy of Sudās; but some scholars interpret the word *Matsya* in the passage not as a tribe but as *fish*. The Matsyas, according to the former school of interpreters, were so rich that the Turvaśas attacked them with a view to seize their wealth for performing a sacrifice. The origin of the name *Matsya* might be totemistic, as in the case of

Aja and *Vatsa** ; but Prof. Keith does not subscribe to this view. The Purāṇic traditions are to the effect that Matsya was founded by Vasu Uparichara, fourth in descent from Puru's son Sudhanvān, and traditional progenitor of the Chēdis, through his son (Matsya) by a fish. While it is impossible to accept the mythical part of the story, it can be safely inferred from it that the Matsya royal clan arose from the Chēdi king Vasu, who in turn was a scion of the Kuru line. The Purāṇas, in fact, trace the royal houses of Magadha, Karūsha, Yādava, Matsya, Kausāmbi, Māvella (Māruta or Māthailya) from Vasu Uparichara, the great prince who could move on high and soar through air! The story indicates the close relationship between the Matsyas and the other members of the Madhyadēśa and allied groups. Later Vēdic literature associates the Matsyas with the Vasas and Pañchālas. The Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 9) couples them with the Sālvas on the Jumna, and the Mahābhārata, which calls the Matsya capital Virāṭanagara, does the same. The Epic groups the Matsyas also with the Chēdis and the Śūrasēnas. In one passage it refers to kings who brought about the ruin of their houses and peoples, and amongst them a Sahaja of the Chēdi-Matsyas. The poem occasionally adds the Karūshas to the Chēdi-Matsya group. With the Pañchālas all these co-operated on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. The Rāmāyaṇa seems to make, curiously enough, a mess of the references to the Matsyas. It connects them with the Kaliṅgas on the one hand and with the Śatadru on the other. It also ignores the proximity of the Matsyas to the Sūrasēnas and others, about which both the later Vēdic literature and the other Epic are very particular.

* The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Śānkhāyana and Āśvalāyana Sūtras mention a Mātsya Sāmmada in connection with the Itihāsas. While Sāmmada is a fish according to some Purāṇas, it is the name of a king in the Śatapatha (VIII. 4, 3, 12). Pargiter says that Sāmmada must be a fish even in the latter reference, as Sāmmada and his people were water-dwellers and "as the Matsya country was anything but watery." *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 56.

There is no connected genealogy of the Matsyas available ; but it is certain that the place of the Matsyas in the Āryan cultural history was very high. Manu, recording tradition, includes them with the Kurus, Pañchālas and Śūrasēnas, as the occupants of the land of the Brahmarṣhis immediately after Brahmavarta. He refers to the model set by their Brāhmans to all men on earth. Manu* gives prominence not only to the Matsya distinction in religion but also in the Kshatriya art of war. He says that the Matsyas, like the allied tribes referred to above, were great soldiers,—tall, light and fit to be placed in the van of battles. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4. 9) testifies to the fact that the Matsya kings occasionally aimed at supreme power. One of them, Dhvasan Dvaitavana, performed the Aśvamēdha, and bound fourteen steeds for the purpose on the banks of the lake Dvaitavana. The Rāmāyaṇa calls the Matsyas Vira-Matsyas. The Matsya king Virāṭa, with whom the Pāṇḍavas took refuge during their temporary exile, is said to have been very rich in kine of various types, on which account he was often attacked by a tribe called the Tṛgarttas. The Matsya army is also said to have been efficient in all branches. The descriptions of its elephants, horses, flags, and chariots, are amongst the most picturesque passages of the Epic. The army is said to have consisted of 8,000 cars, 1,000 elephants, and 60,000 horses. The greatness of the Matsya royal family is clear from the fact that Arjuna's son married Uttarā, the Matsya princess. Virāṭa is said to have given 200 elephants and 7,000 horses, together with immense wealth, as dowry on the occasion. It is evident from all this that the Virāṭa country occupied an important place in the pre-Buddhistic age. Buddhistic literature includes Matsya among the 16 states of the 7th century B. C. One of the Jātakas (Cowell, Vol. VI, p. 137) refers to the dice play of the Kuru king with a Yaksha Punnaka in the presence of the Machchas (Matsyas).

* कौरुक्षेत्रांश्च मत्स्यांश्च पाञ्चालाच्छूरसेनजान् ।
दीर्घालघूंश्चैव नरानग्रानीकेषु योधयेत् ॥

This seems to be an echo of Yudhishṭhira's dice during his exile in the land.

The Matsya capital was, as has been already said, known as Virāṭanagara, from which the later Vairāṭ was derived. It seems to have been a seat of art, particularly dancing and music, in which the Virāṭa king took delight. The present Vairāṭ is in a valley of red hills famous for copper mines. It is about a hundred miles to the south-west of Delhi, and about forty miles to the north of Jaipur. The ruins of ancient Virāṭa are shown over a much larger area than the present town. Besides Virāṭanagara, there was another city in the Virāṭa kingdom named Upaplavya, to which the Pāṇḍavas went from Virāṭanagara on the completion of their twelve years' disguise. Its site is uncertain, but it must have been near Virāṭanagara.

THE SALVAS (SĀLVAS OR ŚĀLVĀS).

Closely connected with the Matsyas and allied tribes were the neighbouring Salvas.* Both the later Vēdas and the Mahābhārata refer to this close connection. From a certain passage in the Mantrapāṭha (II. 11, 12) we understand that a king of the Sālvas, Yaugandhari, had his chariots on the banks of the Yamunā, thus indicating occasional military enterprises. From the Mahābhārata we know that the Sālvas and Yaugandharas were connected together, and that they took part in the Kuru-Pañchāla wars of the age. King Suśarmā of the Tṛgartas addressed Duryōdhana once to the effect that they had been beaten by the

* Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, X. 4, 1, 10. Pargiter places the Sālvas in the country around Mt. Abu. See *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 279 and p. 290. Wilson locates them in a part of Rājasthān from where they often warred with Dvāraka. Lassen identifies them with the Salabastrae of Pliny, and places them between the Indus and the Arāvali in lower Rājasthān. Winternitz absurdly connects the Sālvas with the Sāluvas of the Vijayanagar period. See his *Mantrapāṭha*, Introduction, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

combined Matsyas and Sālvas more than once. The Śālva king Dyutimant is said in one passage to have given his kingdom to a Bhārgava sage Rchika. The services of the Śālvas to Āryan culture are clear from certain passages in later Vēdic literature, though they are occasionally referred to as Dānavas and Daityas in the Mahābhārata. A certain sacrificer* boasts that his race was superior to even that of the Sālvas, and that, if he completed certain rites, it would become equal to that of the nobles, Brahmans, and peasants of the Sālvas! The Sālva women seem to have been skilful in using the spinning wheel, but this is doubted in consequence of the different interpretation of the passage in the Mantra-pāṭha referring to Yaugandhari†.

THE ŚŪRASĒNAS.

Though the Śūrasēnas are not referred to in Vēdic literature, they are included among the peoples of Brahmarṣi-dēśa by Manu, and seem to have taken a prominent part in the cultural history of this period. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, the Śūrasēna kingdom was founded by Śatrughna, Rāma's brother, after killing Lavaṇāsura. Śūrasēna was one

* *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 290.

† The original is :

यौगन्धिरिरवे नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
वितृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव ॥

In his edition of the work, Winternitz (Oxford, 1897) notes the allusiveness of this and its possibility of being part of a longer ballad. Pāṇini, according to the Kārikā quoted in the Kāśikā (on IV, 1, 173) regards the Yugandharas as one of the sections of the Sālvas.

उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।
भुलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च साल्वायवसंज्ञिताः ॥

According to the Kāśikā (on Pāṇini III, 2, 46), Yugandhara was the name of a mountain.

of the two sons* of Śatrughna, from whom the name of the kingdom and people has been derived. The tradition is confirmed by the later Purāṇas. The Vishṇu Purāṇa, for example, says that Lavaṇa, the son of Madhu, was killed by Śatrughna, and that Mathurā, the Śūrasēna capital, was then founded by him. But Pargiter points out that the representation of Lavaṇa and Madhu as Asuras is due to Brahmanical mythology; that they were really descendants of Yadu; and that the Śūrasēnas were Sātvata Yādavas. He believes that the story connecting Śatrughna and Śūrasēna with the Śūrasēna land was true, but that the genealogy of Madhu was tampered with; and that the Śūrasēna country, before it was conquered by Śatrughna, had belonged to the Sātvatas who were Madhu's descendants. He further points out that, after a short rule, Śatrughna's son was deprived of his kingdom by the Sātvata king Bhīma.

The fact is, the Yādavas, to whom the Śūrasēnas belonged, extended themselves in this period throughout the land between the Jumna and Dvāraka on the one hand and Berar on the other. In the south, they spread themselves, if we are to believe traditions, as far as the Tamil country. The Sātvatas, Vṛshṇis, Andhakas, and allied Yādava tribes seem to have carried the torch of Āryan culture over a large part of the country, in the west and south. Rajputana, Malwa, Gujarāt and the Dakkan seem to have become subject to their settlements. There were religious enthusiasts, valiant generals and enterprising traders among them. The Yādava branches are sometimes called Asuras by the Paurāṇists; but this is explicable on the ground of their ethnical mixture, and of the possible looseness in their observance of the Āryan Dharma, but as against this it should be remembered that the Yādava prince, Kṛshṇa, was raised to the rank of the avatār of Vishṇu in course of time.

* The other son, Subāhu, shared the kingdom according to one version, and ruled over Bidiśa according to another.

The history of the Sātvatas, who seem to have been the main branch of the Yādavas and who had the Mathurā district for their original land, is available, together with the history of the Vṛshṇis, Andhakas, Haihayas, and other branches of the Yādavas, in the Purāṇas. We learn from them that Yadu, the son of Yayāti of the Kuru line, had two sons named Kroshṭu and Sahasrajit, and that these brothers were the progenitors of different Yādava clans. The genealogy of Kroshṭu was as follows :—

Kroshṭu
|
Vṛjinīvant
|
Svāhi
|
Ruśadgu
|
Chitraratha
|
Śaśabindu
|
Pṛthuśravas
|
Antara
|
Suyagña
|
Uśanas
|
Śineyu
|
Marutta
|
Kambalabarhis
|
Rukmakavacha
|
Parāvṛt
|
Jyāmagha
|
Vidarbha

In the time of Vidarbha there was a division of the Yādava group into the Yādavas and Chēdis. The progenitor of the latter was Kaiśika, the younger son of Vidarbha, while Kratha Bhima, the elder son, continued the main

Yādava line. The following names are found in the genealogical lists from Kratha Bhīma to Bhīma Sātvata :—

Kratha Bhīma
|
Kunti
|
Dhṛshṭa
|
Nirvṛti
|
Viduratha
Daśārha
|
Vyoman
|
Jīmūta
|
Vikṛti
|
Bhīmaratha
|
Rathavara
|
Daśaratha
|
Ekādaśaratha
|
Śakunī
|
Karambha
|
Dēvarāta
Dēvakshatra
|
Dēvana
|
Madhu
|
Puruvaśa
|
Purudvant
|
Jantu (Amśu)
|
Satvant
|
Bhīma Sātvata.

After Bhīma Sātvata, the Yādavas were divided into two lines, Andhaka and Vṛshṇi. It was from Vṛshni that the celebrated branch of Dvāraka in Gujarāt arose. The

chief figures known in this branch are Dēvamīḍhusha, Śūra, Vasudēva, and his son Kṛshṇa who is regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu. Andhaka's descendants continued to rule over Mathurā, and the Purāṇas give the following succession of rulers:—

Andhaka
|
Kukura
|
Vṛshṇi
|
Kapōtarōman
|
Vilōman
|
Naḷa
|
Abhijit
|
Punarvasu
|
Ugrasēna
|
Kamsa.

Every Hindu knows the story, so vividly given in the Bhāgavata, of the struggle between Kamsa, the Śūrasēna king, and his nephew, Kṛshṇa, who belonged to the Dvāraka branch. According to tradition, Kamsa was the son of Ugrasēna's queen by a Rākshasa who violated her. Being the Asura Kālanēmi in his previous birth, he became a vicious tyrant and enemy of the Gods. He gave his sister, Dēvaki, in marriage to Vasudēva of the Dvāraka branch of the Yādavas, and on learning from a divine prophecy that he would die by his nephew's hand, he put his sister and her husband in prison, and killed all their children. Kṛshṇa, the youngest of them, however, escaped through his *māyāśakti* to the cowherd Nandagōpa, and was brought up by him and his wife Yaśōdā. After many wonderful exploits, which were due to his being Vishṇu himself, Kṛshṇa eventually killed his wicked uncle, as the result of which he came to be in possession of the Śūrasēna kingdom.

When Kṛshṇa was in the Śūrasēna kingdom, Mathurā was often besieged by Jarāsandha of Magadha. Jarāsandha

was killed by Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers. The Śūrasēna kingdom was then free from trouble. Still, it joined the Kauravas in the Bhārata war, though Kṛshṇa himself joined the Pāṇḍavas. The part played by the Yādava hero in the epic as a diplomatist, philosopher, and divine regulator of events, is too well-known to be repeated here.

The Buddhistic literature records some traditions which form a strange contrast or supplement to the Brahmanical or paurāṇic stories. One of the Jātaka tales (Cowell, VI, p. 137) refers to a dice between Dhanañjaya Korabba and Punnaka Yakka in the presence of the śūrasēnas and others. Another tradition refers to a sceptical king named Suvāhu. He reminds us of Subāhu, one of the sons of śatrughna. A Jātaka tale (Cowell, IV, p. 50) gives the story of Kamsa in quite a different way. There was, it says, a king named Mahāsagara in Upper Mathura. His sons, Sāgara and Upasāgara, quarrelled with each other. The latter came to the country of Uttarāpatha ruled by Mahākamsa. The latter had two sons, Kamsa and Upakamsa, and a daughter named Dēvagabha (or Dēvakī). It was foretold that this daughter's child would kill his maternal uncles. The two brothers therefore kept her confined in a tower. But Upasāgara and the lady met through a servant named Nandagōpa, and had a daughter and ten sons whom, however, they exchanged for the ten daughters of their faithful servant. In this way, the birth of the ten sons was kept secret. Later on, when the boys grew old, they became plunderers, and their foster-father, Andhaka Venhu, was often rebuked by King Kamsa. At last, Andhaka Venhu told the king the secret of the birth of the ten sons. Soon after, arrangements were made for a wrestling match in the city. When the ten sons entered the ring and were about to be caught, the eldest of the ten, Vāsudēva, threw a disc which cut off the heads of Kamsa and Upakamsa, and then assumed the sovereignty of the city of Asitāñjana. The Petavatthu commentary continues the story of the ten sons and of the daughter from this point. The princes conquered the country between their father's capital Asitāñjana and

Dvāravati, and divided it among themselves. The story continues that one sister, *Añjanādēvi, was forgotten in the partition; that Aṅkura, the youngest son, gave her his* portion in return for some money paid by his brothers; that he then engaged in trade, and spent considerable sums in charities; that, on the depletion of his big treasure, he left Dvāraka for the Damila country, and died there practising charities. The story is more elaborate, and contains sub-stories of an interesting character. It gives the same figures as those of the Purāṇas but in quite different roles. It also contains features not found in the Hindu versions.

The Śūrasēna kingdom flourished as a separate power down to the 7th century B. C. It was then one of the 16 states described in the Buddhistic literature. Its importance in this period is evident from the tradition recorded in Manu that the Śūrasēnas were great soldiers fit to be placed in the van of battles, like the Matsyas and some others. The Purāṇas say that there were 23 Śūrasēnas from the time of the Bhārata war to Mahāpadma-nanda ; but no dynastic list is available.

Mathurā, the capital of the Śūrasēna kingdom, exists even now in Muttra on the Jumna in the Agra Division of the United Provinces. It has figured in all the subsequent ages of Indian history, and is one of the most important places associated with Hinduism. It was subject to frequent vicissitudes in the Muslim period, but it has survived them, and, as the city associated with Kṛshṇa's birth and early life, it occupies a distinction hardly possessed by any other place. Every inch of it is sacred to the Hindus, as it is connected with Kṛshṇa's frolics among the cowherds, his victory over Śakaṭāsura, Bakāsura, Kamsa and others, and with numerous other exploits which have made him so dear to the Hindus.

THE VATSAS.

To the east of the Śūrasēnas, across the Charmaṇvati and the Sindhu, lay the land of the Vatsas and, immediately to its south, that of the Chēdis. The history of the Vatsas has been traced already (*ante*, pp. 214-8), as

it was to their land that the Kurus or Purūravas migrated after the fall of Hastināpura. Here it is sufficient to refer to the fact that the Vatsas were an important branch of the Madhyadēśa group, closely connected, as later Vēdic literature shows, with the Kurus, Pañchālas, Matsyas, Kāśis, Vītahavyas and Uśīnaras. The identification of the Vaśas with the Vatsas may be objected to on the ground that the Vaśas are mentioned in company with the northern Uśīnaras but this objection is not valid in an age of tribal migrations and settlements, and it may be that the ancient Vaśas settled in the upper waters of the Charmaṇvati, the Sindhu and the Vēdavati, to the south of the Yamuna, in the later Vēdic age. The Rāmāyaṇa represents the region south of Prayāga as one of forests, with the Nishāda capital Śringabērapuram in it. This region came to be included in the Vatsa settlement.* The Vatsas had Kauśāmbi, modern Kośām, thirty miles to the west of Prayāga, for their capital. With regard to the origin of this place, there are different versions. According to one version, Vasu Uparichara of the Kuru line had five sons named Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśa or Kuśāmba (also called Maṇivāhana), Yadu (or Lalittha) and Māvella (or Mathailya or Māruta), and these sons founded the Magadha, Chēdi, Karūśha, Kauśāmbi and possibly Matsya kingdoms. If this were the case, Kauśāmbi was founded by a prince of the Kuru line. Another version, that of the Rāmāyaṇa, is that Brahma's son Kuśa had four sons by his wife Vidarbhī, and that one of them, Kuśāmba, built Kauśāmbi in obedience to his father's instructions. It is impossible to reconcile these traditions. It is enough for our purpose to understand that the Vatsa country, with its capital Kauśāmbi, was closely connected with the Kuru, Chēdi, Kāśi, and even the Magadha houses; that, after vicissitudes at the hands of the Vītahavyas and others, it

* King Pratardana of Kāśi had a son named Vatsa, who took the land from the Vītahavyas, and called Kauśāmbi the Vatsa country in consequence. See *ante*, p. 215.

eventually came to be ruled by the Pauravas, one of whose later princes was the romantic Udayana, whose name introduces us to the age of Buddhism.

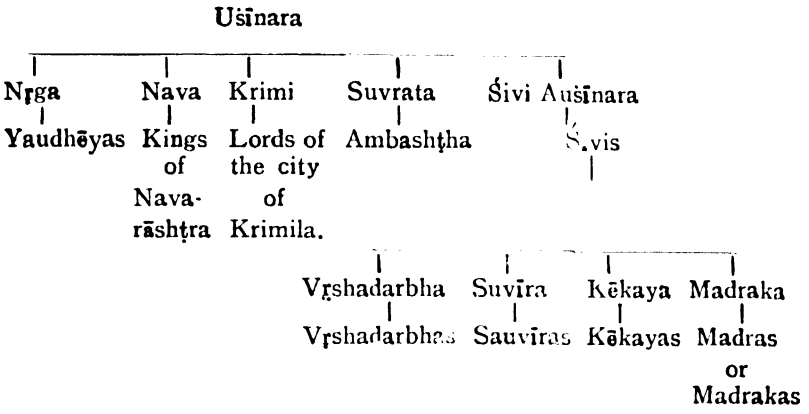
THE UŚĪNARAS.

The Uśīnaras figure in the Rg-Vēda (X. 59,10), though not in a conspicuous manner. A queen of theirs, Uśīnarāṇi, is referred to therein. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 14) as well as the Kauśītaki Upanishad (IV. 1) classifies them with the Kurus, Pañchālas and Vaśas as members of the same Madhyadēśa group. According to Zimmer, the Uśīnaras belonged to the north-west; because a hymn of the Rg-Vēda (X. 179) refers to a Śibi Auśīnara, and a people called the Sibois occupied, in Alexander's time, the land between the Indus and the Chināb. But other scholars locate them in the land north of Kurukshētra both in the age of the Rg-vēda and later Vēdic literature. The Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa regards them as northerners.* Pargiter,† who maintains the theory of the Āryanisation of India from the base of the Gangetic basin, surmises that Uśīnara and his descendants were Āṇava branches of the Puru line who occupied the Panjāb. He believes that the kingdoms of the Yaudhēyas and the Ambashthas (as well as those of the unidentified Navarāshṭra and Kṛmila) in Eastern Panjāb were founded by Uśīnara; that under his son, Śivi, the Āryans extended themselves westward and founded the Śivi kingdom; and that Śivi's four sons founded the kingdoms of the Vṛshadarbhas, Madras, Kēkayas and Sauvīras. His theory is obvious from this table:—

* In Jivananda Vidyasagara's edition the passage is found in II. 10, while Keith gives II. 9. The passage is:

इम मेषु कुरुपञ्चालेषु अङ्गमगधेषु काशिकौशलेषु शाल्वमत्स्येषु रावस उशीनरेषु उदीचेषु.

† *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 87-8; 109; 264 & 294.



The importance of the Uśīnaras lay in the fact that they were instrumental in the Āryanisation of the tribes of the west and north*. The Mahābhārata† says that the Uśīnara king Śibi surpassed Indra as a sacrificer; that the latter once tried the king's virtues by taking the guise of a hawk and pursuing a pigeon which took refuge with the king, and that the latter offered himself in the place of the pursued bird. In the Śāntiparva (Ch. 28) we are told that Uśīnara Śivi was emperor of the world, who encircled it like a skin, and who made a gift of even the forest cows and horses during sacrifices. The Bhāgavata (VII, 27—49) mentions an Uśīnara king, Sujagña, and has a long lofty discourse on his death. Buddhistic literature refers to an Uśīnara king (Cowell VI, pp. 55 ff.) who was charitable but not holy, and consequently failed to go from the Prētalōka to the Brahmalōka; to another king (*ibid*, p. 125) who waited on the Brahmans and Samanas and went to heaven; and to others‡.

* Pāṇini, who belonged to the north-west, refers to the Uśīnaras. II. 4. 20; IV. 2. 118. संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु and विभाषोशीनरेषु.

† Vana-parva, Ch. 132, 133 and 197 (Southern text).

‡ See B. C. Law's Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes, I, pp. 159-60 for the references belonging to the Buddhistic age.

THE ŚRÑJAYAS.

Still another branch of the Kuru-Pañchāla group is the Śṛñjaya. The Śṛñjayas, we have seen (p. 186), are mentioned in the Ṛg-vēda; and they continued to be active in the later Vēdic period. "It seems probable that the Śṛñjayas and the Tṛtsus were closely allied, for Divōdāsa and a Śṛñjaya prince are celebrated together, and the Turvaśas were enemies of both. This view is borne out by the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, which recognizes Dēvabhāga Śrautarsha as Purōhita of the Kurus and the Śṛñjayas." Pargiter deduces the Śṛñjayas from Śṛnjaya of the North Pañchāla dynasty. He would thus connect the two peoples together. The Śṛñjayas, who seem to have lived in this period north of the Matsya and west of the Kuru lands, were also closely associated with the Vītahavyas. Both are mentioned together in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and the Atharva-vēda. According to some scholars they were identical; but according to others they were only closely related. One peculiar legend regarding the Vītahavyas is to the effect that the family came to ruin in consequence of a member devouring a Brahmin's cow (Atharva-vēda, V. 18, 10; XI. 19, 1)! Another peculiar legend is to the effect that they offended the Bhṛgus, and consequently came to a miserable end. The Kāṭhaka and Taittiriya-Saṃhitas refer to a disaster which the Śṛñjayas sustained in consequence of some ritualistic errors, of which, however, the exact nature is uncertain. The history of the clan is of interest, thus, for its unfortunate fate in consequence of unhappy relations with the priests. Reference has been already made (*ante* p. 186) to a singular incident of constitutional importance in their history. It has been shown that their dynasty existed for ten generations: that the last of them, Dushṭaritu Paumsāyana, was expelled by his people together with the minister, Rēvōttara Pāṭava Chakra Sthapati for some uncertain reason; and that the minister, eventually succeeded in restoring the king, even though

this was opposed by a Kuru prince, Bālhika Pratīpya. We do not know why the Kuru prince opposed the restoration. Probably, he was at the bottom of the original expulsion. We may perhaps see in this a clue to the aggressiveness of the Kuru dynasty at the expense of the Śṛñjayas.

THE CHEDIS.

The Chedis who occupied the land now forming Bandēlkhand and a considerable portion of the Central Provinces, are once mentioned in the Rg-vēda*. A sage of the Kaṇva family, addressing the Aśvins, says how king Kaśu, the Chaidya, presented him with a hundred camels, ten thousand cows, and ten royal slaves or servants; for he was above all other men, and pursued a path which no other pious men followed to an equal extent, namely, the path of benefaction to sages and scholars. The fact that the Chedi king was in a position to give ten rājās as servants to a sacrificial priest seems, allowing for exaggeration, to indicate great power; and it is remarkable that there is a paucity of references to Chedi in later Vēdic literature. The epic, Purāṇic and Buddhistic literatures, however, fill up the gap to a certain extent, and record a number of traditions which indicate the greatness of Chedi in the later Vēdic period.

The origin of Chedi is nowhere clearly explained; but the traditions clearly indicate that the Chedis belonged to the same group as the Matsyas, the Karūshas and the Kāśis. Occasionally they seem to have come into contact with the Pañchālas and even the Kōsalas. We have reasons to believe that they were a branch of the Yādavas. The Paurāṇic tradition showing this connection with the Yādavas is rather late; for it places it in the time of Kaiśika, the younger son of Vidarbha, many generations after Yadu. It is to the effect that Vidarbha's elder son,

* VIII. 5, 37—9.

Kratha Bhīma, carried on the main line, while Kaiśika, the younger son or rather *his* son Chidi, became the ruler of the Chedis. But this is a later episode apparently, and the Chedis had already existed for a long time, forming by no means a negligible section of the Yādavas. From Kaiśika and Chidi were descended Vīrabāhu and Subāhu, who figure in the celebrated story of Naḷa, the son of Bhīma of Vidarbha.

The Yādava clan of Chedi seems to have been overthrown by the celebrated Paurava prince Vasu Chaidyōparichara or Chaidya Uparichara, fourth in descent from Sudhanvān, the son of Kuru. Vasu seems to have been known by the title of *Chaidyōparichara* in consequence of his victory over the Chedis; but the Purāṇic writers misunderstood the title and made it *Chaidya Uparichara*, following it up with a legend to illustrate its significance. Vasu is said to have obtained his name Uparichara from the fact that Indra who was afraid of his spiritual perfection and eventual rivalry, turned him from spiritual to temporal life, persuaded him to become the ruler of the beautiful land of Chedi and the protector of dharma on the face of the earth, and gave him a crystal car upon which he was able to traverse even celestial regions in spite of his physical body.* This idea of the aerial journey seems to have arisen out of the remarkable political enterprise of Vasu. He is represented in the epic as well as the Purāṇas as having conquered all the land from Matsya to Magadha, become a Samrāṭ or Chakravartin, and then divided his conquests among his sons. These were:— (1) Matsya who is said to have been born to Vasu by an Apsaraṭ named Adrikā (who happened to live as a fish in consequence of a curse); (2) Bṛhadratha; (3) Pratyagraha; (4) Kuśāmba (or Maṇivāhana); (5) Yadu or Lalittha;

* See Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Calcutta Edn., Chap. 63, and S. Ind. Text, Chap. 64.

† *Ibid.* The story of Adrikā is given in detail.

(6) Māvella (Māthailya or Māruta). Of these, the first got the Matsya kingdom; the second founded Magadha; the fourth became the ruler of Kauśāmbi, and the fifth, of Karūsha. The third son, Pratyagraha, seems to have received Chēdi for his share, though there is no express mention of it. It is obvious from this that Vasu Uparichara was a great monarch who attempted imperial power and achieved it to some extent. The traditions also illustrate the place of Chēdi among the Paurava group of the Madhyadēśa states. Vasu's daughter, Satyavatī* (Matsya's sister), was given in marriage to Śantanu, the father of the great Mahābhārata hero Bhīshma.

Vasu Uparichara was not only politically great, but had a high place in the history of Āryan culture. The Mahābhārata says that there was an understanding between him and Indra to the effect that he should protect *dharma* on the earth, while Indra was to look after the celestial world, and that the head of the Gods gave him, by way of cementing this bargain, not only the crystal car above mentioned, but a never-fading garland of lotus, named *Vaijayanti*, which had the marvellous power of protecting its wearer from wounds in battle, and a bamboo pole which was capable of protecting the good; and Vasu is said to have organized a grand festival in the Śuklapaksha of the month of Mṛgaśīrsha, in honour of Indra, when that pole was adorned with flowers and gems, and planted on the earth amidst acclamations of the assembled gods, sages and kings of the earth! The Indra festival is said to have saved Chēdi from barrenness, adversity, and the tyranny of the Rākshasas and Piśāchas; and the epic gives a glowing description of the joyous festivities in which the people of Chedi indulged

* She is said to have been first wedded by Parāśara from which union Vyāsa sprang. Transformed into a *Kanyakā* once again by the miraculous power of the sage, she afterwards became Śantanu's queen. In her new role she was a *Gandhavati* instead of being a *Matsya-gandhi*, thanks to the power of the sage.

in company with their great king! It adds that all those kings who, like Vasu, distinguished themselves by their charities in the form of lands and riches and performed the Indra festival, became entitled to equal glory and happiness!

Another tradition in connection with Vasu's spiritual excellence is given in the first two* chapters of the Nārāyaṇiya section of the Śāntiparva in the Mahābhārata. Vasu, we are told, was the disciple of Bṛhaspati, and once performed an Aśvamēdha-yāga. A highly pious and charitable man, he did not offer any animal sacrifice. He offered only the roots and vegetables of the neighbouring woods in the sacrificial fire. God Nārāyaṇa was so much gratified by Vasu's sanctity for life that He appeared to his eyes alone, and partook the *purōḍāśa* offered to Him. Bṛhaspati, who was conducting the sacrifice, was offended at this. He became indignant with the king, and asked him why Lord Hari appeared before him alone and not before himself and the other sages, sixteen in number, who were assembled there. He believed that the king had really spoiled the sacrifice by not offering animals, and that, if the God had really been pleased, He would have appeared before all the holy conductors of the sacrifice. The sages, at this stage, pointed to Bṛhaspati that the Lord Nārāyaṇa was visible only to real Bhaktas like Vasu, and that there was no use in his feeling wounded. Bṛhaspati, thereupon, helped in the completion of the sacrifice.

The great lesson of this story is that Vasu was against sanguinary methods of sacrifice; and that, though Bṛhaspati did not approve of this at first, he was eventually won over. Vasu's connection with God Nārāyaṇa seems to indicate that he was an adherent of the cult which later on developed into Bhāgavatism.

* Chaps. 344—5 in the Southern version.

Further on, we are told in the Epic, Vasu fell temporarily from his high principles, and so fell a victim to Brahmanical curses, from which he was rescued by his faith in Nārāyaṇa. The story is this. Once Bṛhaspati, at the head of a few Brahmans, was engaged in a sacrifice, and offered only purōḍāśa in it. The gods, however, wanted a goat! The disputants happened to see Vasu Uparichara then going in his aerial car. As he was famous all over the universe for his *dharma*, they appealed to him for decision. Seized by a momentary weakness, he upheld the contentions of the gods against his own convictions. The Brahmans thereupon cursed him to fall from his aerial car into an abyss in the earth. At the instance of the gods, he sincerely prayed to the Lord to save him and, being a true *Bhakta*, recovered his old glory. The story, it is obvious, glorifies the king as the follower of the Nārāyaṇīya cult. Indeed he seems to have been a pioneer in popularising it.

It may be pointed out that it was this very Vasu Uparichara that figures in one of the Jātakas in the name of Upachara (or Apachara).* Curiously enough, it gives a list of his ancestors who came to the throne of Chedi in regular succession from father to son. These were: Mahāsammata; Roga; Vararoja; Kalyāṇa; Vara-Kalyāṇa; Upōsatha; Mandhātā; Vara-Mandhātā; and Chara. We do not know how far this list is genuine. It seems to be unreliable. With regard to Upachara, Chara's son and successor, it gives a singular story. Desirous of making a study-mate his Purōhit at the expense of the old incumbent, he is said to have uttered an untruth, as the result of which he fell into the *avīchi* hell. Another part of the story is that he had five sons, and that these, induced by the Purōhita to go in five directions, founded the cities or principalities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sīhapura, Uttara-pañchāla, and Daddarapura in the east, south, west, north and north-west respectively. The story is patently absurd.

* See Cowell, III, pp. 272—6.

The only other celebrated monarch of the Chedis who figures in the Epic is Śiśupāla, the son of Damaghōsha. He is represented as one of the Dvārapālakas of Vishṇu, born, as the result of a curse, as Hiraṇyakaśipu and Rāvaṇa in his previous births. Śiśupāla was connected on his mother's side with the Sātvants or the Yādavas; for his mother, Śrutaśravā, was Vasudēva's sister and Kṛshṇa's aunt; but he was their political enemy, and allying himself with Kamsa of Mathurā and Jarāsandha of Magadha he waged unceasing war with Dvāraka. The reason for Śiśupāla's enmity with Kṛshṇa is explained in the Mahābhārata.* Śiśupāla was born with three eyes and four hands, and brayed like an ass! His parents wanted to abandon him. A divine voice told them that these deformities would disappear, but that the person in whose arms the child would get the normal form would be its slayer. It happened that Kṛshṇa and his elder brother (Balarāma) were then on a visit to the Chedi capital, and when Kṛshṇa took the child in his arms, it became free from its monstrous features. Śiśupāla became, when he grew up, naturally a pronounced foe of his would-be slayer. His feeling became even more embittered by his discomfiture in the svayamvara of Rukmiṇī. But Śiśupāla's vices made him a foe of all good Kshatriya kings as well. Once, when king Bhōja was engaged in sport in the Raivataka hill, he attacked his retinue and either slew or imprisoned them. He stole the sacrificial horse let loose by Vasudēva. He violated the honour of the wife of Babhrū on her way from Hastināpura to Sauvīra. In the guise of the Kārūsha king, he ravished Bhadrā Vaiśāli. Kṛshṇa had promised his aunt not to slay her son till he went beyond his hundredth insult. Śiśupāla became guilty of insolence beyond the limit on the occasion of Yudhishṭhira's Rājasūya-yāga, and Kṛshṇa therefore killed him. Śiśupāla's son, Dhṛshṭakētu, was then placed on the Chedi throne. Dhṛshṭakētu was a friend of the Pāṇḍavas, and one of the prominent leaders of their armies in the battle of Kurukshētra. He is said to

* See Sabhāparva, Chaps. 39—41 and 63—70.

have ridden on a Kambōja horse of variegated colours in the battle-field (Drōṇaparva, chap. 23). He was killed in the battle, like his brother Sukētu (Karṇaparva, chap. 3). Apparently, Dhṛshṭakētu was succeeded by a brother named Śarabha; for we are told that Arjuna, who was in charge of the Aśvamēdha horse, had to fight with Śarabha, Śiśupāla's son, who had bound the horse at Śukti (Śuktimati), the Chedi capital, and compel him to give it up and to acknowledge the Pāṇḍava suzerainty (Aśvamēdha-parva, chap. 84.)

A somewhat obscure figure in the Chedi genealogy is king Sahaja. We understand from a passage of the Udyōgaparva of the Mahābhārata* that he was one of eighteen mighty kings who brought ruin on their families and relations. Sahaja is called here the king of the Chedi-Matsyas, which is not surprising as the Chedis and Matsyas were often very closely allied and related. The later Buddhistic work *Anguttara-nikāya* refers to a town called Sahajātiṭ among the Chedis, and it may be that this city owed its name to Sahaja. The Sahankaṇika of the

* Chap. 73 of the Southern text. The passage refers to a conversation between Bhīma and Kṛshṇa. The former, in a fit of peacefulness, advises the latter to see whether it was not possible to arrange terms with Duryōdhana. He compares the latter to the eighteen kings who brought ruin on their Gñātis and relations. These kings were: (1) Udāvarta of the Haihayas; (2) Janamējaya of the Nīpas; (3) Bahuḷa of the Tālajaṅghas; (4) Vasu of the Kṛmis, (5) Ajabindu of the Suvīras; (6) Rusharttiga of the Surāshṭras; (7) Arkkaja of the Balīkas; (8) Dhautamūlaka of the Chinas; (9) Hayagrīva of the Vidēhas; (10) Vāyu of the Mahaujasas; (11) Bāhu of the Sundaravaṁśa; (12) Purūrava of the Dīptākshas; (13) Sahaja of the Chēdi-Matsyas; (14) Vṛshudhvaja of the Pravīras; (15) Dhāraṇa of the Chandra-vatsas; (16) Vihānana of the Mukuṭas; (17) Śama of the Nandivēgas; and presumably (18) Duryōdhana.

† See B. C. Law's *Ancient Mid-India Kshatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, pp. 110-11, for the discourse of a Bhikku who lived here.

*Samyukta-nikāya** probably refers to the same place. No information is available about king Sahaja. It is not clear as to how he effected the ruin of his relatives.

It may be pointed out that the Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa (chaps. 129—31) refers to a Chedi princess, Susōbhanā, as a queen of king Marutta of Vaiśali. Marutta's exploits are narrated later on; but here it should be pointed out that he was a universal emperor, and that he had for his queens the daughters of the kings of Vidarbha, Sauvīra, Magadha, Kēkaya, Madra and Sindhū, besides the Chedi princess. As the rule of these kings ranged over a wide area, it is obvious that Marutta deliberately won their friendship by his marriages. The Purāṇas mention a Marutta who belonged to the Turvasu lineage, another who was a Yādava, besides others; but the Marutta who figures as the lord of the Chedi princess Susōbhanā was a member of the Vaisalī line.

Nothing more is known of Chedi till we come to the beginning of the Buddhistic period. Buddhistic literature tells us that Chetiraṭṭha (= Chedirāshṭra) was then one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas which constituted the Āryan world. It further says that there were sixty thousand 'Khattiya Chetiya Rājās,' by which term we may understand that the royal dynasty had sixty thousand Rājanya followers. The figure is obviously an exaggeration. The Mahābhārata says that the Chedi kingdom was very rich in mineral wealth, gems, and precious stones; that its people were virtuous, and never spoke untruth even in jest; that sons were so mindful of their parents that they never demanded partition; that they were so kind to animals that they fed even lean and useless oxen well, and never yoked them to carts and ploughs; and that their four castes were attentive to their duties. One of the Jātakas also tells us that the Chedi kingdom was wealthy, prosperous, and abounded in rice, meat and wine. It further gives a beautiful narrative of the hospitality extended by 'the

* *Ibid*, pp. 111-2. One is reminded of the personal name Sanakānīka or Sanakānika occuring in Gupta inscriptions. See Fleet's *Gupta Inscrns.*, Nos. I and III.

sixty thousand Khattiyas' to prince Vessantara of the Jetuttara* kingdom on his way to the Vaṅkapabbata for penance. Another Jātaka tale† tells us that, on the road from Benares to Chedi, two bands of robbers, each consisting of 500 men, met and destroyed each other, and that a Brahman pilgrim who refused to exert his mantric skill to bring a shower of money a second time on behalf of the second party, was slain by the latter. When the Buddha began his missionary labours, he made some interesting conversions in the Chedi kingdom.‡

The Chedis had for their capital Śuktimati, the pearl city, on the river of the same name (the Ken) in Bandēlakhaṇḍa. The Jātaka literature refers to the city in the name of Sotthivatinagara. There is a curious story connected with Vasu Uparichara and the Śuktimati river. The mountain Kōlāhala§ fell in love with Śuktimati, and obstructed her passage. King Vasu kicked the obstructor off, and gave the river her freedom. In gratitude she gave him the services of her son and daughter, the former as Sēnāpati and the latter as the queen.

* See Cowell, Vol. VI, No. 547, pp. 246—305. This Vessantara-jātaka is, besides being very long, the last of the Jātaka tales. As Vessantara's father was Śivi, it is obvious that he was an Uśīnara. Vessantara's pathetic story of self-sacrifice is of an even nobler mould than that of Sibi. Jetuttara was thirty leagues off from the Chedi capital, but the prince and his wife and children are said to have been miraculously carried thither in a few hours. The Vaṅkapabbata has been identified with the mythical Gandhamādana, and it is impossible to explain the geographical references in the Jātaka on a rational basis.

† Vedabbha-jātaka, See Cowell, I, No. 48, pp. 121—4. The story makes the Brahman the teacher of the Buddha as a former Bōdhisattva, and traces his tragic death to his disregarding the advice of his pupil not to exercise his *Vedabbha-mantra* but to wait for his return with a ransom. Self-will, misguided effort, is suicidal.

‡ Vide B. C. Law's *Ancient Mid. Indian Kshatriya Tribes*, Vol. I, pp. 110—2, for a brief reference to these.

§ The Mahābhārata, Adiparva, chap. 64 Southern Text).

The story seems to represent symbolically the establishment of Vasu's mastery over the Śuktimati basin, and probably the excavation of a free passage for the river across a local hill. Beglar identified the Kōlāhala hill, which is mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa (Chap. 57, verse 12) amongst the Central Indian hills, with the Kawa Kol range, east of the river Sakri, a tributary of the Ganges flowing about 35 miles to the east of Gayā* ; but the learned translator and editor of the Purāṇa† observes that there is no definite evidence in support of this identification. He believes that the Kōlāhala hills "were probably those between Panna and Bijawar in Bandelkhand, and the capital Śuktimati was probably near the modern town Banda."

The Chedis had several other cities in later times owing to their expansion in the north as well as the south. A branch of them migrated to as far north as Nepal‡ ; but they mainly extended themselves towards the south, across Bandēlkhand, Central India and a considerable portion of the Central Provinces. In this extended sphere they came later on to be called Dāhalas. They possessed the important forts of Chaṇḍēri§, Kālanjarapura, Tripuri‖ (near Jabbalpur), Ratanpur and Śarabhapura in the different parts of their

* Arch. Surv. Rep., Vol. VIII, pp. 123—5.

† Bibliotheca Indica Edn., pp. 286 and 359, footnotes. Pargiter's erudite note regarding Chedi requires slight modification. He believes that the Chedi kingdom "was founded as an offshoot by the Yādavas of Vidarbha (Matsya-purāṇa, XLIII. 4—7 and XLIV. 14 and 23—28) ; and after it had lasted through some 20 or 25 reigns, Vasu Uparichara, who was a Kaurava of the Paurava race, invaded it from the north some nine generations anterior to the Pāṇḍavas, and conquering it established his own dynasty in it, which lasted till after their time." See *ante*, p. 261.

‡ See Rhys Davids' *Buddhistic India*, p. 26.

§ Todd makes Chaṇḍēri the capital of Śiśupāla.

‖ This was so named because Śiva killed Tirupurāsura here. Jabbalpūr is connected with sage Jābāli.

country in later times. They were also destined to found the Kalachuri Era in the third century and to conquer Tṛliṅga. But in the period with which we are dealing, the Chedis had very close political as well as ethnical relations with the Vidarbhas, the Haihayas, the Tālajaṅghas, the Avantis and other sections of the Yādavas, who became the masters of the region now forming Malwa and who intimately influenced the royal clans further west and north both ethnically and culturally. The keynote to the Chedi history, in fact, lies in this connection with the Yādavas and their semi-Āryan relatives. It is this close association that was responsible for the identification of Śiśupāla with the Dānava Hiraṇyakaśipu and the Rākshasa Rāvaṇa, and for his alliance with the Karūsha king Dantavakra, who in turn was the Hiraṇyāksha and Kumbhakarṇa of earlier births.

It has been already mentioned that the Yādavas, who were descended traditionally from the Purūravas, spread themselves over considerable portions of Western India and the Dakkan (*ante*, p. 251). It has been also shown that the main branch of them was known as the Sātvata, and that there were the collateral branches of the Haihayas, Vṛshṇis, Andhakas and Vidarbhas. It has been also mentioned that they were instrumental in the Āryanisation of considerable portions of the country. The most conspicuous feature in the history of the Yādavas is that, though they claimed to belong to the Purūrava race through Yadu, they had considerable mixture with the non-Āryans. This is why particular Yādava clans are classed by the Epics with those of the extreme north-west and west,—the Nīchyas and Apāchyas of the Indus and Panjāb regions, the Gandhāras, the Vāhikas, the Sindhus, the Sauvīras and others. It is advisable, therefore, to deal with the semi-Āryan tribes of the north-west before taking up the career of the Yādavas as the relations between them will then be more clearly understood. It is now time to bring these different peoples into correlation with one another, and to describe their exact place in the evolution of Indian culture.

THE SEMI-ĀRYAN TRIBES.

The Gandhāras first claim our attention. They traced themselves to Druhyu, the brother of Yadu. Owing to their situation in the extreme north-west, they must have come into contact with the Mlēchchhas outside the Āryan world; but it is clear from the later Vēdic literature as well as the Epics that they kept the torch of Āryan culture burning. A Gandhāra king, Nāgnajit*, was one of the teachers who handed down the knowledge of the substitute for Sōma. He or a descendant of his, Svarjit Nāgnajita, figures in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa† as an authority on the construction of the altar for Sōma sacrifice. The Gandhāras, we learn from the Epics, had close social and political relations with the peoples of the east. The Gandhāra princess, Gāndhāri, was the wife of Dhṛtarāshṭra and mother of the Kauravas. We understand from the Rāmāyaṇa that the sons of Bharata, who inherited the Kēkaya kingdom from his maternal uncle, conquered Gandhāra, and ruled there from the cities of Takshaśilā and Pushkalāvati named after themselves. Though classed with the Kirātas, the Gandhāras were the carriers of Āryan culture.

THE KĒKAYAS (KAIKĒYAS)

The Kēkayas, who are placed by Lassen between the Ravi and the Bias, and by Cunningham on the line of the Jhelum to the west of the Bāhlikas, and who seem to have lived between the Sindhū and the Vitastā, oocupied a similar place in the composite development of Āryan culture. As has been already mentioned, they claim to have been descended from Uśīnara Śivi, like the Vṛshabhas, Madrakas and Suviras, on the one hand, and their cousins—the Yaudhēyas, the chiefs of Navarāshṭra, the Kṛmilas and the Ambhashṭhas, on the other. These tribes occupied different parts of the Panjāb and Kashmir.

* Aitarēya B, VII. 34. See Haug's Edn., Vol. I, p. 192 and Vol. II, p. 493.

† VIII. 1. 4. 10. See *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 43, pp. 21-2.

The Epics and the Purāṇas therefore mention them together. We learn from them that Satyavrata Triśaṅku of Ayōdhyā married a Kaikēya princess. We also learn from the Rāmāyaṇa* that Aśvapati, the Kēkaya king, was the brother of Daśaratha's queen (Kaikēyī), and that Bharata was a favourite in his maternal uncle's court and country. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa† and the Chhāndogyōpanishad‡ mention an Aśvapati Kaikēya who may or may not have been the same prince. We understand from these that Aśvapati was so much renowned for Vēdic lore that he was recognized as an authoritative teacher. He had for his pupils a certain Aruṇa Aupavēśi, a Prāchīnaśāla Aupa-Mānyava, and others. The Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa observes§ that Kēkayī, the daughter of Kēkaya, was one of the queens of the Vaisalī king Marutta, her co-queens being, among others, Vapushmatī (the daughter of Sindhuvīrya of Sindhu) and Sairandhri (the daughter of the king of Madra). It is clear from these facts that the Kēkayas, though a western people, had close cultural relations with the peoples of the Madhyadēśa and the farther east. They were a powerful nation of bowmen¶. They had for their

* See *Ayōdhyākāṇḍa*, chap. I, verse 2. (मातुलेनाश्वपतिना पुत्रस्नेहेन लालितः). In chap. IX, verse 22, Kaikēyi is clearly said to be Aśvapati's daughter. But the *Raghuvaṁśa* which calls the Kēkaya king Sindhurāja says that the king's name is Yudhājit. See p. 274 below.

† X. 6, 1, 2. Aśvapati is said to have known Vaiśvānara (supreme deity) thoroughly. He preached a sermon to various teachers. See *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 43. (Julius Eggeling's Edn., Śatapatha B., Pt. IV), pp. 393—8, for details.

‡ V. 11. 4. See Ānandāśrama Edn. (1913), pp. 299 and 301. (प्राचीनशाल औपमन्यवः सत्ययज्ञः...) and (तान्होवाचाश्वपतिर्वै भगवन्तोऽयं कैकेयः... सम्प्रतीं आत्मानं वैश्वानरमध्येति...).

§ Canto 131, verse 47, which is highly confused in construction.

¶ *Vide* the *Sabhā-parva*, chap. IV, which gives a long list of the sages and kings who attended on Yudhishṭhira.

capital the town of Girivraja*, which has been identified by Cunningham with Girijāk (Jalālpur) on the Jhelum.

THEIR ALLEGED CONNECTION WITH THE SINDHUS AND IKSHVAKUS.

We have reasons to believe that the Gāndhāras and Kēkayas were intimately connected with the Sindhus. The *Raghuvaṁśa*†, in fact, seems to use these terms identically when it says that Bharata inherited the Sindhu country from his uncle, Yudhājit, and that, when with Rāma's permission he took possession of it, he followed it up by conquering the Gandharvas of that region and installing his two sons, Taksha and Pushkala, in the towns named after them. The term *Gandharva* is, as Pargiter suggests,‡ a misreading for Gāndhāra, and the other Purāṇas corroborate the Rāmāyaṇa in attributing the conquest of Gāndhāra and the settlement at Pushkalāvati and Takshaśilā by Bharata's sons. If there is any truth in the tradition that the Ikshvāku inheritor of the Sindhu kingdom conquered Gāndhāra and set up the sub-kingdoms of Pushkalāvati and Takshaśilā, we have to suppose that, for a time at least, Sindhu, Kēkaya, and Gāndhāra (with its two divisions of Pushkalāvati and Takshaśilā) were united under a single imperial rule. But such a union was apparently temporary. The Purāṇas seem to suggest that the Sindhus, Kēkayas and Gāndhāras kept up their individuality in spite of occasional union. The geographical limits of Kēkaya have been already mentioned. As regards Sindhu it seems to have included

* See the Rāmāyana (Grantha Edn., 1890), Ayōdhyā-kāṇḍa, chap. 68, verse 21.

ते श्रान्तवाहना दूता विकृष्टेन पथा ततः ।
गिरिव्रजं पुरवरं शीघ्रमासेदुरञ्जसा ॥

† Canto XV, verses 87—9.

‡ *Anct. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 278, and footnotes 6 and 7. A variant of Pushkala is Pushkara.

the Lower Indus, covering modern Sindh.* And Gāndhāra extended over East Afghanistan and a portion of North and West Panjāb including the districts of Peshawar and Rawilpindi†. Pushkalāvati became its western capital and Takshaśilā its eastern, the former being apparently the headquarters of the trans-Indus parts and the latter of the cis-Indus region. Occasionally, at least, Gāndhāra did not include Pushkalāvati and Takshaśilā. The Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa includes Pushkala among the northern countries, and Gāndhāra among the north-western countries, showing that they were separate. Similarly we know that, in early Mauryan times, Taxila formed a separate kingdom. But, on the whole, Pushkalāvati at least seems to have continued for centuries as the main capital of Gāndhāra; and at times Gāndhāra included Takshaśilā too. Both cities continued to be prosperous throughout the later Vēdic period down to the age of Buddhism, and in the Buddhistic age they became even more active.

One question which will naturally suggest itself as the result of this is whether the Gāndhāras, in consequence of the establishment of the Ikshvāku line of Pushkala and Takshaśilā, had still the Purūrava strain in them, that

* Pargiter's *Markaṇḍēya-purāṇa*, p. 315 footnote.

† V. A. Smith's *Aśōka*, p. 170; Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 28; Gieger's *Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 82; Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lectures* (1918), p. 54. Gāndhāra lay along the Kābul river between the Kunar (Khoaspes) and the Indus, according to one version. Cunningham fixed the boundaries as Lamghān and Jalālābad in the west, the Swāt and Dunir hills in the north, the Indus in the east, and Kālabhāg hills in the south. See his *Ancient Geography*, p. 48. It included in other words, as N. L. Dey observes, the districts of Peshāwar and Hoti Murdan or the Yuzufzai country. See his *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 23. Pushkalāvati was separated from Takshaśila (Taxila) by a distance of about seventy miles, the Indus coming between them. Taxila is near Shah-Dheri, one mile to the north-east of Kāla-kasarāi, and 37 miles oft Ohind. All the Buddistic and Greek references to these places are put together in B. C. Law's *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India* (1924), pp. 251—5 and 265—7.

is, their Ānava and Druhyu character, or whether they came to be Ikshvākus. The answer to this, of course, depends on the fact whether the Gāndhāras came to be identical with the Pushkalas. The royal house might have become Ikshvāku when such an amalgamation took place. But we have no evidence to show that Subala, the Gāndhāra king, who gave his daughter (Gāndhāri) to Dhṛtarāshṭra*, and his son, the celebrated Śakuni, belonged to the line founded by Pushkara. We have to suppose that the traditions regarding Gāndhāra in the Mahābhārata, which describe Śakuni's exploits as the evil adviser of Duryōdhana and as a steadfast fighter in his cause†, refer to a period when Gāndhāra still retained its 'lunar' dynasty. The tradition that Ajamīḍha's queen was a Gāndhārī, and that it was always advisable for the Kuru kings to choose their brides from the house of Subala and Madra, indicate the connection with the Purūravas. The Purāṇic traditions also are to the same effect. The Matsya, the Bhāgavata, the Vishnu and the Brahma Purāṇas maintain the Druhyu origin of the Gāndhāra house in spite of variations among themselves‡, and while referring to the conquest of the Mlēchchha country and the north by Gāndhāra's descendants, do not refer to their amalgamation with the Ikshvākus. On the whole, therefore, we may conclude that if Gāndhāra became identical with Pushkalāvati, it must have been only in later times—probably some centuries before the advent of the age of Buddhism.

The Gāndhāras, however, came to be regarded as impure by the orthodox Āryans of the Madhyadēśa for their close connection with the Mlēchchhas. Though there

* *Ādi-parva*, chap. 119. Subala's family is praised by Bhīshma as descended from Yadu and highly deserving of marriage alliance with the Kuru line. Dhṛtarāshṭra married not only Gāndhāri but her ten sisters. Gāndhāri is said to have had the 100 Kauravas owing to a boon from Bhaga, one of the Ādityas.

† See Law's *Some Kshatriya Tribes* (1924), pp. 258—61 for Śukuni's part in the Kurukshētra battle.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 262-3.

were renowned Vēdic teachers among them (see p. 272), they were regarded as a people to whom fever (*takman*) was fit to go, leaving the Āryan homes alone! The *Karṇa-parva* of the Mahābhārata (chap. 34) refers to obnoxious customs amongst them as amongst the Madras, Sindhus, Sauvīras and other peoples of this region, and denounces them in vehement language. The explanation lies in the fact that, in spite of their being Āryan, they still imbibed many non-Āryan customs. Addicted to mountain life (*parvatîyas*), and to subterfuges (*māya*) in war, and dressed in woollen and peculiar costumes, these hardy horsemen were not popular with the orthodox Āryans. Still, they were the carriers of Āryan culture to peoples beyond the natural boundaries of India.

THE SINDHUS.

We may now pass on to the Sindhus proper. They seem to have had close political relations not only with the Kēkayas and Gāndhāras but with other neighbouring peoples like the Sauvīras, the Madras, the Śivis and Ambashṭhas who traced themselves to the Uśīnaras.* The Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa† gives a long list of the 'north-western', 'outside' and 'northern' peoples. The list is positively inaccurate in some respects, and is applicable to late periods in other respects; but it records the traditional location of the earliest tribes too. Amongst the north-western peoples it includes the Vāhlikas, the Gāndhāras, the Sindhus, the Sauvīras, the Kaikēyas, the Madrakas, and the peoples dwelling along the Śatadrū, besides 'many settlements of Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.' Amongst the 'outside men' (*vāhyatō-narāh*), the Purāṇa mentions the Kāmbōjas, the Daradas and several others; and amongst the northern peoples the Pushkalas, Kirātas, Kāśmiras and

* See *ante*, p. 239. The Mahābhārata (Bhīshma-parva, chap. IX) mentions the Sindhus together with the Sauvīras, the Gāndhāras, the Āndhras, Kirātas and Kōsalas. If we take the last as the southern Kōsalas of the Central Provinces, the enumeration might be explained on the basis of cultural similarity.

† Chap. 57, verses 36—42.

others. The list is very elaborate, and assigns distinct places to peoples who are mentioned jointly or identically by other authorities. We have seen, for example, that Gāndhāra, Sindhu, Kēkaya, Pushkala and Takshaśilā are put together in the Rāmāyaṇa; and the Daradas are associated with the Vāhlīkas in the Epics and several Purāṇas. On the whole, we may take it with Pargiter that the Sindhus proper were the people of the Lower Indus, of modern Sindh down to the Peninsula of Kathiawar, and that the other peoples were associated with them in occasional political union or general cultural assimilation.

The only well-known king of the Sindhus was Jayadratha, the son of Vṛddhakshatra*. He is said to have under his rule the Sindhu, Sauvīra, Śibi and other neighbouring lands. He had among his feudatories the Śivi king, Kōṭikāśya, son of Surata; the Tṛgartta king Kshēmaṅkara; the king of the mountainous Kulinda; the Ikshvāku Saubala of the land near Pushkaraṇi; and twelve Sauvīra chiefs. He had 6000 chariots and other troops. Jayadratha seems to have possessed thus an imperial prestige. He was, further, the husband of Duśchalā, the sister of the Kauravas. Once on his way to the Sālva country on a marriage mission, he came across the hermitage of the Pāṇḍava exiles in Daumyavana, and tried to violate the honour of Draupadi while the Pāṇḍavas were gone on a chase. Draupadi taunted him with his despicable cowardice, and threatened him with the vengeance of her lords and of their allies like the Vṛshṇis, Andhakas and Kēkayas, thereby indicating more than one confederate league in the west. Eventually, Jayadratha was beaten and humiliated by his head being *partly* shaved! The disgraced king was let off alive lest the cousin-sister of the Pāṇḍavas be widowed. Jayadratha sought, by penance, a boon from Śiva for capacity to vanquish the Pāṇḍavas. The God gave him a partial boon, assuring him of a triumph against all the Pāṇḍavas except Arjuna for a day. Naturally, Jayadratha was one of the chief leaders of the Kaurava

* See *Vana-parva*, chap. 165 ff.

troops. Thanks to Śiva's boon, he vanquished the Pāṇḍavas for a day, and was able to kill Abhimanyu, Arjuna's son, an event which led to one of the most thrilling episodes in the war. The Saindhavas had marriage relations not only with the Kurus but the Ikshvākus of Ayōdhyā. It can hardly be doubted that such relationships considerably obliterated the ethnical distinction between the ancient people of Sindh and their Āryan conquerors. At the same time the blood-mixture and cultural assimilation was not so complete as to efface the pride of the Madhyadēśa Āryas; and so the Sindhus and their neighbours were classed as Āraṭṭas or Bāhikas.

THE SAUVĪRAS.

Another people of the Indus region have been known by the name of the Sauvīras. They were also a branch of the Uśīnaras (like the Kēkayas, Madrakas and others) who traced their decent from the eponymous ancestor Suvīra (see p. 259). The story that Puru's grandson, Manasyu, (see p. 201 footnote)* married a Sauvīra princess is not chronologically consistent with the above tradition, but it truly represents cultural and social intercourse. The Sauvīras and Sindhus often formed a single political confederacy. Jayadratha was, as we have seen, lord of both Sindhu and Sauvīra†. It has been plausibly suggested that Sauvīra denoted the northern part of the Sindhu. Another suggestion, that Sauvīra was the name of the *people* while Sindhu was the name of the country, is not so happy. All that we can plausibly be sure of is that the Sauvīras were a people of Upper Sindh‡ or the Lower Panjab, who were in close touch with the Āryans of the Madhyadēśa and transmitted the Āryan culture to their kinsmen to the north and west. The Mahābhārata refers to a Sauvīra king named Śatruntapa who had a Bharadvāja for his teacher of *Rājadharma* (Śānti-parva, chap. 140).

* *Vide Ādi-parva* chap. 88 which describes the Puru genealogy

† *Ibid.*

‡ Pargiter in his Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, pp. 315-6.

THE MADRAS (OR MĀDRAS).

To the same group as the Sindhus, Sauvīras and Vāhlīkas belonged the Madras, Madrakas or Mādras. They claimed descent, like the others, from an eponymous ancestor of the Uśīnara group. Cunningham* placed the Mādras between the Jhelum and the Biās. Their capital, Sākala, was identified by him with Sangala (or Sangla-wala-Tiba) to the west of the Rāvi and on the Apagā (modern Ayak). Others have placed the Madra kingdom between the Chināb and the Rāvi. Apparently, the Rāvi (Irāvati) flowed near its eastern border, and the Chināb further west. The Madra capital is mentioned by Pāṇini†, and of course figures in the Mahābhārata. The Madras had a branch at Uttara Madra beyond the Himalayas, somewhere in East Kashmīr‡. The Dakshiṇa-Madras or Madras proper were closely associated with the Vāhlikas under powerful kings like Śalya, though in ordinary times they were separate. The Purāṇas distinctly mention the cultural association of the Madras with the Sindhus, Sauvīras, Vāhlīkas, Gāndhāras, 'Ārāmas', 'Pārasīkas' and 'Yavanas'. The ethnological environment clearly indicates the composite character of their blood§.

The Āryan culture of the Madras is obvious from various facts. A certain Madra-gāra Sauṅgāyani figures as a teacher to a Kāmbōja Aupamanyava in the Vaṁśa Brāhmana.¶ The Kauśītaki and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas say that

* *Ancient Geography*, pp. 5-6 and pp. 185.

† II. 3. 73 ; V. 4. 67. चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः । and मद्रात्परिवापणे ।

‡ Aitarāya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 14. 3. Haug, Vol I, p. 203 and II, p. 518.

§ Prof. Keith vaguely places the Madras "somewhere in Kurukshātra, in the Madhyadēśa." *Vedic Index*, II, p. 123.

¶ *Ibid*, p. 123.

the speech of these 'northerners' was pure and that scholars proceeded to their land for perfecting their education.* The Bṛhadāraṇyakōpanishad† says that men like Uddālaka Aruṇi studied the methods of sacrifices in the house of a teacher (Patañchala Kapya) who belonged to the Madra country. The Madra kings had marriage connections with the Kurus of Madhyadēśa, and it was considered very commendable by the latter.‡ So Pāṇḍu's marriage was celebrated with Mādrī. The Epic says that, when Bhīshma approached Śalya, the Madra king, and asked his sister's hand for Pāṇḍu, the former replied that he would gladly agree, provided he was paid, in accordance with the custom which prevailed in his community, a bride-price; and Bhīshma satisfied him by giving him plenty of gold coins, bullion, elephants, horses, chariots, cloths, jewels, gems, pearls and corals. And it was by Mādrī that Pāṇḍu had the last two of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, Nakula and Sahadēva, the incarnations of the Aśvins.§ And it was through her that, owing to a sage's curse,‖ Pāṇḍu had his death.¶ Mādrī followed her lord in the funeral pyre, indicating that the custom of becoming a *Sati* was then well-known. A previous Pūru monarch, Vyushitāśva,$ is said to have miraculously visited his queen Bhadrā after his death from leprosy, and as the result of this weird union, we are told, there arose a collection of four Madra and three Sālva

* Kauśītaki VII. 6; Śatapatha III. 2. 3. 15.

† III. 7. 1. Sacred Books of the Hindus (1913), pp. 291 and 293.

‡ The Mahābhārata, Adiparva, chaps. 119 and 122.

§ *Ibid*, chap. 133.

‖ *Ibid*, chap. 123-4.

¶ *Ibid*, chap. 134.

$ *Ibid*, chap. 127. The story is narrated by Kunti in order to convince Pāṇḍu that they could still hope for progeny. Pāṇḍu in reply gives the story of Śvētakētu, the son of sage Uddālaka, who for the first time laid down the law of marriage in place of the promiscuous custom which had previously prevailed among mankind and still prevailed in the Uttara Kuru and similar lands.

princes. The story shows the traditional intercourse of the Pūru, Madra and Sālva lines, and indicates the naturalisation of some Pūru princes in the lands of the Madras and Sālvas. The Jātaka literature records traditions of similar relation between the Madras and the Ikshvākus. The Kuśa-jātaka* mentions the marriage of the Ikshvāku king Kuśa of the Malla kingdom with Pabbāvati, one of the eight daughters of the king of Madda. There is no significance in the details, but the tradition affords sufficient evidence of the occasional connection of the Madra kingdom with the Āryan kingdoms beyond the Madhyadēśa. The *Mahāvastu* (Vol. II, pp. 440 ff.) gives a variant of this story. It calls Kuśa the Ikshvāku king of Benares, and it describes the heroine as the daughter of Mahēndra, alleged to be the Madra king ruling at Kānyakubja in the kingdom of Śūrasēna! The latter version confounds Madra with Mathurā and makes a mess of the other geographical references too; but the tradition is not without significance. The Kālinga-Bōdhi-jātaka† refers to similar marriage connections between the Madra and Kalinga houses. It narrates the beautiful story of a Kalinga prince who lived as an ascetic in the woods and of his romantic attachment to the Madra princess who, in order to avoid the consequences of an inconvenient prophecy regarding the imperial greatness of her future child, had been sent into the forests to lead an ascetic life. The story is geographically untenable, but gives a clue to the reputation of the Madra royal house as a member of the fraternity of Āryan states.

* Cowell, Vol. V, pp. 141–64. This Jātaka (No. 531) is a remarkably striking story which has been compared to the European variant of *Beauty and the Beast*. A Sinhalese verison of it has been, says Cowell, rendered into English verse by Thomas Steele.

† Cowell, Vol. IV, No. 479, pp. 142—8. The Kalinga capital is called Dantapura and the Madra capital Sāgala. The story of prince Kālinga Bōdhi is full of references to the Buddhistic mythology of later times, and so cannot be taken as historically significant.

The Chaddanta-jātaka* narrates the story of the Madda princess Subhaddā and her marriage with the Raja of Benares. She had been a she-elephant and life partner of the king elephant Chaddanta in her previous birth. Wounded by the apparent partiality displayed by her mate to another, she prayed to the Pachcheka-Buddhas to be favoured with birth in the Madda house and with marriage in the Benares house, as the result of which she became the queen consort of the Kāśi king. In a spirit of revenge, she asked for the beautiful tusks of her husband in the previous birth, and died in repentance at the news of his martyrdom. The Mūga-pakka-jātaka† (the Jātaka of the deaf cripple) is the story of another Kāśi prince (Temiya) born out of the wedding of Chandā-dēvi, the Madda princess, with Kāśirāja. The prince, who was none other than the Buddha in a previous birth, pretended to be deaf and incapable. All attempts were made to break his reserve for sixteen years in vain. Eventually, when he was sentenced to be buried, he opened his mouth and won even his father to a life of asceticism.

The most interesting incidents in the history of the Madras are in connection with the great princess Sāvitri, the embodiment of conjugal chastity, and with the exploits of king Śalya, the uncle of the Pāṇḍavas. The story of Sāvitri‡, the daughter of the Madra king Aśvapati, whose love for her husband Satyavān, the son of the exiled king of the Sālvas, conquered the God of death, gives the most cherished views of the Āryans in regard to conjugal felicities; and it is significant that a Madra princess is the heroine,—perhaps the most amiable heroine in all literature. As

* Cowell, Vol. V, No. 514, pp. 20—31.

† Cowell, Vol. VI, No. 538, pp. 1—19.

‡ The story is given in detail in chaps. 294—300 of the *Vana-parva* of the Mahābhārata. The section has been fittingly called *Pativratā-māhātmya-parva.*

regards Śalya*, the brother of Queen Mādrī, it is well-known from the Mahābhārata that he joined the Kauravas, owing to his previous promise, in the Kurukshētra war; that he was however traitrous in his dealings with Karṇa whose charioteer he was induced to be; that, after Karṇa's death, he was the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava forces; and that he was eventually slain, together with his younger brother, by Yudhishṭhira. Śalya's son had already been killed by Sahadēva.

It must be now obvious that the place of the Madras in the development of Āryan culture in the north-west was high. And yet they seem to have been regarded by the Āryans of Madhyadēśa as impure. We get occasional glimpses of this low opinion in the very midst of the praises bestowed on the Madras for their Āryan virtues. Karṇa, in his undignified controversy with his charioteer and critic Śalya, gives expression to some of the foulest abuses of the Madras. Even after allowing for the exaggerations of personal prejudices and animosities, there is perhaps some justification for his view-point in the fact that the Madras had some peculiar customs, which is not surprising when we remember their geographical and ethnological environment. Karṇa calls the Madra country a despicable one. It was a land of sin too! The Madras were the themes of contemptuous songs in the mouths of women, children and old people! They were incapable of loyal friendship! They were men of evil desires, liars, rogues, and of incredible promiscuity in sex-relations. There was no such thing as conjugal faithfulness among them. Their women folk were worse than camels and asses in their insanitary habits! They would part with husband, son, and the dearest relation for the sake of gruel! They did not reach proper womanhood; they were stout, shameless, wearers of blankets, gluttons, and ignorers of the

* See *Karṇa-parva*, chaps. 13, 22, 23, 29, 32 ff.; the *Śalya-parva*, chaps. 5—16; etc.

most elementary principles of hygiene. They ate cow's flesh, drank freely, and indulged in lewd and licentious ribaldries without limit. Like the Gāndhāras, Sindhus and Sauvīras, the Madras were ignorant of *dharma*. Companionship with them was a source of degeneracy.

The above denunciation is of course too exaggerated to be taken seriously. The Madras had the bravest Kshatriyas among them. The career of Śalya is a sufficient evidence. The highest principles of conjugal chastity were observed by their women. Sāvitri conquered death itself, and Mādrī became a *Sati*. The proudest of the Āryan royal houses were eager to have Madra princesses for their brides. The Vēdic and early Buddhistic literatures are full of such traditions. Nor were the Madras mere drinkers of gruel and plebian blanket-wearers. The economic prosperity of Sāgala is dwelt upon in eloquent terms in Buddhistic works. The prejudices of the orthodox Āryans indeed called the Madras Bāhikas (outsiders); but this is sufficiently explained by the fact that, side by side with the observance of certain Āryan customs, they professed some which were unknown to the Āryans. To deny them a place in the Āryan world would be to err against a historical fact.

THE BĀHLIKAS.

The Bāhikas, who are also known under the varying names of Balhīkas, Bāhlikas and Vāhlikas, belonged to the same neighbourhood. They have been connected by some with Balkh and Bactria and by others with Persia; but the Purāṇas distinctly regard them as a people of the Panjāb. Pargiter* suggests from the names Vāhlīka and Vāhlika in the Bhīshma-parva list (IX. 354 and 361) that there was probably a distinction between the two. "The Vāhlikas are mentioned twice in the Rāmāyaṇa and are placed in

* See his translation of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa*, p. 311. His references have, of course, to be slightly modified if the southern texts are consulted.

the western region (Kishk. K., XLIII. 5) and also in the northern region (*ibid*, XLIV. 13). A distinction as between two peoples of this name is also indicated by the mention of two independent kings of the Vāhlīkas reigning contemporaneously in the M. Bh. (Ādi-P., CLXXXVI. 6992; Sabhā-P., XXXIII. 1266 and 1272; Udyōga-P., III. 74 and 77). One of these two peoples was closely connected with the Madras, for Śalya, king of Madra, is also called lord of the Vāhlikas (Ādi-P., CXIII. 4425-40 and LXVII, 2642), and his sister Mādrī is called Vāhlikī also (*ibid*, CXXV. 4886); and an ancient eponymous king Vāhlika is placed in the same *Krodha-vaśa gaṇa* with the eponymous kings Madraka and Suvīra (*ibid*, LXVII, 2695-6). The other people of this name appear to have been closely connected with the Daradas who were a mountain tribe in the north of the Panjab, and are the modern Dards of Dardistan; for an ancient king Darada the Vāhlikā is mentioned who did not belong to the Krodha-vaśa group (Ādi-P., LXVII. 2694), and the Vāhlikas are linked with the Daradas (Bhishma-P., CXVIII. 5484) and are mentioned with the Kāmbojas and Yavanas and other ultra-Panjab tribes (Drōṇa-P., CXXI. 4818; see also Sabhā-P., XXVI. 1031-2). If these inferences may be trusted, one Vāhlika or Vāhlīka was situated in the plains of the Panjab alongside Madradēśa and very possibly south of it (see Rāmāy., Ayodh. K., LXX. 16-9...), *i.e.*, between the rivers Chenab and Sutlej; and the other among the lower slopes of the Himalayas, very possibly between the Chenab and the Bias." If Pargiter's theory of two Bāhlika peoples is accepted—there is nothing inherently improbable in it in an age of clan movements and enterprises—the Bāhlikas must be pronounced to have been a fairly active people.

Whatever might have been the case, the idea which the orthodox Āryans of the Madhyadēśa had of the Bāhlikas is not favourable to the latter. The Atharva-vēda* mentions

* V. 22. 5, 7, 9, 14. "I send (the fever) downward, having paid homage to him." "Its home is the Mūjavants, its home is the Mahāvṛshas; as long as born, O fever, so long art thou at home

them together with the Mūjavants, the Mahāvṛshas and others; and fever (*takman*) is called upon to go to them! This indicates that either fever was very common in their lands or that the Āryans prayed to the malignant fever to go to them on account of some non-Āryan features in their customs. A clue to the latter interpretation is afforded by the fact that the fever is also asked to go to the wanton Śūdra woman as well as to the Gandhāris, Aṅgas and Magadhas, that is, to the peoples living in the borderland of unmixed Āryanism. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇā (XII. 9. 3, 3), however, shows that the Balhikas had, occasionally at least, close relationship with the Kurus; for it refers to a Kuru king named Balhika Pratīpya who opposed the restoration of Dushṭaritu Paumsāyana to his sovereignty over the Śrñjayas. The Epics and Purāṇas mention a Vāhlika as the son of the late Kuru king Pratīpa; but it is difficult to say whether he is the same person as is referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The questions of the identity and chronology have given rise to some unconvincing speculations by Keith,† Pargiter and others. All that is perhaps clear from the occurrence of the name Bāhlika in the Kuru genealogy is that there was some intercourse between the Bāhlikas (as of other neighbouring peoples) and the Kurus, and as the result of it, the Āryan culture spread to the west.

It has been suggested by Pargiter that the term *Bāhlika* was corrupted by the Āryans of the Madhyadēśa into *Bāhika* (outside) and that the Bāhikas, with whom all the Panjab tribes were identified, were condemned as impure and contemptible Āraṭṭas. He gives this as an instance of

among the Balhikas." "O fever, go to the Mūjavants, or to the Balhikas, further off...Going away, eat thou thy connection, the Mahāvṛshas and Mūjavants.....It is ready to set out! It will go to the Balhikas... To the Gandhāris, the Mūjavants, the Aṅgas, the Magadhas, like one sending a person a treasure, do we commit the fever." See Whitney's Edn. (Harvard. Orient. Ser., Vol. VII, pp. 259—61.)

† *Vēdic Index*, II, pp. 63-4; Pargiter's *Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 256.

"the arrogance and intolerance" of the Brahmans of Madhyadēśa. It is unnecessary to dilate on the ethics of the Brahmans of the Madhyadēśa in order to understand their psychology. Pargiter seems to show a strange lack of the sense of history and humour when he deals with such questions. He seems to be unaware of the conduct of his own civilized countrymen of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries towards the coloured peoples. Wherever racial and cultural conflicts take place, prejudices and condemnations are bound to occur. Human nature has been the same at all times and in all climes. The vaunted growth of civilization in the west has, far from eradicating these prejudices, gone only to increase them; and Pargiter's own writings are an excellent illustration of unbalanced views in the matter. It is easy to understand that the instinct of self-preservation and the pride in their civilization made the orthodox leaders of the Madhyadēśa call others impure. But, as has been already said, their actual conduct as promoters or recognizers of racial and cultural synthesis was far more liberal than their language; and in passing judgment on them their constructive work should be never forgotten.

THE VĀṬADHĀNAS.

The Vāṭadhānas were a people of the north-west according to the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa.* They are also mentioned several times in the Mahābhārata.† Nakula is said to have conquered them after vanquishing the Śivis, Tṛgartas, Ambashthas, Mālavas and Karpaṭas. The Vāṭadhānas are coupled with the Madhyamakēyas and the term *dvijas* applied to both has been translated by some as Brahmans. As Nakula is said to have had his headquarters at Pushkara (Rajputana) and as he met the Utsava-saṅkētas of the neighbouring forests, the Grāmaṇīyas of the Indus banks and the fishing communities of the Sarasvati sub-

* See Pargiter's Translation, p. 312. The Vāyu-purāṇa calls them Vāḍhadhānas.

† Sabhāparva, chap. 93; Bhīshmaparva, chap. 9; Udyōgaparva, chap. 3; Drōṇaparva, chap. 11 (Roy's translation)

sequently, we are able to place the Vāṭadhānas somewhere in the west or north-west of Rājputana. The same thing is proved by the fact that they were relatives of the Vāhlikas, Sauvīras and Madras.* Pargiter locates them east of the Satlaj, southward from Firōzpur. The Vāṭadhānas were Āryan, but not sufficiently so, and so, the orthodox Āryas of the Madhyadēśa came to regard them as outcaste Brahmans. Manu†, in fact, made them the descendants of such Brahman outcastes by Brahman women.

THE ABHĪRAS (OR ĀBHĪRAS)

The Abhīras are also mentioned among the north-western peoples in the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa. The Mahābhārata also mentions them several times. Mārkaṇḍēya, while addressing Yudhishṭhira, says that in Kaliyuga there would be a general degeneracy in morals, and that there would then be the rule of the Mlēchchha and unreliable kings belonging to the Āndhras, Śakas, Puḷindas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, Bāhlikas, and Ābhīras.

This list refers to peoples belonging to different geographical regions and is confessedly a later interpolation as the Śakas and Yavanas are referred to. We are told in the Sabhāparva ‡ of the Mahābhārata that Nakula conquered the Ābhīras on the banks of the Sarasvati. In this passage, the Ābhīras are mentioned together with the Śūdras and Mlēchchhas like the Utsava-Saṅkētas, the Grāmaṇīyas of the coast, fishery-men, and mountain-dwellers. It has been suggested by Pargiter § that these were probably divisions of the Ābhīras. The main branch of the Ābhīras seems to have lived in the extreme north of Rajputana in the land enclosed between Bahawalpur, Bikanir, Patiala, and the British districts of the Panjab

* Ādiparva, where it is shown that the Vāṭadhānas had an eponymous ancestor like these clans.

† Chap. X, verse 21.

‡ P. C. Roy's version, Section 32, p. 94.

§ Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, p. 312, Note.

along the Satlaj. To the north they extended as far as the Vināśana, where the Sarasvati is said to have disappeared on account of its hatred of them.* To the west they were spread as far as Pañchanada † which we might identify with the region north of Bahawalpur and south of Multan. Pargiter infers from the list of Nakula's conquests and from the reference in the Kishkindhākāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (Chap. 53, verse 5), that the Ābhīras extended to the Rann of Cutch and the delta of the Indus. He also believes that they occupied the Aravellis and the hills of Malwa, and that a branch of them occupied the hilly tracts to the north and west of the Panjab as they are classed with the Daradas and Kāśmīras in a passage of the Sabhāparva (Chap. I, 1832). The Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa mentions the Ābhīras amongst the Dakkan peoples too—amongst the Mahārāshṭrakas, Māhishakas, Kaliṅgas, Śabaras, Puḷindas and others of the Vindhya, Vidarbha and Daṇḍaka regions. This branch must have been an off-shoot of the main stem of the north.

It will be seen from the above that the Ābhīras were a very widespread people of the north-west and west. Though the Purāṇic and Epic passages referring to them are sometimes anachronistic, there is perhaps truth in their representation that the Ābhīras were in different localities; for, there is nothing intrinsically impossible in the spreading of a virile community over a considerable area in an age when social migrations and movements were quite common.

The Ābhīras were evidently regarded as half-civilized low class people, because they are placed in company with the Śūdras and Mlēchchhas. The Śūdras were apparently a low tribe of North Rajputana. They are mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa along with the Vāṭadhānas, Ābhīras, Gāndhāras, Sindhus, Sauvīras and Madrakas. A somewhat disconcerting thing is the mention of the Kaliṅgas and the Pallavas in the same list; but the

* Sabhāparva, Dutt's Edn., xxxviii, 2119-20.

† Mausalaparva vii, 220-42 and 270.

term *Kaliṅga* seems to be a mistake for *Kuḷinda* (which is found in the Vāyupurāṇa), and the term *Pallava* might be a corruption of *Pahlava* which, it may be surmised, was used in connection with the Persians from early times, though they actually figure in history only in late times. The Harivaṁśa records traditions connecting the Pahlavas (and others) with Sagara, and the Rāmāyaṇa makes them the creations of Vasishṭha in his memorable quarrel with Viśvāmitra. These legends might be based on the original connection of the Pahlavas with the north-west in very early times. In any case, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas seem to agree entirely in regard to the identity of the Śūdras with a people of the neighbourhood. What is more, they are called Dasyus and Mlēchchhas, and mentioned together with the Ābhiras. Pargiter, in fact, believes that they lived in the same regions, that they were divided into the same divisions, and that they were closely connected with aboriginal races. Cunningham identified them with the Sudrakae of the Greeks 'in the middle of the triangle of the Panjab.'

The close connection between the Ābhiras and the Śūdras—the latter might have given the name to the fourth traditional division of the Āryan social order—goes to show that the Ābhīras must have retained large non-Āryan features. Pargiter identifies them with the ancestors of the Ahirs, a cowherd tribe found in almost every part of Northern India. Mr. Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya* observes that the Abhirs are the cleanest and most numerous of the cowherd castes; that they number eight million and are found almost in every part of India north of the Narmadā. He infers from the extent of the country over which they were spread and the references to them in ancient Sanskrit works that they had been settled in the country 'long before the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas found their way into it.' He also draws attention to the fact that Śrī Kṛishṇa 'was, if not actually an Abhira himself, at least bred up from his infancy in the house of an Abhira cowherd.' The

* 'Hindu Castes and Sects,' p. 297.

army of Kṛishṇa consisted of the Ābhīras, and in the historical period they contributed to several dynastic formations. The Ābhīras are at present cattle-breeders and tillers of the soil; but it is obvious that sections of them played a more important part in early times. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar * regards the Ābhīras as an immigrant race of the first century A. D. and as the race which brought the name of Christ to India and contributed to the growth of the Gōpālakṛishṇa cult as distinct from the Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa cult; but this theory is based on the wrong assumption of the lateness of the activity of the tribe and of the prevalence of the name of Christ among them. The Ābhīras are a very ancient people, as we have seen; but it is obvious that, in spite of their close connection with the Yādavas, the Ābhīras were regarded by the orthodox Āryas as Mlēchchhas. The prejudice was probably due to their incomplete Āryanisation. Even to-day the Brahmans of Mahārāshṭra who minister as priests to the Ābhīras are held in contempt by their co-religionists.

OTHER TRIBES.

Amongst the tribes of the north-west or west who are mentioned in the Purāṇas but whose position is uncertain, may be mentioned the Kālatōyakas.† These are also found in the varied form of Kālajōshakas‡ and it has been suggested that the correct reading might be Bālajartikas or Bālakāthikas§. The former of these terms might signify the Bāhikas in whose place they are mentioned in the Karṇaparva; and the latter term might refer to the Bālas of North Sindh¶ and the Kathis of probably the same region or a little further to the north from whose later migration the name Kāthiawār was probably derived.

* 'Vaishnavism, Śaivism, etc.,' p. 37.

† The Mārkaṇḍēya and Matsya Purāṇas.

‡ The Bhīshmaparva of the Mahābhārata.

§ Pargiter in his Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, p. 313.

¶ Cunningham, Arch. Surv. Repts., II. 33-7. Also Ancient Geography (S. M. Sastri's Edn., 1924), pp. 363-72.

Another tribe of the western border was the Aparāntas (literally, people of the west border). These were located by Cunningham, on numismatic* grounds, in North Sindh and West Rajputana. It may be that they were the ancestors of the people who later on colonised the Konkan or Mahārāshṭra and gave it their name. The name of the tribe is found in the other corrupt or incorrect forms of Aparītas, Aparas and Purandhras†.

Another doubtful tribe of this part of the country was that known as the Charmakhaṇḍikas ‡ or Charmamaṇḍalas. § The suggestion has been made that the name might refer to Samarkand ; but it is uncertain.

Still another people whose name is found in the west and north-west were the Kulindas $ or Kuliṅgas¶ in whose place the incorrect version of the Kaliṅgas is found in some works (*e. g.*, Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa). Cunningham located || the Kulindas or Kunindas in the Kullu and Simla Hills and the slopes below, along the sides of the Satlej. They are believed to have extended further east along the southern slopes of the Himalayas as far as Nepal ; for they were the first people to be encountered by Arjuna in his campaign in the north country immediately after his departure from Indraprastha. They also occupied the hills of Almora or Mandara farther east. The Kulindas were thus a big variety of hill tribes. It must be pointed out, however, in this connection, that the term Kaliṅga is taken to be correct by some. The Bhīshmaparva and the Rāmāyaṇa respectively refer to the Kaliṅgas in the north-west and the land west of the Gōmati. If there was a basis

* Arch. Surv. Repts., XIV, 136-7.

† In the Vāyu Purāṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa respectively.

‡ Mārkaṇḍēya and Vāyu Purāṇas.

§ The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.

$ See Vāyu Purāṇa.

¶ Drōṇaparva.

|| Arch. Surv. Repts., XIV, 116 and 125-70.

of truth in this, we must suppose that the Kaliṅga settlement in the east coast was named after some ancient clan which came from far away to the west or north-west.

Still another doubtful case is that of the Pāradas. They were evidently a hill tribe belonging to the western portion of the Himalayas. The tradition is recorded by Manu* that they were, like other tribes, degraded Kshatriyas who lost their status on account of remissness in the matter of rituals. The Harivaṁśa says that they were degraded by Sagara, and ordered by him to wear long hair. It calls them in consequence Mlēchchhas and Dasyus. These traditions seem to indicate that they were some aboriginal tribe who maintained, in the midst of the Āryan customs they imbibed, a preponderant element of their original primitive customs and habits.

The Harabhūshikas afford another example. The Purāṇas themselves are doubtful about the name as variations like Harapūrikas and Haramūrtikas exist. The reading Harahūṇakas suggested by a modern scholar on the basis of the mention of a Harahūṇa people in the west by the Mahābhārata is not quite convincing. In any case it is doubtful whether the term Hūṇa can be applied to a people belonging to the later Vēdic times. We must therefore perhaps consider this race to refer to some immigrant tribe placed in the Purāṇas side by side with the more archaic ones.

The case of the Māṭharast is equally doubtful. In the place of this name we find variations like Rāmaṭhas‡,

* Chap. X, verses 43-4.

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणातिक्रमेण च ॥
पुण्ड्रका चोड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदास्तथा ॥

† Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa.

‡ Matsya Purāṇa.

Rāmaṭas[1], Rāmas[2], Ramanas[3], etc. The Mahābhārata places them amongst the western people, but the obscurity of their position makes a definite conclusion regarding their location or history impossible. Even more obscure is the case of the Bahubhadras mentioned amongst the peoples of the north-west. This name is found also in the corrupt or variegated forms of Bāhubādhas[4] Bālabhadras[5], Kaṇṭakāras[6] and Raddhakaṭakas[7]. The same remarks apply to the Daśamālikas[8], Dasamānikas[9] or Dasanāmakas[10]. The last version seems to be a clear mistake, and the other two versions seem to indicate a league of ten tribes of the name of Mālikas or Mallas. How far we can connect them with the Māḷavas is a problem which defies solution.

More interesting and certain is the case of the Daradas who were placed amongst outside races in the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa together with the Kāmbōjas and others[11]. Darada has been identified with Dardistan, the land to the north of Gāndhāra and north-west of Kashmir. The Daradas are referred to in the Mahābhārata and by Manu as the neighbours of the Kāśmīras, the Kāmbōjas, the Chinas, the Tushāras and others. Manu includes them among the Mlēchchhas formed out of degraded and fallen Kshatriyas. But it is clear that they were a semi-Āryanised hill-tribe, presumably the Dards of the ethnologists. It is well-known that the Dards spoke an Āryan language, an early dialect of Sanskrit, and that they were within the pale of the Āryan

[1] Vāyu Purāṇa.

[2] & [3] The Mahābhārata, Sabhā and Bhīshma Parvas.

[4] & [5] The Bhīshma and Karṇa Parvas.

[6] Matsya Purāna.

[7] Vāyu Purāṇa. Cunningham derived the term Balabhi from Balabhadra. See *Anct. Geog.*, 1924 Edn., p. 363.

[8] Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa and the Bhīshmaparva of the Mahābhārata.

[9] Vāyu Purāṇa.

[10] The Matsya Purāṇa.

[11] By Manu also. See p. 294, note.

world. "Professor Pischel, in his Prākrit Grammar, has maintained that this Paiśāchi was the language of the country between the Hindu Kush and the present Indian frontier, in which the Kafir speeches, Khō-war and Dard are now the vernaculars. The researches of the present writer have shown that this is almost certainly the case, and that therefore this tract was the home of the ancient Piśāchas, a wild tribe, owing no allegiance to, and having but a distant connexion with, the Āryan conquerors of India These Piśāchas were not confined to the trans-frontier highlands. They sent colonies down the Indus, and Sanskrit writers mention their existence in Kēkaya, or the Western Panjāb, and in Vrachada, or Sindh. It has been shown, when dealing with the languages of these countries (Lahnda and Sindhi), that evident traces of this Paiśāchi influence exist at the present day. From thence they spread into what is now the Bhil country, and also, perhaps, down the coast as far as Goa." *

It is held by some scholars that the original home of the Piśāchas lay in Central India † and not the north-west. Whether the Piśāchas spread from the north-west across Western India to Central India or from Central India towards the north-west, there can be no doubt that they were wild tribes which were pre-Āryan and which came to be subsequently Āryanised ‡. Trumpp argued that the races of Dardistan were of Āryan origin and spoke dialects which went through the same modifications as the sister tongues in the plains of Upper India. It is now acknowledged that he assumed several wrong premises in his arguments, one of which, for example, was that Pashto was a Sanskritic language while it is really Eranian.

* Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, Part II. (Specimens of the Dardic or Piśācha languages, including Kāshmīri), 1919.

† For example, Sten Konow in ZDMG, 1910, pp. 95 ff. and 1912, pp. 49 ff.

‡ *Calcutta Review*, 1872, pp. 223 ff. quoted in the Linguistic Survey, Vol. VIII, Pt. II, p. 4.

Another writer, Shaw*, maintained that the Dard languages belonged to the Indian family of Aryan languages and not to the Eranian, but that, though belonging to the Indian branch, they were not quite Sanskritic, as there is a gap between them and their true Sanskritic neighbours. These conclusions are now accepted. Biddulph†, Tomaschek‡ and other scholars have made contributions to this subject. After reviewing their views, Sir George Grierson, comes to these conclusions: § "The country in which the Dardic languages are vernacular has Eranian languages (especially Pashto and Ghalchah) to its north-west, west and south-west; Indo-Aryan (*i.e.*, Sanskritic) languages to its south and south-east; various forms of Tibetan to its east; and to its north-east the isolated unclassed non-Aryan Burushaskī of Hunza-Nagar. Of these, Tibetan has affected only Shina, the most eastern of the Dard languages, and that apparently only in modern times, by adding words and idioms as an over-layer. With Burushaskī the case is the reverse. Over the whole of Dardistan there is an underlayer of Burushaskī words, such as those for 'iron,' 'ass', 'woman's hair', and so on. These words are found in localities far from the present habitat of Burushaskī, and the inference is that, before the arrival of the Piśāchas, the whole of Dardistan was once inhabited by the ancestors of the present owners of Hunza and Nagar. It is not impossible that they were identical with the 'Nāgas', who, according to Kashmir Mythology, were the aboriginal inhabitants of the Happy Valley before arrival of the Piśāchas, and after whom every mountain spring in Kashmir is named. Be that as it may, at the bottom of all the Dardic languages, there is a small, and quite unimportant, element of Burushaskī."

"Pashto, Ghalchah, and the neighbouring Indian languages are all of Aryan stock, the first two belonging to the Eranian and the third to the Indian branch of that

* JASB, 1876, pp. 139 ff.

† Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, Calcutta, 1880.

‡ See Linguistic Survey, Vol. VIII, Pt. II, pp. 5-6.

§ *Ibid*, p. 6.

family. That the Dardic languages are also of Aryan stock is absolutely certain; the question is whether we are to class them as Eranian, or as Indian, or as forming a separate third branch by themselves. I believe that the last is the only classification which we are at liberty to adopt."

From these philological data, Sir George Grierson traces the ethnography of the Dards in this manner. When the Aryans immigrated from beyond the Hindu Kush into the Kabul valley and the plains of India*, those Aryans who remained behind spread eastwards and westwards. Those who went to the east occupied the Pamirs and became the ancestors of the people now speaking Ghalchah. Those who went westwards occupied Merv, Persia and Baluchistan, and their descendants now speak those languages which, like the Ghalchah languages, are Eranian. Those who went to India developed the Indo-Aryan Sanskritic languages. Grierson regards the Dardic languages as later developments from the original Aryan but different both from Indo-Aryan and Eranian, agreeing in some respects with the one and in other respects with the other. He believes that the Dardic tribes entered their present habitat by the Dora and other eastern passes of the Hindu Kush, separated from the Kafir and Ghalchah groups on either side. Once settled in their mountainous country, their languages developed on their own lines and acquired characteristics peculiar to them and foreign to both Indian and Eranian. "The Sanskrit grammarians, writing at a time when, in India, the Prākrits were in flourishing existence, bore record to the astonishing way in which Paiśāchi had retained forms which in Prākrit had long passed into new phonetic births, and the same is the case at the present day. The modern Dardic languages still possess, almost unaltered and in common use, words which in India are hardly found except in Vēdic Sanskrit." Grierson draws attention to the fact that there are remarkable coincidences between the Dardic languages and the language

* Sir George Grierson is one of those who hold the immigration theory.

of the European Gipsies and concludes that there is little doubt that their original Indian language was some form of Dardic. He further adds: "I have said that the Piśāchas sent out colonies down the Indus as far as Sindh. In the middle of the third century before our Era the Emperor Aśōka of Pāṭaliputra spread his famous rock inscriptions over the length and breadth of India. These inscriptions were written in the vernacular of his time, and it need not surprise us."

The Barbaras, also known by the apparently corrupt variations of Barvaras and Varvaras, were another semi-civilised people somewhere in the north-west, as can be judged from their being mentioned later on with peoples like the Śakas and Yavanas in the Mahābhārata. From the facts that the name is found in connection with tribes in the east, north-east, and apparently also South India, and that it "represents the rolling of the letter *r* or rough and unknown speech," it has been surmised that Barbara was more a general term to indicate rude tribes than a specific people.

Still another people of the same region were the Chinas. From the fact that they are mentioned in the Mahābhārata with the Kāmbōjas in the north-west, on the one hand, and with Prāgjyōtisha (Assam) in the east, on the other, and from the additional evidence of their location near the sources of the Ganges, it has been suggested that the Chinas occupied the whole country of Tibet all along the range of the Himalayas. The Rāmāyaṇa uses the term Apara-Chinas in connection with them. Grierson* describes a people who live and around Gilghit and who speak a language called the Shina which he styles the truest example of the Dard languages proper. It is not improbable that the ancestors of these people were the Chinas of the Sanskrit traditions. It is also possible that the name was extended to the country beyond the Himalayas in the Vēdic period. The Mahābhārata speaks of the Chinas in high terms. It refers to the breed of good horses which existed among them and to a king of theirs named Dhautamūlaka who was one of the eighteen

* Linguistic Survey, Vol. VIII, Pt. II.

ancient kings of celebrity who extirpated their kinsmen. That the Chinas were not, however, regarded as quite within the pale of orthodox Aryanism is clear from the tradition which has been perpetuated in Manu to the effect that they were Kshatriyas who became degenerate and were degraded in consequence of their giving up their sacred rites.

In more or less the same area in the north-west lived another tribe called the Tushāras, who have been also styled the Tukhāras; for the Purāṇas place them with the Kāmbōjas Daradas, Barbaras and the Chinas among 'the outside races' (*Bāhyatō-narāh*). The Harivaṁśa calls them Mlēchchhas and Dasyus like the Śakas, Daradas and Pahlavas. It further places them with wild tribes of the hills who originated from the sins of King Vēṇa and who were checked by King Sagara. The Rāmāyaṇa makes them one of the tribes created by Vasishṭha in his struggle with Viśvāmitra. All these facts go to show in a general way that the Tushāras were in the extreme north-west. The name seems to remind one of the Burushaski whom Grierson* places in North Kashmir beyond the region of the Shina-speaking people.

Amongst the other tribes figuring in these regions must be mentioned the Lampakas whom Lassen identifies with Lambagae, south of the Hindu Kush in modern Kafiristan. Cunningham identified them with the people of Lamghan, north-east of Kabul, practically agreeing with the former. Then again there were the Śūlakāras who have been identified by Pargiter with a cultivating caste of Nepal named Sunuwars and who might be the same as the Chūlikas or Śūlikas who are often mentioned with them. The Chūlikas are described in the Matsya-purāṇa as a people through whose lands the Chakshu, one of the three large rivers rising in the middle Himalayan system and flowing towards the west, passed. Pargiter identified this river with the Oxus. We, however, know from the Sanskrit grammarians that there was a sub-dialect of the Paiśāchi language, known as the Chūlika-Paiśāchika, which carried the peculiarities of Paiśāchi to an

* *Ibid.* Lassen identified them with the Tochari north of the Hindu Kush.

extreme. It is probable that the Purāṇic traditions refer to these people. They must have spoken a Paiśāchi tongue and been incompletely Āryanised. Another obscure people were the Kirātas. As these are mentioned among the hill tribes of all parts of the country, the term must be taken as generic instead of denoting a particular people.

The other tribes of the north-west region whose history is obscure are referred to in the campaigns of the Pāṇḍava princes and to a less extent in the routes marked out for the search for Sīta in the Rāmāyaṇa. Many of them are likely to belong to later times as the Epic passages referring to them belong to many centuries later. But, as has been already said, they give ancient and recent things together in an indiscriminate way, and a detailed investigation is necessary in regard to every individual case. In the present state of our knowledge it is hardly possible to do anything more than merely mention them. The peoples and lands referred to are: the Taṅganas or Tuñjanas who are mentioned along with the Puḷindas, Ambashṭhas, Daradas and Tṛgartas; the Kūshakas who seem to have been jugglers; the Urṇas whom Lassen places on the Satlaj north of Garhwal; the Kaṭas whose king, Sunābha, was conquered by Arjuna after the subjugation of the Sālva Dhyumatsēna; the people of Sākaladvīpa whose king Prativindhya was conquered by the same hero; the people of Saptadvīpa; Prāgjyōtisha which was surrounded by the Chinas, Kirātas and many islanders, and the king of which, Bhagadatta, yielded to Arjuna only because of his being the son of Indra, his own friend (!); the hill tribes of Antargiri, Bahirgiri, and Upagiri; Ulūka or Kulūka which was ruled by King Bṛhanta; Mōdapuri, Vāmadēvam, Sudāmam, Susaṅgulam north of the Ulūka country; Pañchagaṇa; Dēvaprastha; the Tṛhastas; the Darvas; Lōhita whose king had ten vassal chiefs; the Kōkanadas; the beautiful city of *Abhisāri, Uragapuri which was ruled by King Rōchamāna; Simha-

* This was the city of King Āmbhi whom Alexander met. It is apparently an anachronism as its existence in Vēdic times is improbable.

pura ; the Chōḷadesā* ; the Lōhas ; the Paramakāmbōjas ; the Rishikas from whom Arjuna obtained several varieties of horses ; the Himalaya, Nishkuṭa and Śvēta Parvatas ; the Kimpurusha country beyond it which was ruled by Dhruma ; Hāṭaka of the Yakshas in the neighbourhood of the Mānasa lake and the Rishikulya Canal ; and the land of the Gandharvas, in its vicinity, which was famous for horses.

The Mahābhārata gives considerable details in connection with Arjuna's campaigns against these. He is said to have obtained from the Gandharvas horses known as Maṇḍūkas and coloured picturesquely like the Tittiri birds. Then the Hēmakūṭa mountain was reached, and beyond it Harivarsham which was full of cities, forests, rivers with crystal water, and men and women with divine beauty. Arjuna received gems from them for tribute. The next country overthrown by him was the Nishādaṭ hill region. From there he reached the country of Ilavrata, supposed to be a divine land, full of divine men, white edifices, and beautiful women. Arjuna received from them gems, jewels, and throne-like seats. The northern limit of Arjuna's campaign is described as the Mēru-parvata in the southern side of which lived the Siddhas and Charaṇas and from the *jambū* tree of which the name Jambudvīpa is said to have been derived. Enriching himself with priceless gems, cloths and other valuables presented by the local peoples, he then vanquished the Nāgas and the inhabitants of Gandāmādana and Kētumālam. Returning to Ilavrata, he vanquished lands and peoples to the east of it as far as the Mandara mountain. Here on the banks of the Śailōdha, which were studded with bamboo, he defeated the peoples known as the Kashas, Jasha-Nadyautas, Prahasas, Dīptavēṇipas, Paśubhas, Kuḷindas, Taṅganas, and Prataṅganas. From there he went to the Mālyavān country, the Bhadrāśva-kaṇḍa, the Nīla hill, the Rāmyaka-kaṇḍa,

* It is the belief of some scholars that the Tamil Chōlas might have originated from these.

† There were the Nishādas of the Vindhyan borders too. The term seems to be generally applied to primitive hill peoples.

the land of the Guhyas which was rich in golden deer, birds and gems, the land of the Hiraṇvatas which was rich in beautiful monuments, the Śṛṅgavān hill, the Harivarsha-kaṇḍa which was occupied by Vidyādharas and Yakshas from whom he received the skins of deer, and beyond it the Uttara Kuru which is described as a land unapproachable by ordinary men and the people of which gave Arjuna beautiful cloths, jewels, silk and leather garments.

It is obvious that in this campaign of Arjuna we meet with many of the peoples of the north-west whom we have already mentioned and several others too. We find that Nakula's campaign in the west gives additional pieces of information. He started from Kāṇḍavaprastha towards the west and reached first the Rōhita mount which was full of grains and cows and sacred to God Subrahmaṇya*. Nakula vanquished the Matta-Mayūrakas who lived there. Traversing waterless regions, he then reached the rich lands of Sairīshaka, Mahēttha, and the Dāśarṇa country ruled by the royal sage Akrōśa. Then he conquered the Śivis, the Trigartas, the Ambashṭhas, the Mālavas, the Karpaṭas, the Madhyamakēyas, the Brahmanical Vāṭadhānas, the Utsava-Saṅketas of Pushkara, the Grāmaṇīyakas of the Indus banks, the Śūdras and fishermen of the Sarasvati basin; the Pañchanata; the Amaraparvata; the cities of Uttarajyōtisha and Divyakaṭa, the Rāmaṭas, Hāras, Hūṇas and other peoples of the west, most of whom have been already referred to. Nakula then got tribute from Dvāraka and from the Madra country which was ruled by his uncle Śalya. He also vanquished the cruel islanders and others like the Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas, Śakas, and other Mlēchchhas. Having thus conquered the west, he brought valuables on 10,000 camels, as tribute to his brother.

We get from Sahadēva's campaign in the south some idea of the lands and peoples occupying various parts of Malwa, Rajputana and Central India. Starting from the

* This reference is of course anachronistic.

Śūrasēna country, he won over the king of Matsyadēśa, then the valiant Dantavakra, and then Princes Sukumāra and Sumitra in the neighbourhood. To the west of the Matsya country he met wild and thievish people like the Baḍachcharas. From there he proceeded to conquer the Nishāda country, the land of Gōśṛṅga hill, the kingdom of Śrēṇimān, and Nararāshṭra, till he reached the Kuntibhōja kingdom. Reaching the Charmaṇvati (Chambal) he fought with King Jambukaputra who had been spared by Kṛishṇa. Then going to the south, he vanquished the Sēkas, and Aparasēkas. From there he proceeded to the Narmadā river. Learning that the son of Narakāsura, Bhagadatta, had paid tribute to Arjuna, he returned to the north. (There is an inconsistency here as Bhagadatta was the ruler of Prāgjyōtisha in the east and not of the land on the Narmadā).

Passing on to the Avanti country, he vanquished the chiefs Vinda and Anuvinda. Reaching Bhōjakaṭa, he fought with Bhīshmaka for two days, and then vanquished the Kōsala king on the Vēṇa. The forest chiefs and peoples like the Prakōṭakas, Nāṭakēyas, Hērambakas, Nāchinas, and Arbhukas, together with the towns of Mārutam and Rāmyagrāma, were then subdued. After a victory over a king named Vātādhipa, Sahadēva vanquished the Puḷindas. At this stage he is said to have gone into the Dakkan. Here the poem shows a shady knowledge of geography. It first mentions the Pāṇḍya and Kishkindhā country. In the latter region he defeated Mainda and Dvita after a battle of seven days, and received gems from them. He then visited the city of Māhishmatī. Here King Nīla got the help of Agni who was wedded to his daughter, and so was more than a match for the Pāṇḍava, and the latter had to win him over by peaceful means. Then he is said to have gone to the south and conquered the king of Tiraipuram, Pauravarāja, and the Surāshṭra chief Ākrati who had Sage Kauśika for his teacher. From Surāshṭra he sent messages to Bhōjakaṭa and got tribute from Bhīshmaka and his son Rukmi.* He

* An unnecessary repetition.

then conquered Śūrpāraka, Talakaṭa, the Daṇḍakavana, the many islands of the sea tenanted by Mlēchchhas, the Nishādas, the Karṇapravaras, and the Kālāmukhās, who are described as Nararākshasas. Sahadēva is also said to have taken Kōlagiri, the city of Surabhi, the island of Tāmbara, and the Rāmaka hill, and then reduced King Timingila, 'the single-footed men,' the Kēraḷas foresters, and the cities of Sanchayanti, Pāshaṇḍa, and Karhāṭaka through messengers. Sahadēva then vanquished through messengers the Pāṇḍyas, Drāviḍas, Uḍras, Kēraḷas, Āndhras, 'Dalavanas', Kaliṅgas and 'Ushṭrakarṇis.' Reaching Tāmbraparṇi, and the Kanyā-tirtha he remembered Bhīma's son Ghaṭōtkacha, and won Vibhīshaṇa through him. Receiving from him tribute in the form of sandalwood, *ahil*, jewels, cloths, and men (servants), he returned to the north. Incidentally a description is given of the Drāmiḍas, and the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings.

THE YADAVAS.

It must be obvious from the campaigns of the Pāṇḍava princes that the region now forming Sindh, western half of Rajputana, the Panjab, Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province, Afghanistan, and the tribal area beyond, was occupied, during the Vēdic period, by scores of tribes which were open to different degrees of Āryanisation and which were connected with the kingdoms of the further east in various ways, political, commercial and cultural. It must be equally obvious that, while the Āryan kingdoms of the east did not lack in cultural connections with the western peoples, the credit of having brought them under the Vēdic culture belonged in the main to the Pauravas or Kurus. Another conspicuous fact to be noted in the Āryanisation of the tribes and peoples of Rajputana, Malwa, Central India and the more southern of the western parts is that it was the result of the activities of the Yādava section of the Kuru group. It has been already shown (pp. 251—4) how the Śūrasēnas, the Chēdis and the Sātvatas were Yādavas, and how, from out of them arose the branches of Dvāraka, the Andhakas, the Vṛshṇis, the Vaidarbhas, and others. It is now time to turn to the history of the latter

and allied branches and gauge their importance in the Āryanisation of the country.

The first point to be remembered is that the main branch of the Yādavas or Sātvatas extended themselves to the extreme limit of the Āryan world in the south-west. According to traditions, this part of the country had already come under the rule of an Āryan clan named the Ānartas or Śāryātas who deduced their descent from Śaryāti, alleged to be the son of Manu. The Purāṇas give this short and obviously inadequate genealogy:

Śaryāti

Ānarta — Sukanyā (married the Bhārgava sage Chyavana)

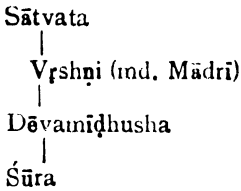
Rōchamāna

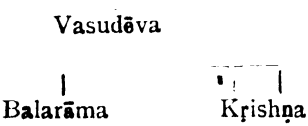
Rōva

Raivata (or Kakudmin)

The last of these is a theme of some wild legends. He is said to have visited the Gandharva world as well as the court of Brahma, and returned home after remaining there for ages which he devoted to the study of music. It is further said that, on his return, he saw his lands under the occupation of the Yādavas, and, resigning himself to the situation, he gave his daughter in marriage to Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛishṇa. It is difficult to understand the significance of Raivata's history. It may perhaps be interpreted that he was too much of a votary of art and learning to be an efficient ruler, that he was too long an absentee in the Gandhāra country or the orthodox Āryan world of Brahmavarta in pursuit of art and learning, and that this was taken advantage of by the Vrshṇi princes Balarāma and Krishṇa, the scions of the Yādava House at Mathurā, to establish themselves there, being compelled to emigrate, as has been already mentioned (see p. 254) by the aggressions of Jarāsandha. Whatever might have been the case, the Yādavas became the rulers of the Ānarta country, and the old capital at the coast, Kuśasthalī, came to be known as Dvāraka or Dvāravatī in consequence possibly of its being situated at the "gateway" to India.

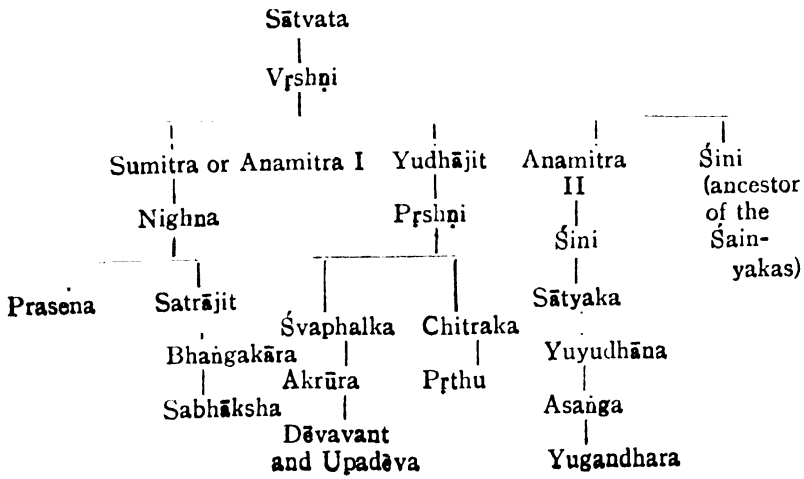
The branch to which Balarāma and Kṛishṇa are said to have belonged is the Vṛshṇis, from the fact that they were the descendants of Vṛshṇi, the son of Sātvata. Vrshṇi had by his wife Gāndhāri* a son named Sumitra or Anamitra I. By his Mādri queen he had four sons, namely, Yudhājit, Dēvamīḍhusha, Anamitra II, and Śini. The Purāṇas give four or five generations descended from each of these sons of Vṛshṇi. But the most important of the branches was that of Dēvamīḍhusha; for it was this branch that gave rise to the dynasty of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa. The genealogy† generally given is as follows:





* This marriage shows the cultural contact with the western part of the Aryan world. The Mādrī and other alliances indicate the same in other directions.

† The other branches of the Vṛshṇis are as follows:—



The Yādava occupation of Dvāraka in the extreme west of Kathiawār was naturally followed by extensive dealings with the semi-Āryan peoples in all directions as well as with the Āryan world of Madhyadēśa. Indeed, the probable non-Āryan strain in the Yādava blood itself might have been responsible for this. Kṛishṇa himself was, according to one extremely one-sided interpretation, a non-Āryan chief raised to Āryan rank and, indeed, divine eminence. The very situation of the Dvāraka kingdom is claimed to be favourable to such an ethnological interpretation. In any case, the Epic and Paurāṇic traditions are unanimous in representing Kṛishṇa as the most dominant and picturesque figure in all India in the age of the Mahābhārata. He was in intimate touch with the Kuru royal house and indeed connected with it by inter-marriage. His uncle and enemy was Kamsa, the ruler of Mathurā. His sister, Subhadrā, was the wife of Arjuna, the greatest of the Pāṇḍava brothers. Kunti, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, was his aunt. His queen was the Bhōja princess of Vidarbha. As a diplomatist he had an unrivalled renown. There was no event connected with the Pāṇḍavas in which he was not involved. Like a colossus he dominates the Āryan world of diplomacy. What is even more interesting is, he was a redoubtable champion of Āryan culture. He was a powerful agent of Brahmanism in civilizing the country. A Kshatriya of unrivalled celebrity, he was the admirer and worshipper of the poorest but saintly Brahman who in turn raised him to divine eminence in recognition of his greatness.

Traditions also represent the Yādavas as the progenitors of the vast majority of the royal houses of historical times. This can be due only to the fact that the Yādavas did more than any other people to spread the Āryan culture over India. The Epics and the Purāṇas give indisputable proofs of the Yādava origin of almost all the royal houses in Central India, Malwa and the Dakkan. In the Vindhyan borderland, as may be naturally expected, there were indeed a large number of barbarous or incompletely-Āryanised tribes. There were, for instance, the Puḷindas in South-West Malwa

or the region of the Aravalis. In their neighbourhood lived the Śvāpadas or eaters of dogs' flesh, amongst whom, according to traditions, King Tṛiśaṅku of Ayōdhyā took refuge when discarded by his father. In the neighbourhood of these lived other similar tribes like the Śabaras, the Vindhyamaulēyas, and others. But, while some communities remained primitive, the majority became Āryanised. In the peninsula of Kāthiāwār, for example, on the banks of the Sarasvati which joined the sea where the sacred Prabhāsa later on arose, there lived the Sarasvats, who branched off from the Sātvatas of Dvāraka. The Surāshṭras lived further east, and to the north of them were the Arbudhas. The neighbouring land of the Nishādas was civilised into the famous kingdom of Naishada, the land of Naḷa. But the most important of the Yādava branches were the Haihayas. In the history of the Āryanisation of India, these Haihayas occupy a very important place. The Purāṇas give this genealogy regarding their great royal house:—

1. Yadu

2.	Sahasrajit	Krōshṭu	Naḷa	Nahusha
3.	1 Śatajit			
4.	Haihaya	Hēhaya		Vēṇuhaya
5.	Dharma			
6.	Dharmanētra			
7.	Kunti			
8.	Sahasrajit			
9.	Mahishmān (founder of Māhishmati)			
10.	Bhadra-śrēṇi			
11.	Dhanaka			
12.	Kṛtavīrya	Kṛtāghni	Kṛtadharma	Kṛtaujas
13.	Arjuna (Kārtavīrya)			

The greatest king of the Haihayas was Kārtavīryārjuna. Some of the most fanciful and unbalanced legends of the Purāṇas concern him. He is said to have become the disciple of Dattātrēya, Atri's son and an Avatār of Nārāyaṇa, and become, thanks to His grace, an ideal monarch in character and in martial ardour. He is said to have had a thousand arms, conquered the world and ruled it in great glory and justice. He is said to have performed 10,000 sacrifices. Unequalled in penance, charities, studies, and virtues, Kārtavīrya had such a name that none lost anything in his kingdom. Even now his name is believed to be potent enough to secure the recovery of lost property! He is said to have ruled for 85,000 years in this ideal manner! One of the stories connected with him is that, while once engaged in frolics in the Narmadā, he saw the haughty Rāvaṇa proceeding thither in the course of his universal conquest, took him prisoner as easily as a cow, and kept him as such for a time at Māhishmati. Kārtavīryārjuna was eventually slain by Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni.

The significance of the myths regarding Arjuna seems to be that the Āryan culture was carried down to the basin of the Narmadā and that Māhishmatī was its outpost in his time. The Haihayas spread themselves from Māhishmati in all directions. One of the kingdoms founded by them was Avanti. According to the Purāṇas Avanti was named after one of the 100 sons of Kārtavīryārjuna; but other traditions seem to imply that Prince Avanti only ruled over that land which was already renowned, and did not actually found it. The Skandapurāṇa gives the legend that Mahādēva visisted Avanti after conquering Tripura, as the result of which it came to be known as Ujjayini. Avanti figures largely in the Mahābhārata. It refers to its sacred Narmada and other places of pilgrimage and its close connection with Kunti-Bhōja and Śurāshṭra. The people of Avanti were powerful Kshatriyas. At the time of the Bhārata war they were ruled by two joint kings Vinda and Anuvinda. They were Mahārathas of unsurpassed valour, and contributed one-fifth of the troops of Duryōdhana whom they joined in the Kurukshētra battle. They were engaged in numerous

military exploits, and eventually killed by Bhīma and Arjuna. The Vishṇu-Purāṇa, though a late authority, records the fact that these princes, like the other kings of Avanti, were related by marriage to the Yādavas. It was a Yādava princess, Rājyādhi-dēvi, that Vinda and Upavinda had for their mother. The Rāmāyaṇa says that the saints of Avanti attended the sacrifices of Rāma. This indicates the intercourse between western and eastern Āryāvarta. Pāṇini says that, in denoting a feminine name, the affix which signifies the name is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru. In other words, Avanti means, the daughter of the king of Avanti. The reference shows that the kingdom continued to flourish as one unit about B. C. 700. Shortly after, that is about B. C. 650, we understand from Buddistic literature that Ujjain was the seat of one of the greatest monarchies of the age. It also came to have a reputation as one of the seven holy cities of India. We have reasons to believe that, in the course of this age, Avanti was more particularly used in connection with Māhishmatī or Avanti Dakshiṇāpatha as it was also called, while the northern part was known after its capital Ujjain.

Avanti occupied a very important place for commercial and other intercourse between the heart of Āryāvarta and Dakshiṇāpatha. It was through it that the routes from the sea-ports of the west coast and the cities of the Dakkan, to the Āryan kingdoms of the north, passed. It was further an intellectual centre. It was rich in food and seven gems, and it is believed by some scholars that even the Pali speech was elaborated later on in Avanti. Avanti was one of the flourishing States of the Buddhistic age. A number of legends connect Avanti with the Buddha, and his triumph there was one of the causes of the progress of his creed. Jainism also had a great progress in it. Mahāvīra was closely connected with it, as will be shown later on. Buddhistic and Jain literatures refer to two cities in Avanti named Kuraraghara and Sudarśanapura. These must have come into existence, of course, in very early times.

The Haihayas were for some reason disposed inimically towards the Bhṛgus*. A Bhārgava sage named Urva had a son named Ṛchika, and his son Jamadagni and grandson Paraśurāma figure largely in the history of later Vēdic times. Everybody knows how Rāma, the son of Jamadagni, destroyed the Kshatriyas twenty-one times on account of the ill-treatment which the Haihaya prince had rendered to his family. The names Aurva, Jamadagni, etc., have given rise to some interesting legends in connection with these relations. According to one version of the Purāṇas, the Bhārgavas were cruelly treated by the Haihayas. Aurva, who was born from his mother's thigh, blinded the Haihayas with his blaze. It was eventually transmuted into the submarine fire. According to another form, there was born from Urva's thigh a fuel-less fire which was eager to burn up the world, and which was assigned to the submarine region, "and this fire is the fire which will destroy the world at the dissolution and is identified with Vishṇu." The quarrel seems to have been historically momentous as it involved numerous priestly and royal houses and clans.

The Haihayas grew in power even after the fall of Kārtavīrya Arjuna. One of his sons, Jayadhvaja, ruled in Avanti, and his other sons, Śūra and Śūrasēna, seem to have become assimilated to the dynasty at Mathurā. Jayadhvaja's son, Tālajaṅgha, had many sons, one of whom was Vītihōtra. According to the Purāṇas the Haihayas formed

* The hostility seems to have been due to misunderstanding between the priestly and the royal houses. King Kṛtavīrya of the Haihayas had the Bhārgavas for his priests and gave them much wealth. His successors tried to recover it. So the Bhārgavas fled to other parts of the country. From this time there was a never-ending hostility between the Haihayas and the Bhārgavas, which in Paraśurāma's time developed into a tremendous war between the two social orders. The history of the enmity is characterised by the large part played by different royal houses. Paraśurāma's mother, Rēṇukā, was related to the Ikshvāku line of kings.

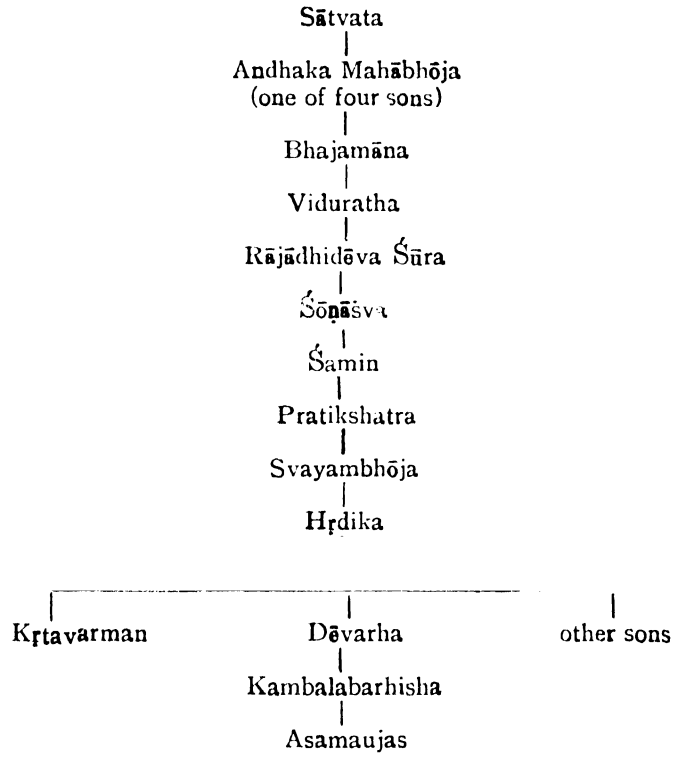
five groups, namely, the Śāryātas*, the Vītihōtras, the Bhōjas, the Avantis and the Tuṇḍikēras, and all of them were collectively known by the name of the Tālajaṅghas. Broadly speaking, they were branches of the Haihaya Yādavas. Very enterprising and restless, they committed raids against the proud kingdoms of the Madhyadēśa. Their raids extended to the Kuru country, Kānyakubja, the land of the Kāśis, and Ayōdhya beyond. Both the lunar and solar lines of the Madhyadēśa and the east felt the seriousness of their arms. Sages of the Brahmanical order took prominent part in these struggles. Often, the Haihayas received the co-operation of the north-western tribes and even the Nāgas and the semi-civilized peoples of the Vindhyan border in their aggressive enterprises. The Haihaya devastations probably made these hardy races of the frontiers occasionally ravage the civilized lands further east. At one time, the Haihayas compelled King Bāhu of Ayōdhya to take refuge in a forest, and the Ikshvākus were restored to fortune by the celebrated Sagara with the help of the Bhārgavas. The Haihayas also conquered Vaiśālī and Vidēha. Kings of these regions like Karandhama, Avikshit, and Marutta fought with them and their allies. The Haihaya raids were checked eventually by the rulers of Vidēha. There are legends connecting the Vidēha prince, Jyāmagha, with Mṛttikāvaṭi (somewhere near Mt. Abu), Vidiśa (Besnagar), the Narmadā region, the Ṛkṣha or Satpura hills (inhabited by Nāgas and other tribes), the land of the Śuktimati (Ken), and above all Vidarbha. Legends also exist of the engagements between the Tālajaṅghas and the Kāśis. It is clear from all these that the Haihayas were in close touch, though often hostile, with the Āryans of the further north and had a momentous influence on the development of the Vēdic culture. Pargiter compares their career in Vēdic times with that of the Mahrattas in later Mughal times. He further suggests that the legends of Paraśurāma Bhārgava arose in consequence of the crusade which the Haihayas waged against their neighbours in the north and east. Whatever might be the true significance, there can be

* This shows the connection with the Yādavas of Gujarāt.

no question that the Haihayas were a most prominent branch of the Yādavas who contributed substantially to the growth of Vēdic civilization in this period. We shall presently see that they were instrumental in carrying this culture into the Dakkan and South India too. Māhishmati, the very capital of the Haihayas, was in fact situated in the Dakkan, just as Kuṇḍinapura of the allied Bhōjas of Vidarbha was.

It must be now obvious that, closely allied with the Haihayas were the Avantis, Andhakas, Vṛshṇis, etc., who were all Sātvatas. The general account is that Satvata had four sons named Bhajin or Bhajamāna, Dēvavṛdha, Andhaka and Vṛshṇi, and that each of these became the progenitor of different clans. An attempt to reconcile the details into a connected, and organic whole is very difficult. The Purāṇas cause much confusion by sometimes confounding the names with the epithets and by sometimes giving inconsistent origins to clans already in existence independently or as parts of the general Yādava group. In fact, we find that there is perplexing inconsistency in the relations between Avanti, Bhōja, Vṛshṇi, Andhaka, Sātvata, Śaryāti, etc. Of Sātvata's four sons, Bhajin or Bhajamāna did not play a part in history. The second son gave rise to the line of Babhru and the Bhōjas of Mṛttikāvaṭi. The third son, Andhaka, who had the title of Mahabhōja, was the progenitor of two peoples called the Kukuras and Andhakas proper. The former of these ruled at Mathurā, and the history of the line has been given in connection with the Śūrasēnas in pp. 250—4. The Kukuras were in touch with all their relatives as well as the Śṛñjayas and Chēdis. The last of these included not only the Chedis proper but the Karushas, whose king, Dantavakra, the son of Vṛddhaśarman, was, like Śisupāla of Chēdi, an inveterate enemy of Vishṇu in the form of Kṛishṇa. Immediately south of Karusha there seems to have been the region of the Dāśarnas. As they had Vidiśa for their capital they were undoubtedly Haihayas.

With regard to the Andhakas descended from Bhajamāna, the Purāṇas give this genealogy :



It will be seen from the above that the terms Sātvata and Bhōja were synonymous. The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* identifies the two as the Epic and the Purāṇas do. The Mahābhārata, however, traces the Bhōjas to Druhyu, the son of Yayāti, who cursed him for refusing to lend his youth. Yayāti is said to have referred to the country over which Druhyu was to rule as a land where there were no roads for the traffic of men and beasts, where communication was still by means of primitive boats, and where there would be no settled monarchies (*Arājya*). Apparently the Bhōjas were the first people to bring these parts to civilization and order. There can hardly be a doubt that their colonization of Mālwā took place just at the time

* VIII. 12. 14. 17 ; VIII. 6. 12. 14. 16 ; VI. 32.

when their relations, the Vṛshṇis, Andhakas and other Yādavas, were occupying parts of Western India. Naishadha in the western parts of the Satpura hills, famous for its king Naḷa, must have been one of the states founded by the colonists. Naḷa's marriage with Damayanti, the Bhōja princess of Vidarbha (Berar), can be thus easily explained. They must have been related to each other.

One of the most celebrated of the Bhōjas figuring in the time of the Mahābhārata was Kṛtavarman, the son of Hṛdika. He was unrivalled in his military skill and resources. He was at the head of the entire Sātvata confederacy and contributed an *akshauhiṇi* of warriors to the side of Duryōdhana in the Great War. These warriors are described as foremost among men, adorned with garments of wild flowers, and lending to the battle-field the charm of a forest full of wild elephants. In a remarkable passage, the Epic describes how, in return for the application for help by Duryōdhana and Arjuna, Kṛishṇa gave them the alternative of choosing either his single unarmed person or the entire army of the Vṛshṇi-chakra, and that, while Arjuna chose him, Duryōdhana preferred the army. Consequently the Yādavas of all sections were led by Kṛtavarman into the Kaurava camp. We understand from several passages in the Epic that Kṛtavarman had for his capital the city known as Mṛttikāvaṭi*. On the death of Drōṇa, Kṛtavarman is said to have been chosen as the commander-in-chief over the Bhōjas, Kaliṅgas and Bāhlīkas. He survived almost all other chiefs, and attended upon Duryōdhana when he, vanquished in the battle-field, took refuge in the Dvaipāyana Lake. He persuaded the Kuru king to come out of his refuge, and encouraged him not only by his example of courage, but by taking part in the unlawful slaughter of the Pañchālas and the sons of Draupadi. Kṛtavarman survived the war and returned to his own country in company with Kṛishṇa of Dvāraka.

An important branch of the Bhōjas migrated further east, crossed the Vindhyas and occupied the country now

* So the line of Babhru must have become extinct.

forming Berār. It came to be known as Vidharba. It is mentioned in the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* as a country where its Māchalas (species of dogs, apparently) were strong enough to kill tigers. A Vidarbhi Kauṇḍinēya figures as a teacher in one of the two lists of teachers mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishadt. The latter indicates that Vidarbha, in spite of its geographical situation, was sufficiently Āryanised to contribute even Vēdic teachers. We have not got any account of the Vidarbha genealogy, but we find from the Epic that Bhīshmaka, the father of Rukmiṇi and father-in-law of Kṛishṇa, was one of the most powerful sovereigns in the age of the Mahābhārata. He is described as a great friend of Indra (that is, an ardent Vēdic sacrificer), the ruler of a fourth part of the world (that is, an extensive area in the Vindhyan region), and a very great soldier. But Bhīshmaka was a believer in expediency; and Kṛishṇa blames him in more than one passage for his not caring for his own kith and kin, and entering the service of the wicked Jarāsandha of Magadha as a practical feudatory. Bhīshmaka is blamed for his being ignorant of his own valour and indifferent to his own self-respect and reputation. It is clear from this that the Bhōjas of Vidarbha did not join the rest of the Bhōjas in their obstinate resistance to Jarāsandha.

Bhīshmaka's daughter, Rukmiṇi, was captured by Kṛishṇa, and this made Rukmi, her brother, an enemy of the Yādava leader. Rukmi was humiliated by the latter, and he then took a vow never to enter his father's capital, Kuṇḍinapura, and founded a capital of his own at Bhōjakaṭa. Later on, when Sahadēva entered into his *digvijaya* for the performance of the Rājasuya-yāga, Bhīshmaka and his son acknowledged him in view of Kṛishṇa's friendly attitude to him. In spite of his discomfiture at the hands of Kṛishṇa, Rukmi was famous for his skill in archery. His magnificent troops numbered more than an akshauhiṇi. But Rukmi was a vain and unscrupulous swaggerer. He superciliously

* II. 440.

† II. 5, 22 and IV. 5, 28.

offered to help Arjuna in case he felt diffident against the Kauravas, and the latter rejected the help offered in such an insulting manner. The same decision was made by Duryōdhana. The result was that Rukmi did not join either side in the Mahābhārata war. We have no information about the successors of Rukmi either in the Epic or the Purāṇas. Later Jain and Buddhistic literatures refer to Vidarbha and give certain incidents indicative of the greatness of some individuals in the period which saw the beginning of these heretical creeds.

It is evident that Vidarbha was the land from which attempts were made to Āryanise the land further south in the Dakkan. There is a reference to a line of Bhōjas (*Daṇḍakyō-bhōja*) in the Daṇḍaka mentioned in the Arthaśāstra. The legends of Agastya, the great civiliser of the south, are very closely connected with Vidarbha. Agastya's wife, Lōpāmudra, was in fact the daughter of the Vidarbha king. It was she that, according to the Tamil traditions, took the form of the Kāvēri river. The story is that Agastya settled at Kāvērigiri; that, in order to save the south from drought, his wife was made by God Vināyaka to flow in the form of the sacred river. Probably, the myth refers to the promotion of agriculture by irrigation at the instance of the Aryan followers of Agastya. He seems to have introduced the Āryan ideals and practices of domestic life as well as general culture in the south.

THE FALL OF THE YĀDAVAS.

It is remarkable that the Epic, while recognizing Kṛishṇa as a divine being and the greatest figure in Bhāratavarsha, does not spare his peoples, and describes them in very unfavourable colours. While recognizing that there were many good points in their character, it does not ignore the defects in them. It says that they were pure, learned, truthful, valiant, charitable, fond of religious rites, but always drunk, quarrelsome and incapable of sustained union. In fact the Epic clearly attributes a disastrous end to them on account of this defect in their character. The Mausala-parva of the Epic gives details

of the manner in which the relatives and followers of Kṛishṇa destroyed one another by their quarrels, and how in this disaster, the Bhōjas, the Andhakas and other 'ranches too were equally involved. "In the assembly where all the allied tribes were seated together, Sātyaki roused up a quarrel with the Bhōja king, Kṛtavarman, and suddenly struck his head with the sword. Then the son of Kṛishṇa (Yadunandana) placed himself at the head of the Bhōjas and fought with Sātyaki followed by the Andhakas, and both the leaders fell down dead. Then Kṛishṇa also took part in the combat in which the Bhōjas, Andhakas, Kukuras and Vṛshṇis flung maces at one another and destroyed themselves." They are said to have run at one another like maniacs, and "brought about the destruction of their nearest and closest friends. Father killed son and son killed father, no one would retire or keep aloof from the encounter, they fought until they fell; like flies running into the fire, these valiant Kshatriyas rushed to the fierce combat killing their own kith and kin until every one of the great heroes lay stretched on mother earth."

Eventually, the Epic tells us, Arjuna conveyed the servants, women and children of the self-destroyed Vṛshṇis to Indraprastha. It adds that the Pāṇḍava hero was by this time so weak in consequence of Kṛishṇa's departure that he was unable to defend the women from capture by robbers in North Rajputana. "The remnant of the Vṛshṇi women were then taken to Kurukshētra and settled at different places. Arjuna is said to have placed Kṛtavarman's son at Mṛttikāvati, but others had to be provided for further north."

THE KĀSIS*.

Another important State belonging to the Kuru-Pañchāla group was Kāśi or Vārāṇasī (Benares), whose king was generally known as Kāśya. Vārāṇasi came to have its name from its being between the Varaṇā (the Varaṇāvati

* See Pargiter's *Anct. Hist. Tradn.* and B. C. Law's *Ancient Indian Tribes* (1926). There are inconsistencies here and there between the two accounts.

of the Atharva-vēda), a small tributary of the Ganges, and a brook called the Asī. The Varaṇāvati and the Asi bounded the city on the north and south. The place probably abounded originally in *Kūśa* or reeds, and so it came to have the name of Kāśi. Whatever might have been the circumstances of its origin, Kāśi was one of the early principalities established by the Purus.

According to one version of the Epic and Purāṇic traditions, the Kāśi dynasty arose from Kshatravṛddha (or Vṛddhaśarman), one of the five sons of Āyū of the Puru line (see p. 200). Kshatravṛddha had Suhōtra or Sunahōtra for his son, and he had Kāśa, Kāśya or Kāśika for his son and Dīrghatapas for his grandson. Another version derives the dynasty from Kāśika, the son of Suhōtra, grandson of Vitatha and great-grandson of Bharata. The former is obviously the more correct version. From Dīrghatapas we can construct this genealogical tree of the Kāśi dynasty on the basis of the Purāṇas.

1. Dīrghatapas or Dīrghatamas
2. Dhanva or Saunihōtra ?
3. Dhanvantari
4. Kētumant or Kētumāna
5. Bhīmaratha
6. Divodāsa I
7. Ashṭaratha
8. Haryaśva
9. Sudēva
10. Divodāsa II
11. Pratardana
12. Vatsa — Gārga
13. Alarka
14. Sannati
15. Sunitha (Śaunati ?)
16. Kshēma or Khēmya
17. Kētumant II or Kētumān
18. Sukētu
19. Dharmakētu
20. Satyakētu
21. Vibhu
22. Suvibhu or Anartta
23. Sukumāra
24. Dhṛshṭakētu
25. Vēṇuhōtra
26. Bharga

The Vāyu Purāṇa does not distinguish between Divodāsa I and Divodāsa II and makes them both identical with

Bhīmaratha. It therefore ignores Nos. 6 to 9. It also makes 13, 14 and 15 identical, and further omits 16 and 17. Again after 25, it does not give Bharga but the following four generations :

Gārgya
|
Garbhabhūmi
|
Vatsa
|
Vātsya

The Harivaṁśa leaves out 2 and 7 to 9. It also, obviously incorrectly, gives to Vatsa, Pratardana's son, two sons named Mannati and Vatsa, and makes the former the father of Sunitha and grandfather of Khēmya. Its omission of Alarka, and other defects which are patent when compared with the table given above, make it unreliable.

It is remarkable that the later Vēdic literature does not refer directly to any of the above kings. All that is available in it can be given in a few sentences. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* tells us that one of the kings, Dhṛtarāshṭra, was defeated by Śatānika Sātrājita, the Bharata king, and was compelled to give up the kindling of the sacred fire for a time. Perhaps this indicates religious rivalry with the Kurus. Another famous king of Kāśi who figures in the Upanishadic discussions was Ajātaśatru ; † and still another was Bhadrasēna Ajātaśātrava, a contemporary of Uddālaka. Ajātaśatru was an authority on the doctrine of the self, and taught it to a proud Brahman named Bālāki. Bhadrasēna was bewitched by Uddālaka, whose identity is a question of considerable doubt and obscurity§.

The traditions, on the other hand, give interesting bits of information about several kings of the line. Dhanvantari

* XIII. 5, 4, 19. The Brāhmaṇa also gives curious details of the Gōvinata-Yagña or the sacrifice of the Kāśi king's horse by Satānīka, XIII. 5, 4, 21.

† Brihad., II. 1, 1 and III. 8, 2. Also Kauśītaki, IV. 1.

‡ V. 5, 5, 14.

§ *Vēdic Index*, I, p. 88 and p. 153.

was a great physician. He was a pupil of Bharadvāja, and the person through whom the art of healing was spread in the world. Divodāsa I figures in connection with the wild legends of Viśvāmitra. It is difficult to say, however, how far he is confused with his Bharata namesake. King Divodāsa II had for his teacher Bharadvāja, the son of Bṛhaspati and a scion of the Āṅgirasas who seem to have been very active in the Vaisalī region and further west, and closely connected with the Kāśi and the Puru lines*. The dynasty was also occasionally connected with the Bhṛgu and Śaunaka families. According to the Mahābhārata, King Pratardana, the eleventh in the list given above, was an adversary of the Tālajaṅgha or Vītahavya king of Malwa, and the latter was saved from being crushed by the former by a Bhṛgu Rshi. Another version makes Gṛtsamada, the ancestor of the Śaunakas, who also figures in the Bhṛgu line, a son of Kshatravṛddha, the founder of the Kāśi dynasty. There is also a tradition that Gṛtsamada was closely connected with the Āṅgirasa and the Saunaka branches of the Bhārgavas. Then again King Alarka, the grandson of Pratardana, was a friend of Agastya. Traditions say that, thanks to the favour of Lōpāmudra, Alarka had a very long and prosperous reign. It is obvious from these somewhat confused references that the Kāśi kings had intimate relations with these Rshi families. A dynasty which was connected with the Bhāradvājas, the Āṅgirasas, the Bhṛgus, the Agastyas, and the Śaunakas, was bound to distinguish itself in the evolution of the Vēdic cult.

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature in the political history of Kāśi is a long and determined struggle with the Haihaya branch of the Yādavas who, as we have seen, occupied a considerable portion of Malwa. The first Haihaya king who adopted an aggressive career was Bhadraśrēṇya. He carried his arms into the territories of Kāśi and Ayōdhyā. Divodāsa, the son of Bhīmaratha, was apparently the first king who came into hostile contact with the

* Pargiter suggests, rather speculatively, that the Āṅgirasas had their *origin* in Vaiśāli and spread towards the west.

Haihayas. There is a tradition that he had, in consequence of a curse, to abandon his capital Vārāṇasi and establish himself in another city on the Gōmati further east. Perhaps this is only an euphemistic explanation of the seizure of the kingdom by the Haihayas, while Vārāṇasi itself came to be occupied by a Rākshasa named Kshēmaka. It is quite probable that this Rākshasa was the chief of a hill-tribe of the Kaimur range, west of Bihār and south of Kāśi. The kingdom was for a few years in the hands of the conquerors. King Haryaśva vainly tried to recover it. He was killed by them; and his son Sudēva, though at first successful, was also overpowered. Then his son, Divodāsa II, recovered it from Bhadraśrēṇya's 100 sons! Subsequently, however, one of the latter, Durdama, who had been spared by Divodāsa's generosity, showed his gratitude by expelling his benefactor and re-establishing himself at Kāśi. Divodāsa thereupon took refuge with Sage Bharadvāja, the son of Bṛhaspati, and a member of the Āṅgīrasas. Bharadvāja is said to have helped Divodāsa in the performance of a sacrifice, as the result of which a valiant son, Pratardana, was born to him. Pratardana was a celebrated Vēdic sacrificer as well as archer. He recovered the kingdom from the Vītahavya by his valour. The latter thereupon took refuge with Sage Bhṛgu. Pratardana asked the sage to surrender him, but he replied that, as the Vītahavya prince had taken refuge with him, he looked upon him as a Ṛshi and that he was therefore immune from the disabilities and vicissitudes of a Kshatriya. Pratardana, for his part, did not care to pursue the matter further, as he was satisfied that there would be no further danger from the Haihayas for his kingdom. Thanks to his victory, he or his son, Vatsa, was able to adopt an aggressive career, advance towards the west as far as the Ken, and occupy Kauśāmbi, which consequently came to be called the Vatsa country*. Vatsa's son, Alarka, is said to have killed the Rākshasa Kshēmaka, and regained Kāśi.

* This is a partisan view, as Vatsa had, as we have already seen, (see p. 257), a different origin.

The above traditions are highly confused. They seem to confound the two Divodāsas with each other. They also refer to two generations of the Haihayas as against six or seven of the Kāśis. There is also much obscurity in regard to persons and events. For instance, the occupation of the capital by Kshēmaka for such a long period as well as the independence of its career from the rest of Kāśi does not seem to be plausible. Nor is the duration attributed to these events worthy of acceptance. All that we can be sure of is that the Kāśi kings were often in deadly struggle with the Haihayas, whose raids extended over a wide region in North India; that in this respect they were in the same position as the rulers of Ayōdhyā; and that the discomfiture of the Haihayas was eventually brought about by Sagara, the Ayōdhya king, who evidently completed the work of Pratardana. The traditions also indicate that the priestly families took a prominent part in diplomatic interference, and often determined the nature of the political relations between the rival kings.

King Pratardana's name was sufficiently important to give rise to other stories about him which are inconsistent with what has been already given. In a chapter of the Udyōgaparva he is called the grandson of Bhīmasēna and son of Divodāsa by Mādhavi, daughter of Yayāti; and he is credited* with the performance of many noble deeds which enabled his maternal grandfather to regain the heaven which he had lost on account of his pride. In a chapter of the Anuśāsana-parva we are told that Pratardana founded Benares and acquired great reputation by offering his son as a gift to a Brahmant. Pratardana had also the name of Śatrujit, in consequence of his victory over the Haihayas.

Pratardana's son, Vatsa, who had also the names of

* Southern Text, Chaps. 117 and 122. The contemporaneity of Yayāti is not sustainable. The episode of Gālava and his search for the peculiar horses to be given to Viśvāmitra is one of the most singular stories to be found in the Epic.

† B. C. Law on the authority of Chap 137. The passage is not found in the Southern Text.

Rtadhvaja and Kuvalayāśva, conquered and annexed the country around Kauśāmbi, giving it thereby the name of Vatsa*.

Vatsa's son, Ālarka (*sic*), drove the Rākshasas from Vārāṇasi and made it once again his capital. He had a long and prosperous reign. The Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa† gives details of him and his predecessor which are singularly wild. The story is this. Rtadhvaja received into friendship two Nāga princes in the guise of Brāhmans. These lived with him during day and went to their own under-world at night. They praised their friend to their father and told him that he had done wonders to help a sage named Gālava with the aid of a wonderful horse named Kuvalaya, in consequence of which he was known as Kuvalayāśva. On behalf of the sage he went against a Daitya named Pātāḷakētu. In his pursuit of him, he fell into a chasm, and reached the city of Purandarapura. Here he met Madālasā, the daughter of the Gandharva king Viśvāvasu, whom Pātāḷakētu had carried off. He married her, killed the Daityas, and returned to the world. After further elaborate legends, the story proceeds to say that Kuvalayāśvā succeeded his father, Śatrujit, and had by Madālasā several sons, namely, Vikrānta, Subāhu, Śatrumardana and Ālarka. The last prince was instructed by his divine mother in all the duties of a king and all kinds of spiritual and secular truths. The poem in fact goes here into a description of Hinduism as it exists in the present day. It is intensely interesting, but obviously anachronistic. In course of time Kuvalayāśva resigned his kingdom to his son, Ālarka, and resorted to the forest with his queen. Ālarka was, though righteous, greatly addicted to pleasure. His brother, Subāhu, who wished to correct him, formed an alliance with the king of Kāśi‡. Both attacked Ālarka to wrest the kingdom from him. Ālarka possessed a miraculous ring presented by his mother. With its aid he sought

* See pp. 257 and 323 for other versions.

† Chaps. 19—43.

‡ The poem seems to make a mistake here. Perhaps it means Kōśala.

relief from God Dattātrēya. The deity appeared before him and taught him all the truths about the soul, the mind, the body, pleasure, pain, Yōga, emancipation, the meaning of 'Om,' omens and superstitions. As the result of his newly-acquired wisdom, Ālarka relinquished his kingdom in favour of Subāhu and his ally, but was persuaded by them to resume the crown on the ground that they had only wanted to correct him. It is clear that Ālarka's personality is very interesting. He seems to be a figure deserving to be placed in the same pedestal as some of the celebrated royal philosophers of the later Vēdic period. The name Subāhu appears more than once in traditions. There was a Subāhu who was contemporary with Naḷa, the romantic king of Naishadha. In the time of the Bhārata War, Kāśi was ruled by another Subāhu. His position in relation to the genealogical tree given above is uncertain. There are in fact a number of Kāśi kings who figure in traditions and whose exact places are uncertain. A Kuśadhvaja, son of Siradhvaja, for example, is mentioned in the Vāyupurāṇa (Chap. 89). Whether he was post-Bhāratic or pre-Bhāratic it is impossible to say.

The Kāśi princesses, Ambā, Ambikā and Ambālikā, whom the great Bhīshma won in a Svayamvara for his brother, Vichitravīrya, were probably the daughters of a predecessor of Subāhu. The story of one of these princesses, Ambā, who refused to marry the Kuru king on account of her love to the Sālva, and eventually took her birth as Drupada's child, Śikhaṇḍi, with the deliberate mission of killing Bhīshma, is one of the most pathetic, singular and complicated episodes in the Mahābhārata*.

Subāhu was vanquished by Bhīmat in his digvijaya previous to the Rājasūya-yāga. In the Kurukshētra battle he fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. He was a great

* See Udyōgaparva, Chaps. 173—92.

† Sabhāparva, Chap. 31. Kṛshṇa is said to have burnt Benares for the alliance between its king and Puṇḍva who was an enemy of the Yādava hero. See Vishnu-Purāṇa, 5th Aṁśa, Chap. 34; Harivaṁśa, Chap. 161; and Mahābhārata, *Udyōga-parva*, Chap. 47 (N. Text).

archer. He was, with the Karusha and Chēdi-kings, under Dhṛshṭakētu. With the Śaivya he guarded the centre of the Pāṇḍava army. He had 30,000 chariots under him.

Subāhu was apparently succeeded by a Alibhū; for we are told in the Karṇaparva that he was the king of Kaśi killed by the son of Vasudhāna. The relationship of this king to Subāhu is nowhere mentioned. Equally obscure is the connection of Satyakarmā, alleged to be the descendant of Parīkshit and king of Kāśi, according to the Bhavishyapurāṇa. Probably, he was one of the kings of the post-Bhārata period. No account is available of Kāśi, subsequent to the Mahābharata war as in the case of some other kingdoms, though it is mentioned that there were 24 Kāśi kings down to the Nandas. There can hardly be a doubt that Brahmadatta, who figures so largely in the Jātaka literature, was a king who lived in this period.

The Kāśis naturally had connection with the Kōsalas and the Vidēhas to a much larger extent* than the other members of the Puru group in consequence of their geographical position. The name Kāśi-Vidēha occurs in the Kauśītaki-Upanishad†. In a passage of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad‡ Ajātaśatru is described as the king of both Kāśi and Vidēha. The Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra§ refers to the fact that there was one Purōhita for the kings of Kāśi, Kōsala and Vidēha. The Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa¶ puts the Kāśis and Kausalyas together. All these indicate that the Kāśis, Kōsalas and Vidēhas were closely connected in cultural and political relations. In later days, the Jain Kalpasūtra similarly refers to the 18 confederate kings of Kāśi-Kōsala, and Buddhistic literature too indicates the same fact.

On the other hand, Buddhistic traditions contain many references to the ill-feeling which existed between Kāśi

* Vēdic Index, I, 153.

† IV. 1.

‡ III. 8, 2.

§ XVI, 29, 5. Jala, son of Jātukarṇi (Jātukarṇya) obtained this position owing to his skill in conducting sacrifices.

¶ I. 2, 9.

and Kōsala. This seems to have been in fact, if we are to judge from the large number of traditions, a sort of hereditary enmity. One of the strangest stories in connection with this rivalry concerns a prince of Kōsala named Chatta. On the capture of his father by the king of Kās'i, Chatta proceeded to Taxila, studied there the three Vēdas and the eighteen arts, became the leader of a band of 500 ascetics, won over the king of Kās'i by his discourses, discovered through his mantric skill the treasures which had been taken from Kōsala and buried in the royal garden, and, revealing his personality on a sudden, ovecame the officers of Kās'i, and recovered his kingdom*. Another story is that, on the capture of Kōsala by King Brahmadatta of Benares, Dighavu, the Kōsala prince, became years later a servant of his father's captor, and won his favour and his own birthright by sparing him during a hunting excursion when he could have easily slain him†. A third story narrates the capture of an ideally good king of Benares by a king of Kōsala, his ill-treatment of the captive monarch by burying him up to the neck, the acquisition of miraculous power by the latter from certain Yakkas who were disputing about a corpse in the neighbourhood, and his winning the friendship of his captor by his new power‡. A fourth story§ is to the effect that, when once Benares was captured by the Kōsala king and its queen was about to be compelled to wed the captor, the son of the murdered monarch rallied the troops once again and, at the advice of his mother, blockaded the Kōsala capital for seven days instead of making a frontal attack upon it, with the result that the people, unable to get water, fuel and food, rose against their king and beheaded him, thus enabling the besieger to recover his kingdom. On another occasion a king of Sāvatthi named Vaṅka was in possession of Benares

* Brahāchatta Jātaka, No. 336, Cowell, Vol. III, pp. 76 ff.

† Vinaya, II, pp. 301 ff., quoted by B. C. Law.

‡ Mahāsīlava-Jātaka, No. 51, Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 128 ff. The Jātaka is very instructive on the culture of the age.

§ The Asātarūpa-Jātaka, No. 100, Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 242 ff.

for a time. And prince Chata, the son of Brahmadatta, an expert scholar of Takkaśilā, persuaded the conqueror, by his captivating meditative power, to give up his conquest and even his crown and become an ascetic. On the eve of the Buddhistic age, there was a grim fight between Pasēnadi (Prasēnajit) of Kōsala and Ajātaśatru of Kāśi, and traditions are full of incidents in connection with these hostilities.

It must be now clear that the Kāśis were closely associated, both by friendship and by hostility, with Kōsala. Jain literature refers to the fact that Kāśi, like Kōsala, came under the rule of the Lichchhavis and 'Mallakis' after the Ikshvākus. It is difficult to say how far this is true. There is a curious tradition that traces the Kōliyas, the neighbours of the Sākyas to whom the Buddha belonged, to an alliance of a Kāśi king with the Okkāka (Ikshvāku) line. Rāma, alleged to be a king of Benares, suffered from leprosy. Detested by his women and mistresses, he left his kingdom in disgust, placing his eldest son on the throne. Resorting to a forest, he lived on the wild roots and fruits which he could obtain there, and was cured of the disease. He now shone like gold and, emerging once again into the world, got for his wife a daughter of King Ikshvāku and had 32 sons by her. These sons are said to have built the city of Kōla and consequently become known as the Kōliyas. We know from the Buddhistic traditions that these Kōliyas were closely related by blood to the Sākyas amidst whom Gautama Buddha was born.

It is not easy to say whether the tradition that Pārśvanātha, the great Jain Tīrthaṅkara who preceded Mahāvīra, according to tradition, by nearly two centuries, was the son of a king of Benares named Aśvasēna, is genuine.

One thing is certain, namely, that in the middle of the seventh century B. C. Kāśi was one of the sixteen states referred to in Buddhistic literature.

The place of Kāśi in the history of Indian culture needs no detailed treatment. It is well-known that it is the most

sacred place in modern Hinduism. We cannot say whether it occupied the same place in the later Vēdic period; but while there can be no question that the Śaivite cult of Viśvanātha, Viśālākshi, Daṇḍapāṇi, etc., is of very late origin, Kāśi was, to judge from the later Vēdic, Buddhistic and Jain literatures*, sufficiently renowned even in the later Vēdic period. Its kings had a high standard of duty and morality. Ruling with great justice and equity, they showed great judgment in the choice of ministers and much sympathy in doing good to their people. Owing to their equitable rule, the courts were starved of suits. Always desirous of knowing public opinion, they used to go into the city in disguise. One remarkable Jātaka which gives the story of a king of Kōsala and a king of Benares who met once on the road, says that the former stepped aside in order to give passage to the latter on account of his superior morals. Another tradition refers to a king's going incognito into the city in order to ascertain public opinion and his learning from a Brahman a mantra which enabled him to even read the thoughts of his subjects concerning him. The kings of Benares, in fact, had such a reputation for justice that there came into existence a belief that the harmony of nature depended on the character of a monarch's rule. It came to be believed that a king's just and peaceful rule made all things retain their natural character, and that injustice or tyranny on the king's part led to the perversion of the law of nature. One of the Jātakas records the belief that oil, honey, molasses, fruits and other things lost their flavour and nature by the vicious character of monarchical rule. There can be no greater tribute for the high ideals of monarchical government than this doctrine.

The kings of Kāśi had many picturesque institutions. One of these was the elephant festival. In this, a hundred white elephants figured, and Brahmans used to chant the Hastisūtram or elephant-lore. Another picturesque institu-

* All these references have been put together by B. C. Law in his *Ancient Indian Tribes* (1926), pp. 11—33.

tion was the parasol festival. We are told, for instance, that when Brahmadatta married a daughter of the Kōsala king, he held such a festival. The city was decorated in a beautiful manner. The king went round the city in gorgeous procession, and then ascended the throne with a white parasol as the canopy. He then addressed the ministers, Brahmans and others, all of whom were dressed in splendour and attended the occasion with gifts. He had troops of dancing girls numbering 16,000. On one occasion, he attributed the possession of his parasol with its gold garland and plinth, his elephants and chariots, his territory, riches, gems, grains, his women and all other possessions, to his having given away gruel in charity to Pratyēkabuddhas in his previous life. The tradition of course shows that it was recorded in the Buddhistic age; but it indicates a festival which had existed in previous times. Similarly, a drinking festival in which people lost their balance on account of too much indulgence, is mentioned. The kings were also fond of shows and illuminations. They frequently indulged in the chase too. There is a reference to the settlement of 500 families of hunters on the banks of the river.

To give another side of the picture, Kāśi was a great centre of learning. Even the common people were saturated with the love of it, and extended a liberal patronage to Brahman scholars. Both Vēdic and Buddhistic traditions refer to the great reputation which the city had as the resort of savants and scholars*. There are frequent references to the acquisition of special kinds of education and knowledge. There is the mention, for instance, of the skill of gardeners in changing the characteristics of fruits and plants by changes in the method of horticulture. Carpenters were skilful enough to make certain contrivances which looked like mechanical birds and with the aid of which tracts of land could be acquired even in the Himalayan regions. Similarly, there were experts in serpent lore, the art

* Vyāsa lived there according to the Kūrmapurāṇa (chap. 34). Sage Maitrēya also sojourned here (Anuśāsanaparva, chap. 120). Many sages from Kāśi attended Rāma's coronation.

of thought-reading, etc. References there are to Brahmans who were skilful enough to say, after simply looking at swords, whether they were lucky or not; who could, on account of their knowledge of *Lakkaṇamantram*, say what kinds of water animals (like fish, tortoise and crab) and what kinds of land animals (like deer, swan, pea-cock, partridge and men) would obtain golden colour; who could teach Mantras for avoiding danger to life; and so on. Once a king of Benares paid 1000 *Kahāpaṇas* to a Brahman savant for teaching a Mantra which saved his life from the hands of a barber who was hired by the commander-in-chief to murder him. Other references to the scholarship in the Vēdas, the 18 liberal arts, etc., indicate that Kāśi had an unrivalled renown for knowledge of every type. It is not surprising that, when the Buddha began his great activities, he found a large number of illustrious scholars like the Kāśyapas whom he had to win over in Kāśi. Indeed it was at Benares, that he began his glorious career. Sārnāth and Isipattana were the most appropriate places possible for the initiation of *Dharma-chakra-pravartana*.

Kāśi was highly opulent. It was full of house-holders with crores of gold and with herds of thousands of cattle. It was famous for the manufacture of fine textile fabrics which were even oil-proof. It had a large trade in corn, oil, ivory, sandal-wood, musk, lac, dye, and other things. It abounded in professional classes, like stone-cutters and sculptors, carpenters (of whom there were a thousand families) who were highly skilled in the construction of houses and the making of beds and chairs, elephant-trainers, and horse-dealers who dealt in horses imported from the north and Sindh. The merchants of the city were highly wealthy and had big caravans under them. They went at the head of 500 merchants or carts to the frontiers, and they voyaged across the seas for trade. Brahmadatta's chief merchant and successor, Supriya, was renowned for his accumulations. The bankers of Benares also figure in several traditions, as not only men of resources but of culture and taste, who attached great importance to the accomplishments of music and dancing.

On the other hand, the land did not occasionally at least lack in famines. There is reference in fact to a twelve-year-famine and the consequent migration of people to other parts in the time of Brahmadatta.

The great advance in culture is indicated both by the virtues and vices of the people. Amongst the former may be noted the large number of almonries maintained on a magnificent scale by princes and noblemen. A certain Visayha had immense charity-halls at the four gates of the city and in his house, where alms were distributed to 60,000 people every day. A rich Brahman, Śaṅkha by name, maintained six charity-houses and distributed similar sums. A certain prince, Jarāsandha, was equally generous. On the other hand, the vices of civilization were not rare. Instances of a queen's poisoning the king, the indulgence in dancing, music, wine, gambling and drinking, the prevalence of crimes like blinding people by means of medicine, highway robbery, and house-breaking in gangs, and quarrels between revellers, seem to indicate that the evil aspects of culture also made themselves felt. Jain and Buddhistic traditions are full of incidents in the past history of Kāśi which indicate these features.

MAGADHA.

Another kingdom which came into existence in this period was Magadha. It was situated in the rich and fertile region south of the Ganges and north of the wild forests which extended up to the plateau of Chota Nagpur, bounded in the west by the river Sōn and in the east by the Champā. In later times Magadha extended far beyond the Sōn in the west, and far beyond Champā in the east; but the original nucleus of the kingdom comprised the small area described above, which was practically identical with the modern districts of Patna and Gayā in the province of Bihar. The original area of Magadha was considerably small, in fact not more than a sixth perhaps as that of Kōsala to its west; but it had a hot and healthy climate and a rich soil which was famous for the production of a special type of fragrant rice. Full of dry plateaus and monsoon-

drenched valleys, the former of which were suitable for the building of towns and the latter of which provided ample facilities for cultivation, Magadha was naturally adapted to thrive in urban as well as agricultural life. The monsoons did not only enable Magadha to be prosperous in rural and urban industries, but provided it with floods copious enough to necessitate communications by boat, occasionally, from place to place. Such a country, when it was colonised by the Āryans, must have been highly valued. The Rg-vēda does not mention Magadha unless the Kīkaṭas refer to its people, but it is frequently referred to in the Atharva-vēda, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Sūtras.

The peculiarity in these Vēdic references to Magadha is that it is regarded with great prejudice and scant respect. The Atharva-vēda*, for example, says that fever should go away from the Āryans to the Aṅgas, Magadhas and other peoples in the east, as to the Gandhāris and Mūjavants in the west and north. In another passage† it calls the Magadhas Vrātyas (out-castes who had to perform special ceremony in order to get themselves admitted into the Āryan households). The people of Magadha are described not only as out-castes but as wandering minstrels‡ who had no settled habits, who had rough weapons like the goad and a peculiar bow, who wore peculiar garments, whose sense of justice was not Āryan, and whose speech was loud (*atikṛshta*). These passages seem to indicate that the early Magadhans had many non-Āryan features, even though they became subject to Āryan civilization. The Brahmans living in Magadha were not regarded as quite respectable. One of the Sūtras§ says that the property of a Vrātya was to be given away either to a degenerate Brahman or to a Brahman of Magadha! The Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra¶ classes the Magadhas with outlying tribes

* See p. 287 above.

† XV. 2, 1—4.

‡ Manu (X, 47); Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, III. 4, 1, 1.

§ Kātyāyana S'rauta, XXII, 4, 22.

¶ XXII, 6, 18.

like the Kaliṅgas, the Gandhāras, the Pāraskaras and the Sauvīras. The general impression left by these passages is that, though the Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka* gives instances of respectable Brahmans like Madhyama and Prātibodhīputra, the Āryan civilizers of Magadha were believed to be socially inferior by the more orthodox people of the further west.

Pargiter† suggests that in Magadha the Āryans met and mingled with a body of invaders from the east by sea. This is, however, a pure surmise; and, as Keith‡ points out, there is no evidence for this view in the Vēdic texts. But "it is reasonable to suppose that the farther east the Āryans penetrated, the less did they impress themselves upon the aborigines." Apparently, Magadha was a tribal name, and the Āryan conquerors and settlers called the land after the tribe amongst whom they settled. It is quite possible that the Māgadhas had a large number of minstrels amongst them, who visited the western courts and who were not regarded as socially high. It is also possible that the lower classes continued to have their primitive weapons, their primitive methods of dressing, and their Prākritic speech. It was the survival of these non-Āryan features that must have given rise to the theory—recorded by Gautama and Manu§—that a Māgadha was the son of a Vaiśya by a Kshatriya woman. Zimmer believes that this social definition of a Māgadha is already implied in the Yajur-vēda and the Atharva-vēda; but this is doubtful.$ The term should have been tribal, not social in its original significance. "The fact that the Māgadha is often in later times a minstrel is easily accounted for by the assumption that the country was the home of minstrelsy, and that wandering bards from Magadha were apt to visit the more western lands. This class the later texts recognize as a caste

* VII, 13.

† J.R.A.S., 1908, pp. 851—3.

‡ *Vēdic Index*, Vol. II, p. 118.

§ IV, 17 and X, 11 respectively.

$ See *Vēdic Index*, Vol. II, p. 117.

inventing an origin by intermarriage of the old established castes." Time came when Magadha ceased to be an outlying, semi-Āryan or Vrātya country; when its kings in fact were the rulers of empires and the most doughty champions of Dharma; but evil reputation dies hard, and the odium which was attached to the country in its earliest days, continued to cling to it long after it ceased to be semi-Āryan. Even Varāhamihira who lived in an age centuries before which Magadha had risen to imperial greatness, refers to it as a land in one of the eastern divisions of Āryāvarta,—a capital proof of the obstinacy of conservative opinion in the face of history and reality. It was in the post-Vēdic period that a Māgadha came to be, in accordance with the crude principles of orthodox sociology, regarded as the offspring of a Vaiśya husband and Kshatriya woman. The passages in Gautama and Manu must be interpolations of later times. The conclusion then may be arrived at that Magadha was one of the Āryan settlements in the later period of the Vēdic Āryans.

The exact origin of the kingdom of Magadha is obscure. Dr. Spooner suggests* that Magadha was founded by a colony of the Magas of Persia accompanied by Persian warrior castes. He argues that the term Magadha is Persian; that it has no Sanskrit etymology; and that the Magadhas are mentioned in literature often with the Bāhlīkas thus indicating their advent from the region of the worship of the sun to the Magas of Śakadvīpa; for it tells us that Kṛishṇa's son, Samba, went to Śakadvīpa, and cured himself of the disease of leprosy by worshipping the sun, and also introduced 18 families of Magas into his native land in order to spread the Sūrya cult. Spooner believes that this late Pauraṇic tradition correctly represents the advent of the Magas before the 7th century B. C. and their establishing themselves in Magadha as well as, in all probability, Gujarāt and Mathurā. In the mention, by the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, for the first time, of Garuḍa, who is traditionally associated with the Magas, he sees a proof

* J.R.A.S., 1915, (Jan. and July).

of this. Garuḍa was, he points cut, closely connected with the Persian Ahura Mazda, and the later Garuḍa-purāṇa devotes itself, among other things, to sun-worship.

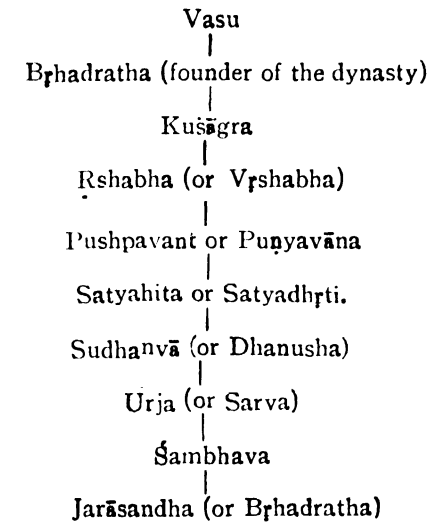
These views are unacceptable, and must be discredited as much as the extremely fantastic conclusions in regard to the Persian origin of the Buddha, the Śākyas, the Mauryas and even Chāṇakya.

One of the Purāṇas (Brahma, chap. IV) says that the great emperor, Pṛthu, gave this country to a person named Magadha as a reward for his skill in panegyrising him, and so the country came to be called after him. But this story is obviously based on the reputation which Magadha had already established for minstrelsy, and so must be a later invention.

According to other versions (see *ante*, pp. 243-4, 257, and 262-3) the kingdom of Magadha was founded by a descendant of Sudhanvan, the eldest son of Kuru. Fourth in descent from Sudhanvan was Vasu, the conqueror of Chēdi and of the adjoining lands including Magadha. Vasu is said to have had five sons, namely, Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśa (or Kuśāmba or Maṇivāhana), Yadu, and Māthailya, and distributed his territories among them in the five monarchies of Magadha, Chēdi, Kauśāmbi, Karūsha and Matsya. In other words, it was Bṛhadratha, a descendant of the Kuru clan, that was responsible for the emergence of Magadha for the first time into history as a separate kingdom.

The Bṛhadratha dynasty is said to have lasted for a thousand years. The Purāṇas give a list of kings who followed Bṛhadratha down to the Śiśunāga dynasty in the seventh century B. C. The genealogy down to the time of Jarā-

sandha who figures largely in the Mahābhārata is as follows:



Magadha had friendly relations with Kōsala. Sudakshiṇā, the queen of Dilīpa* and mother of the celebrated Raghu, was a princess of Magadha. The Rāmāyaṇa says† that Daśaratha consoled the grieving Kaikēyi by promising to give her whatever she desired from all the kingdoms of the earth subject to him. He enumerates the Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāshṭra, Dakshiṇāpatha, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Matsya, Kāśi and Kōsala kingdoms, and says that these abounded in riches, grains, woollen cloths (*ajāvāka*), etc. The poem mentions the Magadhan capital Girivrajā, but attributes its beginning to Vasu,‡ the fourth son of Brahma himself, instead of to Vasu Uparichara, the fourth successor from Kuru's son Sudhanvan§ and the conqueror of

* Kāḷidāsa has given a charming picture of Dilīpa and Sudakshiṇā in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, cantos I and II. In canto VI, verses 21—5, he refers to the Magadha king Parantapa in eulogistic terms, but Indumati rejects him.

† Ayōdhyākāṇḍa, Sarga 10, verses 38 –40.

‡ See Griffith's Trans., Book I, p. 52, Cant. XXXIV entitled Brahmadatta.

§ *Ante*, p. 257.

five states, of which Magadha was one and fell to the share of his son Bṛhadratha. The Mahābhārata describes Magadha as a powerful kingdom. Girivrajā, the capital, is described as situated in a forest of flowers and in the midst of a number of mountains forming its defence. It further gives details of the strange career of its king Jarāsandha. This valiant and celebrated king, whose origin is the theme of very wild legends†, was a terror to his contemporaries. He vanquished many kings and consigned them to prison at Girivrajā so that they could be sacrificed, when there were a thousand of them, to Śiva. Jarāsandha gave two of his daughters, Asti and Prāpti, in marriage to Kamsa, the king of Mathurā, and uncle of Kṛshṇa; and when Kamsa was killed by Kṛshṇa, there arose a deadly and ceaseless enmity between the Magadhan king and the Yādavas and Vṛshṇis‡. Jarāsandha attacked Balarāma and Kṛshṇa many a time at Mathurā. Once he is said to have besieged this place at the head of twenty-three *akshauhiṇis*. Invincible in the open field, Jarāsandha was eventually overcome by strategem. He was compelled to enter into a personal duel with Bhīma, the third of the five Pāṇḍavas, at the instigation of Kṛshṇa, and then killed. Jarāsandha is said to have unsuccessfully measured shoulders with Karṇa and bestowed upon him in admiration the city of Mālini§ (or Champā). The daughter of Jarāsandha, presumably a third was given in marriage to Sahadēva, the last of the Pāṇḍavas.

The chief inference we can draw from the career of Jarāsandha is that Magadha tried, often with success, to

* Sabhāparva, Calc. Edn., chap. 21. Jarāsandha is sometimes called Bṛhadratha himself or the son of Bṛhadratha. See next note.

† These legends make him the son of Bṛhadratha. Obtaining a mango fruit from Sage Kauśika, Bṛhadratha gave it to his queen. She gave half of it to a co-wife. Each of them became the mother of a 'half-child.' Rākshasī Jarā put the two halves together, and Jarāsandha was the result. Like Bhīma he was one of the seven unequalled athletes in the world.

‡ Seepp. 253–4, 306 and 317.

§ Vide Pargiter's Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, p. 325, footnote.

expand itself at the expense of the neighbouring kingdoms; and that from early times it showed that restlessness and enterprise which ultimately enabled it to become an empire.

On the death of Jarāsandha, his son Sahadēva was placed on the throne by Kṛshṇa and Bhīma. Sahadēva was naturally in friendly terms with the Pāṇḍavas and their Yādava allies, but apparently after some resistance. We are told, for example, that when the Pāṇḍava, Bhīmasēna, engaged himself in world-conquest preliminary to the performance of the Rājasūya, he had to compel Sahadēva to pay homage and tribute, so that he could attend the ceremonial as a feudatory.

The list of kingdoms conquered by Bhīma is interesting for the fact that Magadha is included in the kingdoms of the east. Bhīma is said to have successively exacted friendship or tribute from the Pañchālas, the Vidēhas, the Chēdis under Śiśupāla, the Kōsalas under Bṛhatphala, the Mallas, the Himalayan states, the Kāśis under Subāhu, the Matsyas, the Vatsas, and Magadha. The list is very formidable and includes several peoples besides these, to the north, east, and south. Very often it refers to places already subdued by Sahadēva or Arjuna. Very often it includes lands and peoples belonging to the north, west and north-west. Sometimes it refers to lands which cannot be identified or have to be definitely located elsewhere than in East Āryāvarta. Sometimes the references are clearly anachronistic. In spite of these defects, the enumeration of the kingdoms and peoples between the Madhyadēśa proper and the Bay of Bengal and the islands adjoining the coast is interesting. The mention of the Daśarṇas* who, we have seen, belonged to Malwa, seems to be out of place. The Puḷindas seem to be used in a general sense of the aboriginal, and not with reference to a particular, people.† Kumāravishaya‡,

* They are said to have been ruled by Sudharma. See p. 314.

† For this reason the Puḷindas are mentioned in all parts.

‡ Kumāra occurs in the Purāṇas as the name of one of the seven parts of the Śakadvīpa. Its inclusion, therefore, is incorrect, unless it has to be identified with some place in East Aryāvarta. Its king was named Śrēṇimān.

Śuktimān* hill, the Supārśvat hill, the Maladaǂ, Anaka, Abhaya, Pasubhūmi§, Sōmadēsa‖, and the lands of the Charmakas and Varmakas, are difficult to be fixed. The Kirātas seem to be in the same position as the Puḷindas. The cases of the Śakas and Barbaras in the east seem to be a distinct mistake. As we shall see presently, other lands and territories belonging to the tracts east and south of Magadha are referred to in Bhīma's campaign.

We understand that, in the battle of Kurukshētra, Sahadēva's brother, Dhṛshtakētu, distinguished himself as an ally of the Pāṇḍavas. When the latter subsequently performed the Aśvamēdha, Mēghasandhi, Sahadēva's son, seized the Pāṇḍava charger, and had to be vanquished by Arjuna before he became 'reasonable.' In the genealogical tree given below, however, we find that Sahadēva's son has the names of Sōmāpi or Sōmavit, and not Mēghasandhi. This is difficult to understand, unless we suppose that he was the same king or that he was also one of the sons of Sahadēva.

* The Śuktimān hill has been identified with the Bastar hills which give rise to the Mahānadi, the North Hazaribagh hills which form the source of the Śakrī which flows 35 miles to the east of Gayā, the southern parts of the Eastern Ghats, and the Mysore hills. None of these except the second view seems to be appropriate in the list of Bhīma's conquests.

† Traditionally, Supārśva is said to be at the foot of Mēru. The Ganges is known as Sōmā when it flows here. The mention of Supārśva in East Āryāvarta seems to be untenable.

ǂ Malada seems to be the Mānata-dēśa of the Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa. If its identification with Malda in Bengal by Cunningham is correct, its location here in the epic seems to be questionable. The identity of Anaka and Abhaya is not known.

§ This might be the Paśupāla (or Prāśupāla) which is said to have been to the north-east of Madhyadēśa. The Rāmāyaṇa (Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa) mentions its people along with the Kirātas and Taṅgaṇas of the lower Himalayas. The Mārkandēya Purāṇa mentions Praśupāla among the countries of North-East India; but it includes in the list obviously impossible peoples like the Kāśmīras, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Chinapravaraṇas and the Gandharvas, besides many curious tribes.

‖ See note † above.

The Purāṇas give a list of more than a score of kings in the Bārhadratha line subsequent to Sahadēva, showing thereby that, throughout the centuries which followed, Magadha had a strong and continuous government. These kings were, according to the Vishṇu and Matsya Purāṇas as follows:

Jarāsandha
|
Sahadēva
|
1. Sōmāpi (or Sōmavit)
|
2. Śrutavāha (or Śrutaśravā)
|
3. Āyutayuh (or Apratīpa)
|
4. Vīramitra | Nivmitra
| | or
5. Naya | Niramitra
|
6. Sukkhatra (or Surakkhēpa)
|
7. Bṛhatkarma (Bṛhatkarṇa)
|
8. Sēnajit
|
9. Śrutañjaya
|
10. Vipra (or Vibhū)
|
11. Suchī (Subhī)
|
12. Khēmya (or Khēma)
|
13. Suvrata (Anuvrata)

Vishṇu P. version.	Matsya P. version
14. Dharma	14. Sunētra
15. Suśrava	15. Nivṛthi
16. Dṛḍhasēna	16. Trinētra
17. Sumati	17. Dyumatsēna
18. Subala	18. Mahinētra
19. Sunipa	19. Achala
20. Satyajit	20. Ripuñjaya
21. Viśrajit	
22. Ripuñjaya	

No detailed information is available about any of these kings. The Purāṇas say that the last of them, Ripuñjaya, was killed by his minister, Śunika (or Pulika), who then installed his son Pradyōta on the throne. It is generally believed that the Pradyōta dynasty which consisted, according to the Purāṇas, of five generations and lasted for 138 years, followed the Bṛhadratha dynasty, and was in its turn superseded by Śiśunāga, the founder of the dynasty in his own name. But we are told in the Purāṇas that the Pradyōtas were raised to power not in Magadha, but in Mālwā (Avanti). They apparently came to rule Malwa after the destruction of the Vītihōtras who had been ruling there for twenty generations. It would be therefore wrong to include the 138 years of the Pradyōta line in the history of Magadha*, and it must be assumed that it was the last of the Bārhadrathas that was slain by Śiśunāga. From the fact that Śiśunāga had nine successors and that these ten monarchs were followed by the dynasty of the Nandas who consisted of two generations and who were overthrown by Chandragupta, the famous founder of the Mauryan empire, whose date can, with fair accuracy, be placed about 327 B. C., it can be plausibly concluded that Śiśunāga founded the new state, if we allow 25 years for a generation, in the latter part of the seventh century B. C., that is, a few years this side or that of B. C. 650. We understand from Buddhistic literature that there were sixteen big and small states in Hindustan about 650; and the great task of the Śiśunāgas was to give the glory of the first imperial achievement in historic India to that despised and semi-civilized 'borderland' of Magadha which was, as we have already seen, a region of the Vrātyas in later Vēdic literature.

It may be pointed out here that Pargiter regards Sēnajit in the above genealogy as contemporary with the Paurava Adhisīmakṛshṇa and the Aikshvāku Divākara, and he places them about B. C. 850, that is, just about a

* In his *Political History of Ancient India* (1927), p. 72, Mr. H. Raychaudhuri notes the fact of the Pradyōtas coming to power in Avanti, but fails to note its significance.

hundred years after the Kurukshetra battle (according to his calculations). Says he: "From Sēnajit (850) till Mahāpadma overthrew the Śisunāga (402), reigned 16 Bārhadrathas, five Pradyōtas and ten Śisunāgas, that is, 448 years are allowed for 31 reigns .....an average of 14½ years." This average, he believes, is quite probable because of the violence that overthrew those dynasties, and because it is about the average he has found "in eastern dynasties." "According to that average, the 5 Pradyōtas with 72 years would have begun in 619 B. C., and the 10 Śiśunāgas with 145 years in 547 B.C., but the synchronisms of Buddha, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru (the fifth and sixth Śiśunāgas) show that Ajātaśatru had come to the throne before Buddha's death about 487 B. C., and that the beginning of the Śiśunāgas should be placed earlier than 547 though not necessarily as early as 602 B. C. The above average makes the combined duration of the Pradyōtas and Śiśunāgas (72 plus 145) 217 years; and it is noteworthy that the Matsya gives the Pradyōtas 52 years and can be read as assigning the Śiśunāgas 163 years, that is, 215 years altogether. This remarkable agreement suggests that the only modification needed in the above calculations is to transfer 20 years from the Pradyōtas to the Śiśunāgas, whereby the chronology may be arranged thus:

"Accession of Sēnajit Bārhadratha	B. C. 850.
He and 15 Bārhadratha kings (average 14½ years)	231 years.
Beginning of the Pradyōtas	B. C. 619.
5 Pradyōtas (average, 10½ years).	52 years.
Beginning of the Śiśunāgas	B. C. 567.
10 Śiśunāgas (average, 16½ years)	165 years.
Accession of Mahāpadma Nanda	B. C. 402.
He and his eight sons	80 years.
Accession of Chandragupta	B. C. 322.

"These figures will I think be found to fit in with all the chronological particulars; yet if any further adjustment is needed, we might quite fairly shorten the Bārhadratha period by a few years (½ year per reign), and

date the beginning of the Pradyōtas about 627 B. C. and that of the Śiśunāgas about 575 B. C., or both even 5 years earlier."

There are certain difficulties in accepting this chronological scheme. In the first place, the date of the Mahābhārata has been, as has been shown elsewhere, highly post-dated. Secondly, the contemporaneity which Pargiter postulates is not free from doubt Thirdly, while he is for an average generation of 18 or 20 years as a rule, he is for a much smaller average for the individual kings of these dynasties, not because the Purānic list permits such averages, but because it suits his purpose. Fourthly, his acceptance of the Buddha's date of death as 487 B. C. is not sufficiently warranted. It is by no means settled that the Buddha died in that year. There has been, in recent years, a tendency to accept the traditional date of 543 B. C. for that event. There is really no tangible evidence to prove that the traditional date is incorrect. Consequently, any scheme which is based on the assumption of B. C. 487 for the date of the Buddha necessarily requires revision. It may be pointed out that in his last edition of the *Early History of India* even Vincent Smith came round to the traditional date, giving up all his past chronological schemes. Fifthly, the Pradyōtas are included by Pargiter amongst the kings of Magadha. In this he is at one with almost all scholars. But I have already pointed out that a correct reading of the Purāṇic passages seems to make the Pradyōtas the successors of the Vitihōtras in Malwa and not the successors of the Bārhadrathas in Magadha. The Pradyōtas, in fact, must be regarded as the contemporaries of the early Śaiśunāgas of Magadha.* So the period of 138 years allotted to them in the Purāṇas and which he brings down first to 72 years and then (on the doubtful authority of the Matsya) to 52 years, must be taken away

* The attempt made by some modern scholars to dethrone Śiśunāga from the place assigned to him in the Purāṇas in favour of Bimbisāra on the basis of Buddhistic traditions is a hopeless one and must be discredited.

from the scheme so far as it concerns Magadha. Then again, the accession of Chandragupta is placed by him in 322 in accordance with general opinion. But it is clear from the earlier* and more authoritative of the Greek writers who followed Alexander that the Mauryan dynasty was already established when Alexander was in India though only a few months previously. So Chandragupta's initial date must be 327 B.C. If we calculate the dates backward from 327 we can clearly see that, allowing the reasonable period of 25 years for each of the twelve generations which preceded the Mauryan establishment down to Śiśunāga, the latter chief must have lived about B. C. 627. But the Purāṇas give an exceptionally long period of 100 years to the two generations of the Nandas. We cannot of course accept such a long period. At the same time the very attribution of such a period requires a larger allowance than 50 years. Allowing about a score of years more than the average we have adopted, it is obvious that Śiśunāga must have lived about 647 or roughly 650 B. C.

The capital of Magadha had the name of Girivrajā, probably because it was surrounded by various hills well known later on in the history of Buddhism. The Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Vasu, the fourth son of Kuśa (Brahma's † son), built the city, and so gives it the name of Vasumati also. The Mahābhārata‡ describes it as a city situated in a forest of sweet-scented flowers, and impregnable on account of its being surrounded by the lofty hills of Vaihāra, Varāha, Vṛshabha, Rishigiri and Chaityaka. The city was also known as Rājgir, or old Rājagraha, a term which has been derived from the supposed fact that every house in it was like a palace. Another name (given by

* There is an inconsistency between the earlier and later Greek writers in this respect.

† Bālakāṇḍa, Grantha Text, chap. 32, verses 1 and 7. Vasu was the grandson, not the fourth son, of Brahma, as mentioned by mistake in p. 338 *ante*.

‡ Sabhāparva, chap. 21, Southern Text. It also calls the place Bārhadrathapura. See also Harivaṁśa, chap. 117.

Hiuent-sang) was Kuśāgrapura which must have risen either out of the Kuśa grass plentifully available there at one time or one of its kings who had the name of Kuśāgra. There is a tradition which attributes the foundation of Rājagraha to King Mandhāta. Buddhistic traditions say that it was originally built by an architect named Mahāgōvinda, but we cannot say that this could ave applied to the original foundation. Cunningham identified Girivrajā with the modern Giryek on the Panchana, about 36 miles to the north-east of Gayā, and Rajagraha with Rajgir six miles to the west of Giryek.*

The kingdom of Magadha had obtained a great reputation in the pre-Buddhistic period as a centre of wealth and stronghold of learning. It was closely associated with Dīrghatamas and other Gautamas, who seem to have done much for the Magadha dynasty. The Gijjakūṭa (Gṛdhrakūṭa) and other hills in its neighbourhood, and the various woods or groves like Vēṇuvana, Yashṭivana, Uruvēla, Tapōda, Maddakuchhi, Sitāvani, etc., which abounded in scholars and Parivrājakas like the Kāśyapas and Bharadvājas, play a very large part in early Buddhistic traditions. The Kāśyapa teacher who lived at Uruvēla and who had the name of Jaṭila had 1000 followers, and his conversion by the Buddha was a sensational achievement. One of the later Buddhistic works refers to a festival in which 500 virgins offered Mahākassapa a kind of cake. Pindola Bharadvāja was a celebrated convert to the cult of the Buddha. One of the heretical schools thriving in the city was known as the Samsāra-mōkshaka. These and other facts show that Magadha was not only a centre of Brahmanical orthodoxy, but also witnessed the rise of several heretical sects, all of which played an equal part in the history of the Buddha. The Mahābhārata refers to

* See Jackson's *Notes on Old Rājagriha* in Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, for 1913-4 (issued in 1917), pp. 265—71. See plate 71. The hills of the city are sometimes named differently. The Vaihāra, Vṛshabha and Ṛshi hills are respectively called Vipula, Bhāṇḍāra and Mātanga.

famous Nāgas like Maṇimān, Kauśika, etc., who were great Siddhas and who lived on the banks of the Tapōda and other holy waters of the place. Girivrajā is said to have had many houses of Rākshasas and Gandharvas too, that is, non-Āryans and minstrels.

Traditions also indicate the great wealth which Magadha possessed. It was extensive, well-watered, healthy, full of cows and beautiful mansions, and abounded in youth-imparting Lōdhra trees. Thanks to Manu's orders, the clouds always blessed it with their showers. It was well-cultivated, the lands being divided into proper agricultural holdings. The Vinayapiṭaka refers to 80,000 villages in it. There were very rich merchants in it who distinguished themselves by their donations, charities and enterprise. The reference to them in the course of the career of the Buddha indicates that there was a very flourishing middle-class population in the kingdom. The Jain Sūtras also refer to the riches and happiness of the people of the Magadhan capital. They also indicate the spiritual and secular achievements of the local people. The birth-place of Jivaka, a celebrated physician of the sixth century B. C., was Magadha. The science of medicine made a great advance in it, as much as the other branches of learning. It is not surprising that it was in the romantic hills and woods of Magadha that the activities of the Buddha and his disciples chiefly lay. It was not without reason that the early years of the Śiśunāga dynasty saw the foundation of the political greatness of Magadha as well as its spiritual eminence.

CHAPTER V

ĀRYAN EXPANSION (*contd.*)

THE KŌSALA-VIDĒHA GROUP AND EAST ĀRYĀVARTA.

THE KŌSALA-VIDĒHAS

We have seen how, east of the Kuru-Pāñchāla group, there was a group of the Kōsala-Vidēha States as the result of the Āryan progress and colonisation. The close connection between Kōsala and Vidēha is clear from various references in the later Vēdic literature as well the traditions of the Epics and the Purāṇas. Para Āṭnāra*, a king who was a great sacrificer, who obtained his sons in fact by the efficacy of sacrifices, and who was also known as Hairaṇya-nābha and Para Āhlāra Vaidēha, was both a Kausalya and a Vaidēha. Occasionally, the Kōsalas had the same priestly guidance as the Vidēhas, as the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra tells us. We have already seen how, occasionally at least, Kōsala and Vidēha had a close touch with Kāśī too. On the other hand, we find a sort of political as well as cultural conflict with the Kuru-Pāñchāla group of States. We shall presently see that the story of the advance of Āryan civilization to the east was only from the Kuru-Pāñchala centre. It may be that the Kōsala-Vidēhas were earlier settlers if we are to judge from their geographical position, but the greater non-Āryan environment in which they had settled led to the necessity for the importation of the orthodox Āryan institutions from the further west. The comparatively important position occupied by the Kshatriyas as compared with the Brahmans in this region, a feature which afterwards gave rise to the Kshatriya movements of Bud-

* Taittiriya Saṁhita, V. 6, 5, 3; Kāṭhaka, XXII. 3; Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, XXV. 16, 3; Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa, II. 6, 11; Śatapatha, XIII. 5, 4, 4; Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XVI. 9, 11, and 13. Priest Āśvalāyana belonged to both. See Praśna Upanishad, VI. 1.

dhism and Jainism, and the antipathy of the orthodox Āryan world to Magadha, which has been already referred to, go to indicate the same fact. It is the belief of some that the Kōsalas, Vidēhas and Kāśis were actually the off-shoots of the Kuru-Pañchālas, though, by reason of distance and larger mixture with the aborigines, they had to reinforce their orthodoxy from the Madhyadēśa. But on the other hand, it has been maintained that, though the legend of the Āryan migration in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa favours this interpretation, the original Kōsala-Vidēha settlers might have belonged to different sections of the Āryans. There has been, on the whole, a general tendency for writers to over-emphasise the supposed antagonism between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas in Eastern Āryāvarta. The hostility of the Kōsala-Vidēha combination against the Kuru-Pañchālas is also unduly emphasised. A certain amount of emulation and jealousy was bound to exist between different sections of the Āryans, orthodox or otherwise, west or east. The general impression gained from contemporary literature, moreover, is that the rivalry was one of friendly emulation in the pride of culture and the pursuit of religion. Still, there can be no doubt of the distinctness of the entity of the two groups. This inference from later Vēdic evidences is demonstrated by the Purāṇic tradition. Pargiter has shrewdly pointed out, on the basis of the Rāmāyaṇa, that the relations of Kōsala were primarily with the eastern kingdoms of Vidēha, Aṅga and Magadha, the western kingdoms of Kēkaya, Sindhu and Sauvīra, and the southern parts of India as far as the island of Ceylon, and not with the kingdoms of Madhyadēśa except Kāśi. This singularly striking fact is believed to be corroborated by linguistic and ethnological evidences (see pp. 110-127 above). In spite of some untenable elements in these evidences, it must be recognized that the Kōsala-Vidēhas formed a distinct group. In the Kurukshētra war, as will be noted presently, the Kōsalas were on the side of the Kauravas. The Pāṇḍavas had their main support in the central region.

THE STORY OF CULTURAL MIGRATION

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa gives an account of the circumstances under which the Āryan culture spread into Kōsala as well as the land of the allied Vidēhas.* It says that a certain Māthava, later on the Vidēhan† king, carried Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth; that the Rshi Gothama Rāhugaṇa addressed him to give it up but in vain; that he then addressed the Fire-god to come out, offering various sacrifices; that, at his offer of butter, the deity flashed forth from the king's mouth and fell down on the earth, on the Sarasvati. Agni hence went burning along this earth towards the east. Gothama Rāhugaṇa and Vidēgha Māthava followed him as he was burning along, and drying up the rivers which crossed his path; but when he reached the Sadānīra (identified by most with the Gaṇḍakī though by some with the Rapti), Agni did not show his vigour. The Brahmans therefore stopped there. The land east of the Sadānīra was then marshy and uncultivated, and the sages took Agni thither. In other words, they introduced sacrifice and culture there. It is clear from this that the Āryan culture was carried to the Kōsala-Vidēha country by a certain Māthava at the instance of the priestly clan of the Gothamas. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which gives the legend, must have been put in its present form in the Vidēha country.

THE SOLAR STOCK

Traditions attribute the foundation of Kōsala, the most celebrated kingdom in this group, which was practically identical with modern Oudh, to a hero called Ikshvāku, and give elaborate legends in connection with his career. Vēdic literature, however, is very obscure in this respect. The name Ikshvāku occurs in the Rg-vēda‡, but in a 'doubtful context,' though it is certain that it was the name of a prince. The Atharva-vēda§ mentions Ikshvāku in a passage,

* I. 4, 1, 10, 17.

† The original spelling is Videgha.

‡ X. 60, 4.

§ XIV. 39, 9.

but it is not known whether he himself is referred to or a descendant of his. In any case, it refers to him as an *ancient* hero. In the Pañchavimśa* Brāhmaṇa there is mention of a Tryaruṇa Traidhātva Aikshvāka who seems to have been the same as Tryaruṇa Trasadasyu† of the Rg-vēda and Tryaruṇa Traivṛshṇa‡ of the Bṛhaddēvatā. It is clear from this that Trasadasyu was a name connected with the Ikshvākus. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa§ refers to a Purukutsa as an Aikshvāka. It can be inferred from this that the Aikshvāka family was originally related to the family of the Purus. Whether, as Zimmer believes,‖ they migrated from somewhere in the Upper Indus, or, as Keith suggests, from a region further east, the clan settled eventually in Ayōdhyā.

The inferences we can draw from the above data are these. First, the Ikshvāku line was connected with the Puru. Secondly, it included kings of the names of Purukutsa and Trasadasyu. Thirdly, later Vēdic literature is very allusive and refers only to stray princes. All that it gives, concerns, in addition to the above kings, two others, namely, Para Āṭṇāra Hairaṇyanābha¶, a great Aśvamēdha sacrificer, and also Asamāti Rātha Praushṭha.$ The latter is said to have been an Ikshvāku of the Rathaprōshṭha clan who had a quarrel with his priests (the Gaupāyanas). The king is said to have been induced to abandon his priests by two Asuras, Kirāta and Ākuli. The latter effected the death of one of the priests, Subandhu, by their magic power; but the other priest was revived by the repetition of the Rg-vēdic hymns, X. 57-60. No other kings of Kōsala are referred to in Vēdic literature. Even the

* XIII. 3, 12.

† V. 27, 3.

‡ V. 14.

§ XIII. 5, 4, 5.

‖ *Vēdic Index*, I, p. 75.

¶ Śatapatha Brāh., XIII. 5, 4, 4.

$ Jaiminīya Brāh., III. 167; Bṛhaddēvatā, VII. 83 ff.; Pañchaviṁśa Brāh., XIII. 12, 5.

distinction between North Kōsala and South Kōsala is not referred to.

While the Vēdic literature is so meagre, obscure and allusive, the Epics and the Purāṇas give more details, though considerable portions of these are beyond the credible. We have already seen how the Puru or lunar line of kings and the numerous ramifications which sprang from it are traced in the Purānas to Vaivasvata Manu (the son of Sūrya) through his daughter Ilā and her husband Budha (the son of Chandra). Now Ilā did not only give birth to Purūravas, the progenitor of the Purus, but also to another stock, which may be called the Sudyumnas. The story is that Ilā, who was born in a sacrifice performed by her father for the sake of progeny, must have been born as a son, but constrained to be born as a girl in consequence of a mistake in sacrificial detail. The Rishis and Gods who were aware of this rather interesting circumstance had Ilā transformed into a man in the form of Sudyumna for a time. This Sudyumna, it is said, became the progenitor of the royal clans which came to rule over "the country eastward of a line drawn roughly from Gayā to Cuttack and the region north of the Ganges eastward of the Vidēhas and the Vaisālika kingdom." The eventful history of the Purus has been sketched in detail in the preceding pages. The story of the Sudyumnas, as far as it is available, will be taken up when we come to the history of the land east of the Kōsala-Vidēhas. What we have to note here is that, while Manu, through Ilā and Sudyumna, was the progenitor of the lunar and the Saudyumna stocks, he also gave rise to a third stock, of which the Kōsala and Vidēha lines were the foremost members, from a set of nine sons he is said to have had after Ilā. These sons were (1) Ikshvāku, the progenitor of the Kōsala and Vidēha lines; (2) Nṛga* or Nābhāga; (3) Dhṛshṭa; (4) Śaryāti;

* There is considerable confusion in the Purāṇas in regard to the names Nṛga, Nābhāga, Dishṭa and Nābhā-nedishṭa. We find them sometimes used identically, sometimes in combination, and almost always corruptly. The variants of Nābhā-nedishṭa are numerous, and seem to have risen out of the confounding of the first part with Nābhāga.

(5) Narishyanta, (6) Prāmśu; (7) Dishta, corrupted into Arishṭa, Rshṭa, etc., and properly rendered into Nābhā-nedishṭa; (8) Karūsha; and (9) Pṛshada.

Nṛga, the second of the above sons, is sometimes called Nābhāga, but described in the Bhāgavata as a brother. Quite possibly, Nābhāga is the same as Nabhāka who composed the Rg-vēdic hymn VIII, 39—42, and who is referred to also in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VI. 24). A Nṛga figures as the ruler of the Payōshṇi or Tapatī region in the Mahābhārata, but there is no definite clue as to how far this tradition correctly records the migration of the Mānavyas so far south.

Dhṛshṭa, the next son, is styled the progenitor of the Dhārshṭakas, whose position in social history is somewhat interesting for the fact that they are sometimes called Brahmans, sometimes Kshatriyas, and sometimes even Vaiśyas. Their career, which seems to illustrate the fluidity of Āryan society, is politically unimportant. If there is truth in the tradition recorded in the Śivapurāṇa that the Dhārshṭakas were the rulers of the Bāhlīka country, the inference has to be drawn that they migrated towards the distant region of the Indus and beyond; but we have no clear evidences to prove this.

Śaryāti figures as the founder of the Ānarta dynasty at Kuśasthalī, in what was later on to become Dvāraka, in Gujarāt. Their incomplete genealogy is referred to in page 306. The Bhāgavata* gives a curious story regarding Śaryāti. It is to this effect. Once he proceeded to the hermitage of Rshi Chyavana with his daughter. Reaching an ant-hill from which two lights came forth like glow-worms, the princess thrust a thorn into the holes, as a result of which blood flowed out immediately. The king's followers were immediately struck with kidney-disease. The perplexed king made enquiries, and discovered that sage Chyavana was performing penance within the cover of the ant-hill. Begging pardon of him, the king won his favour, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Chyavana is said to have gained

* Skandha IX, Chap. 3, verses 1—36.

youth and vigour through the grace of the Aśvins, on account of which he gratefully introduced offerings to them in sacrifices in spite of the hostility of Indra. The descendants of Śaryāti continued to rule over Kuśas thalī till Kakudmī's daughter, Rēvati, married Balarāma immediately after the conquest of the country by the Yādavas. The Śaryātis who were conquered and expelled by the lunar Yādavas seem to have then become one with the Haihayas. If there is truth in the solar character of the clan, it seems to give another clue to the adventurous spirit of the restless 'solar' royal houses of East Āryāvarta. It is however impossible to say how far the tradition is correct.

Narishyanta is described in the Purāṇas, equally speculatively, as the progenitor of the Śakas. As the very term Śaka is anachronistic in relation to the Vēdic age, we have to presume that the tradition is a late one. The Bhāgavata says that a certain sect of Brahmans called the Agnivēśyas were the descendants of Narishyanta; but it has been doubted whether the poem refers to him or his Vaisalī namesake. In any case, the connection of the same person with a sect of the Brahmans and a distant people like the Śakas is so singular as to baffle all attempts at a plausible interpretation of its significance.

Nothing is known of Prāmśu, in whose place the name Kuśanābha is found in some versions; but Nābhā-nedishṭa* figures in the Ṛg-vēda as the composer of the hymn, X, 62, and is apparently referred to as a poet in X, 61, 18. The authors of the *Vēdic Index* thus summarise his position in Vēdic literature. "Nābhā-nedishṭa ('nearest in descent') Mānava ('descendant of Manu') is famous in the later Samhitas and the Brāhmaṇas for the way in which he was treated when his father Manu divided his property among his sons, or they divided it: Nābhā-nedishṭa was left out,

* The Purāṇas also give the variant *Nābhāgadishṭa*, and make him the son of Dishṭa, Manu's son. They describe him as a Vaiśya who became so under strange circumstances and as the founder of the Vaiśali line.

but was solaced by obtaining, through his father's advice, cows from the Āṅgirases, a feat which is regarded in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra as on a level with the exploits of other seers who celebrated their patrons in hymns, and as giving rise to the hymn, Rg-vēda X. 62. Nābhā-nedishṭa's hymn is repeatedly mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, but beyond its authorship nothing is recorded of him. In the Samhita itself he seems to be spoken of as a poet in one passage, which is, however, of quite uncertain meaning." They add this piece of comparative commentary: "Nābhā-nedishṭa is etymologically connected in all probability with Nabānāzdishta in the Avesta, which refers to the Fravashi of the paoiryō-ṭkaēsha and the Fravashi of the Nabānazdishta. Lassen saw in the legend a reminiscence of an Indo-Iranian split; but Roth showed conclusively that this was impossible, and that Nabhā-nedishṭa meant simply 'nearest in birth,' and Weber admits that the connection of the words is not one of borrowing on either side, but that in the Avesta it has kept its original sense of 'nearest relation,' while in Rg-vēda it has become a proper name." The name is one of the most singular but fine evidences of the affinity of the later Vēdic and Avestic civilizations. So far as the political history of Āryāvarta is concerned, Nābhā-nedishṭa was the progenitor of the royal line of Vaiśāli, if the Purāṇic story of Nābhāgadishṭa, the son of Dishṭa, really refers to him.

With regard to Karūsha there is a tradition that his descendants were Kshatriyas who were famous for their fighting capacity and who occupied the Karūsha country which Pargiter identifies with the land round the modern Rewa and eastwards to the river Sone (see p. 314), later on the land of Dantavakra.* There is a tradition recorded in the Bhāgavata that the Karūshas defended the north from the attacks of people from the south. It is quite possible that this refers to their touch with the hostile aborigines on the borders of Malwa.

* The Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa says that Karūsha's sons were 700 in number and that thousands were descended from them!

Pṛshada*, the last of Manu's sons, is said to have become a Śūdra as he killed the cow of a sage and was cursed by his son to become such.† The Bhāgavata,‡ however, says that he was directed by Vasishṭha to tend his cattle; that he took them to a forest; that one night a tiger attacked the herd and the king slew a cow by mistake in his attempt to kill the tiger, and that he was therefore cursed to become a Śūdra. The poem goes on to add that the degraded man placed his mind entirely on Vāsudēva without desiring anything, abandoned all his attachments and the desires of the senses, lived on what came to him without effort, and wandered in the world like an apparent fool, blind and deaf, but really as a friend to all, till he threw himself into a forest fire and reached the highest bliss. The story, if true, seems to indicate a prince who was of a religious bent of mind, and who was one of the pioneers in the cult of devotion and resignation.

We now come to Ikshvāku, the eldest son of Manu, who is said to have risen from his sneeze. The Purāṇas say that he had a hundred sons, of whom Vikukshi, Nimi and Daṇḍa were the most famous. Of these, Vikukshi was the progenitor of Kōsala and Nimi of the Vidēhas. The Vishnu Purāṇa says that fifty of Ikshvāku's sons became the rulers of Uttarāpada or Northern India, and the others became the sovereigns of Dakshiṇāpada or South India. The Bhāgavata says that, of the 100 sons of Ikshvāku, 25 settled in the 'front' part of the country, an equal number in the 'hind' portion, two in Madhyadēśa, and the rest in other parts of the country. These legends, in spite of differences in detail, indicate the general fact that the Kōsalas and Vidēhas were the most prominent of Manu's descendants, that they settled practically in Madhyadēśa, and that the other branches settled in other parts of the country.

* Or Pṛshadhra. The form Pāshadhra found in some versions is apparently a mistake.

† See the Mārkaṇḍēya, chap. 112.

‡ Skandha IX, chap. II.

EARLIER MANAVYA DYNASTIES

Such are the legends which have gathered round the sons of Vaivasvata Manu, who are alleged to have settled in various parts of the Āryan land which formed 'the outlying regions' as compared with the Madhyadēśa. The Purāṇas, however, maintain that theirs were not the earliest dynasties, though the later historical dynasties, solar and lunar, had their origin in them. Previous to the sons of the seventh Manu, they say, there had been six Manus and their descendants. It is not possible to go into the elaborate cosmology and cosmogony of the Purāṇas for the simple reason that they were later elaborations.* The Purāṇic theories of the Chaturyugas, the Kalpas, Manvantaras and other themes are creations of later fancies. Equally so is the Purāṇic theory of the worlds and oceans. The various Purāṇas, moreover, have got a certain bias of some character or other, which led to the incorporation of religious and philosophic systems which belonged to periods distinctly later than the Vēdic. But, on the other hand, the later legends were elaborated on the *nuclii* of ancient traditions, and though it is very difficult for the historian to make unchallengable inferences from them, it is possible to argue, after throwing aside the evidences of later accretions, that, earlier than the rise of the Aila, Sudyumna and Mānava stocks, there had ruled several dynasties in the Vēdic period. These have been attributed in traditions to the Kṛta and Trēta Yugas, and to the period of the so-called six Manus who are said to have preceded the last, Vaivasvata Manu. The period of the six Manus is, traditionally, *previous* to the period of the rise of the later historical stocks of the solar and lunar branches of the Mānavyas.

The first Manu or progenitor of mankind, Svāyambhuva, is said to have had two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and three daughters. The latter are the themes of very

* A lucid and excellent analysis of these is found in Diwan Bahadur V. K. Ramanujacharya's illuminating study of the *Bhāgavatam* (Kumbakonam, 1933).

elaborate legends, connecting them with the gods, sages, sacrifices, etc., with which subjects we shall have occasion to deal later on. Here we are concerned with the descendants of Manu's sons. Priyavrata is described as the first of Kshatriyas. A pupil of Nārada, he first preferred a religious life to one of politics, but was persuaded to take upon himself the work of administration, as anything done without attachment was equally good in the eyes of God. He is said to have ruled 110 million years! Of his ten sons, three became Manus in the next Manvantaras, and the other seven obtained the seven *dvīpas** of the earth from their father. One of these, Jambūdvīpa, fell to the share of Agnīdhra. He had nine sons, and he divided the Jambūdvīpa in nine *Varshas* or divisions† among them. One of these, Ajanābha, was ruled by Nābhi. Long childless, he had an avatār of Bhagavān for his son in Rishabha. The Bhāgavata says that it was from Rishabha's son, Bharata, that the term Bhāratavarsha‡ came to be given to Ajanābha. Numerous are the traditions connected with these two figures; but they are politically of no significance. Further, they show by their details that they could have been composed only after Bhāgavatism was a live creed in the land. It may be pointed out, however, that Bharata is said to have taught Rāhugaṇa, king of the Sindhus and Sauvīras, some precious doctrines about the soul and the body in one of his numerous adventures as a

* The seven dvīpas (islands) are said to be Jambū, Plaksha, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñcha, Śāka, and Pushkara. In the early days of oriental research, Lieutenant Col. Wilford paid much attention to the identification of these 'islands,' and regarded them as referring to India proper, Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Africa, etc. The question is referred to in Part II of this work.

† The nine Varshas are said to be Ilavrata (round Mēru): Bhadrāśva (east of Ilavrata); Adivarsha (south of Ilavrata); Kimpurusha; Ajanābha (or Bhārata); Kētumāla; Rāmyaka; Hiraṇmaya; and Uttarakūru. The Purāṇas assert that different Avatāras were connected with different parts. This very thing indicates their later chronology. An attempt at the real significance of these divisions is made in Part II. For political purpose it is of no value

‡ The origin of the name *Bhāratavarsha* took place, according to other versions, from Bharata, the son of Dushyanta. See p. 202 above.

Bhāgavata. Bharata was followed by the following generations of kings:—

Bharata
|
Sumati
|
Indradyumna
|
Paramēshṭhi
|
Pratihāra
|
Pratikarta
|
Bhava
|
Udgīti
|
Prastāva
|
Pṛthu
|
Nakta
|
Gaya

Gaya's reign is said to have been idealistic. "The earth gave her blessings to his children, though he never asked for it. The Vēda did the same. Even after his death, the Brāhmaṇas gave him the sixth part of the merit of the *dharmas* they had performed." After Gaya, the genealogy is given as follows:—

Gaya
|
Nara
|
Virōhaṇa
|
Mahāvīrya
|
Dhīmān
|
Mahānta
|
Pāvana
|
Tvashṭā
|
Viraja
|
Raja
|
Śatajit
|
Vishvakjyōti and 99 others

According to one version Viraja was the last king, and he is described as a very Vishṇu. But the genealogy is carried three generations further, as shown above. Here ends the Paurāṇic account of the Priyavrata line.

With regard to the descendants of the first Manu's younger son, Uttānapāda, the Bhāgavata begins with the very interesting story of the celebrated boy-devotee, Dhruva, which is well-known throughout the Hindu world. There is no doubt that the Bhāgavatic elements in the story were accretions of later times; but there is nothing intrinsically impossible in the existence of a royal sage of precocious brilliance like Dhruva. The period of 36,000 years allotted by the Lord, according to traditions, for his rule over the earth, is of course part of the myths connected with him; but his historicity need not be doubted. In any case, the cult of Dhruva, the Pole-star into which the devotee was eventually transformed by divine boon, is one of the very interesting astronomical references available in Vēdic literature. The Brāhmaṇas indicate that the cult was already a fact. It has been already shown (p. 109 above) that this must have come into existence in the third millennium B. C.* The reference to the Kṛta, Trēta and Dvāpara Yugas during which these early descendants of the first Manu are said to have ruled, shows that they belonged to the centuries which long preceded the Mahābhārata war which took place at the fag-end of the Dvāpara-yuga. The fact that there were at least twenty-five generations *before* the rise of the Mānavya stocks of historical times which consisted of about ninety-five generations previous to the war of the Mahābhārata,† goes to corroborate in a vague manner that the beginnings of dynastic history go back to about B.C. 3000. The references to the Saptaṛshis, the names of the stars, the

* See, in addition to the references given in chapter I, the interesting contribution on 'Some Problems of Indian Chronology' by K. G. Sankar, in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, July 1931.

† See Pargiter's tables in his *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 144—149.

legends connected with the floods, and other data indicate, as has been already said, dates belonging to different times in the course of the third and second millenniums B. C.

Dhruva is said to have been succeeded by these kings :—

Śishṭhi
|
Ripu (one of five sons)
|
Chākshusha (one of two sons)
|
Manu (who became the sixth Manu)
|
Uru (one of ten sons)
|
Aṅga (one of six sons)
|
Vēna

This Vēna is said to have been a horribly wicked king. Even as a prince he had used to wantonly kill animals in the forests and boys in the play-ground in a ruthless manner. His father abdicated in disgust, and Vēna became worse after his accession. He ordered that no *sacrifice* should be performed, and that no *hōmas*, *dānas* or *dharmas* should be done. He argued mischievously to the effect that, as the king had all the Dēvatas in him, he should receive worship from the priests. The enraged Rshis thereupon killed him by crying *hum* and striking him with *darbha*! The world was then darkened by the dust of the myriads of vampires who took advantage of the anarchy to launch their nefarious activities. From the arms of the deceased tyrant, thereupon, a beautiful child, Pṛthu, is said to have been miraculously churned out by the sages; and this prince is credited with a character exactly opposite to that of his father.* He is further said to have brought all the nine Varshas of Jambudvīpa once again under his power. As a ruler, Prthu was unsurpassed for his solicitude to his people. When the earth, as the result of his father's tyranny, did not supply sufficient harvests to the

* Previous to Pṛthu, so goes the story, all the vices of Vēna took birth as the black, ugly and dwarfish Nishada, who became the ancestor of the vile foresters of the Vindhyas.

people, he forced her by his valour to be true to the object with which she had been created! He made her a desire-yielding cow to whom the Rshis, Pitṛs, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Vidyādharas, Asuras, Yakshas, Rākshasas and others owed their position, powers, functions and characteristics in the universe. Thanks to Pṛthu's labours, the people were freed from the evils of hunger and poverty. For the reason that he made the earth resume her function as the supplier of all things in the universe, the earth itself came to be called his daughter, *Pṛthvī*. Pṛthu, in fact, is said to have cleared the earth of its ups and downs, made it more habitable, given an incentive to village and urban life, and enabled men to earn their livelihood in various ways. Inspired by high moral ideals, Pṛthu came to be recognized by his subjects as a *Rājā* or protector.* Being an ideal Rājā, he got the obedience of even nature! When he was on circuit, the oceans remained passive and silent, the mountains gave him way, and the trees bent low in order to avoid the entanglement of his banners in their branches! In Pṛthu's regime, the earth gave plenty, the cows were prolific, and the people tasted the joy of unclouded prosperity. The panegyristic classes of the Sūtas and Māgadhas came into existence and displayed their literary talents in connection with Pṛthu even when he was a youth, so that he could become equal to their praises! Pṛthu is also said to have performed ninety-nine sacrifices, and been dissuaded from performing the hundredth as an act of gracious mercy to Indra. He figures extensively in the history of Bhāgavatism, and occupies therein a position comparable to that of Janaka in the history of the Upanishadic philosophy; but it is probable that this development belongs to later times. Pṛthu is, moreover, represented as a pupil of Sanatkumāra and an expert in the art of Yōga. Responding to the higher feelings which had always swayed his heart, Pṛthu closed

* The story of Pṛthu's origin and his labours is of great constitutional significance as it affords the traditional theory of the origin and functions of Monarchy. The *Nishada* was, by contrast, the opposite, in every way, of the morally-inspired Rājā. See the chapter on constitutional developments in Part II.

his career as a Vānaprastha, and was then succeeded by his eldest son. It is patent that the career of Pṛthu has very interesting lessons to teach in the political, constitutional and religious history of the Vēdic period.

Pṛthu was succeeded by his son, Antardāna, and he by Havirdāna. The latter had a number of sons, of whom the eldest was known as Prāchīna Barhi, Barhishmān and Barhishad. He is described as a prolific sacrificer, who 'covered the earth with the holy sacrificial grass pointing to the east,' thereby obtaining the names given above. The Bhāgavata says that Nārada eventually persuaded him to take up a life of resignation which ended in his retirement to the *āśrama* of Kapila. Barhishmān had ten sons named the Prachētas. Very elaborate and perplexing legends of the character of folklore have gathered around them. They are said to have performed penance for 10,000 years within the waters of the oceans with a view to become instrumental in the creation of various objects in the universe! The story of the creation of the sages, the gods, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Dānavas, the animals and plants of the world, through them, is not only fanciful to the extreme, but difficult to be reconciled with similar accounts found in other parts of Paurāṇic literature.

Such is the elaborate account we have got of the descendants of the first Manu. The Purāṇas give less verbose but equally legendary accounts of the next five Manus.* Stray kings are referred to as their descendants, but their stories are primarily concerned with the contemporary Indras, sages and demi-gods, and not with

* These were: Svārochisha, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata and Chākshusha. Of these, the third, fourth and fifth Manus are said to be the sons of Priyavrata, the eldest son of the first Manu. The sixth Manu is, according to one version, the son of Viśvakarmā (who is generally regarded as the son of the seventh Vasu, created like many other heavenly beings through the Prachētas), and according to another version, the son of Chākshusha, fourth in descent from Dhruva (see genealogical tree, p. 362). As all these later Manus are conceded to be relatives of the earlier, their historical position has no practical significance.

any dynasties of importance. It is the seventh Manu, Vaivasvata, that is said to have given rise to the Aila, Sudyumna and Mānava stocks, that is, to the various branches of the solar and lunar dynasties figuring in historical times.

ETHNOLOGICAL ASPECTS.

As has been shown in an earlier part of this treatise (see pp. 88-106), it is the view of Pargiter that the main or Aila stock of the Mānavas was purely Āryan, that the Sudyumnas were Mundas and Monkhmers, and that 'the Mānavas' were Dravidians. It has been also pointed out that there is absolutely no evidence to differentiate the 'lunar' Ailas, the Sudyumnas and the 'solar' Mānavas from one another ethnologically, as Pargiter does. The testimonies are clear that all of them were equally orthodox, equally proud of Āryan language and culture, and equally connected with the Daityas, Dānavas and other representatives of the pre-Āryan, Dravidian, Munda, and perhaps even Mongoloid peoples in different parts of the country. There is no evidence whatever for the theory 'of three dominant races, said to have been derived from Manu, Purūravas and Sudyumna, and apparently constituting three separate stocks.' Nothing is more common in Indian history than the claim of its numerous dynasties to be descended from one or other of these solar or lunar stocks. There has been no differentiation as between them, in any period of Indian history, in regard to the supposed status or dignity. All were equally Āryanised. This does not mean, of course, that there were no different social groups or distinctions. The chief feature, indeed, in the social history of the Vēdic age was the rise of social gradations which developed, in course of time, into castes. Nor can it be denied that ethnical differences between the Āryans, the Dravidians, the pre-Dravidians (including the Mundas and hill tribes) contributed, like many other factors, to the formation of stereotyped social compartments. But there is no tangible evidence to prove, as Pargiter supposes there is, that the royal clans figuring in

the Purāṇas indicate a *racial* division of the particular kind which he formulates.

As has been shown in the volume on Pre-Historic India, there are certain clear ethnological and anthropological groups in India. First, there is the tall, fair-skinned, prominent-nosed, handsome, long-headed group of the Panjab, Rajputana and Kashmir (both Hindus and Mahomedans belonging to it). This corresponds to the Āryan type of Risley. Secondly, there is a modified type to the further east and south, the area forming the United Provinces and Bihar. This is the well-known Āryo-Dravidian type of Risley, though that writer went wrong in putting the Dravidians and pre-Dravidians together as one race. Thirdly, Bengal is occupied by a race which is broad-headed, but with facial, nasal and other features in common with the long-headed race of the further west. This element is the same as the Alpine race occupying a belt to the west of the Āryans of the north-west, extending across Baluchistan in two branches,—one along Western India to Mysore, and the other across Central Hindustan to Bengal. Fourthly, the sub-Himalayan and north-eastern parts of Hindustan are occupied by the Mongoloids who are broad-headed and who have nasal and facial features different from those of the broad-headed Alpines of Bengal and the long-headed Āryans and Āryo-Dravidians of the interior. To the south of the Āryo-Dravidian belt in main Hindusthan, there are, in the Central Indian plateaus of woods and hills, the Muṇḍas and Mon-khmers in close connection with their Dravidian conquerors and companions. To the south of the Vindhyas lies the pre-dominantly Dravidian region, altered in some fundamental respects by fusion with the pre-Dravidians and in other respects by Āryanisation, but with additional features like the 'Alpine' and the later 'Scythian' in West Dakkan. The pre-Dravidian hill-tribes, it has been pointed out, are still found intact in some of the hills and woods of the Peninsula, though they are often found Dravidianised in the plains.

The physical and anthropological characteristics of these different ethnological groups can be understood at a glance from this table:

The Region.	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.	Orbito-nasal Index.	Stature.
From the Pamirs to Baluchistan.	Brachy-cephalic	Very lepter-rhine (Jewish.)	Prc opic.	Highly tall.
The North-West, Panjāb and Kashmir.	Dolico-cephalic.	Lepterrhine (uniformly in all classes.)	do.	do.
Rajputana	do.	Messerhine, but in differ-ent degrees (showing mixture.)	do.	do. But less tall in some cases.
United Provinces.	do.	do.	Mes-opic.	Regressively tall, tallish, and short.
Bihar and Orissa.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Bengal.	Brachy-cephalic.	do. Lowest becoming platyr-rhine.	do.	do.
Assam.	do.	Platyrrhine.	Platy-opic.	Low.
Sub-Himala-yan tracts.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Central India and Central Provinces.	Dolico-cephalic.	From Messer-hine in dif-ferent degrees to platyrrhine.	From Mes-opic in differ-ent degrees to platy-opic.	Shortish, short and low.

In the above table provision is not made for the complexion, hairiness, the colour of the eyes, the odour and other

features, owing to the difficulty of making clear ethnical inferences from them.

The Alpine Brachycephalic type which extends from the Pamirs through West Afghanistan to Baluchistan is represented by the Brahuis. The broad head differentiates them from the Āryans proper, but they agree with the latter in their Lepterrhine nose, and their highly tall stature. They speak a Dravidian tongue which is apparently due to extraneous influence. As has been already said, they have spread eastward towards Bengal and southward towards Mysore. "The broad head of the Bengali, of which the mean index varies from 79·0 in the Brahman to 83·0 in the Rajbansi Magh, effectually differentiates the type from the Indo-Āryan or Āryo-Dravidian. The seriation of the cephalic index for the Brahmans of Eastern Bengal is very regular in its gradations, and it presents a striking contrast with the corresponding diagrams for the Hindustani Brahmans and the Rajput. Here, as elsewhere, the inferences as to racial affinity suggested by the measurements are in entire accord with the evidence afforded by features and general appearance. For example, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Rajbansi Magh of Chittagong, who is in great demand as a cook in European households in India, resembles the upper class Bengali of Eastern Bengal so closely that it takes an acute observer to tell the differences between the two. In the Brahman seriation the finer nasal forms predominate; and it is open to any one to argue that, notwithstanding the uncompromising breadth of the head, the nose-form may, in their case, be due to the remote strain of Indo-Āryan ancestry to which their traditions bear witness." Risley takes the Bengalis to be Mongolo-Dravidian. "When we leave Bihar" says he, "and pass eastward into the steamy rice fields of Bengal, the Indo-Āryan element thins out rapidly and appears only in a sporadic form. The bulk of the population is Dravidian, modified by a strain of Mongoloid blood which is relatively strong in the east and appreciably weaker in the west. Even here, however, where the Indo-Āryan factor is so small as to be hardly traceable,

certain exceptions may be noticed. The tradition, cherished by the Brahmans and Kayasths of Bengal, that their ancestors came from Kanauj at the invitation of King Adisura to introduce Vedic ritual into an unhallowed region, is borne out to a substantial degree by the measurements of these castes, though even among them indications are not wanting of occasional intermixture with Dravidians. If, however, the regional type is regarded as a whole, the racial features are seen to be comparatively distinct. The physical degeneration which has taken place may be due to the influence of a relaxing climate and an enfeebling diet, and still more perhaps to the practice of marrying immature children, the great blot on the social system of the upper classes of Bengal" (*Imperial Gazetteer*, chapter VI, p. 304). But Risley himself points out that the Bengalis resemble the Mongoloids only with regard to their broad-headedness. In their complexion, their possession of plentiful hair on face, their medium stature, their medium nose, and other features, they indicate that they are more like the Āryans or Āryo-Dravidians farther west. This combination of Brachycephaly with features found only in Dolicocephalic peoples shows their Alpine character. Of course the Mongoloid element does exist to some extent, naturally, in those parts where the Bengalis come into contact with the Mongoloids of the Himalayan tracts and of Assam. But the main strain is not Mongoloid. It is a blend of Alpine, Āryan, Dravidian, and to a very small extent of Mongoloid features.

With regard to the other section of the Alpine race in Western India, it will be taken up presently, when we deal with the Āryanisation of the Dakkan.

One question which will suggest itself as the result of this theory of the eastward projection of the Alpine element from Baluchistan is whether there are evidences of the Alpine race in the intervening countries like Sindh and the Central Indian Plateau. So far as Sindh is concerned, considerable light is thrown by the researches of Sir John Marshall and his collaborators. Colonel R. B. S. Sewell and V. S. Guha have examined a set of twenty-six human

remains discovered at Mohenjo Daro*. Unfortunately, four of these alone are believed to be true examples of probable burials, all the others having been found either in a room or in the streets, lying promiscuously like the evidences of a tragedy rather than those of funereal disposals. Again, not a single remain is completely intact in its original form, and every skull or limb has had to be touched in various ways before the anthropological measurements were taken. A large space, in fact, is devoted by Sewell and Guha to denote the unsatisfactory character of the data. Still, they have constructed the probable forms of the original men from these remains; and, as the result of such anthropometrical reconstructions, have come to the conclusion that the Sindh people must have been of a composite character, containing the Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Alpino-Mongolian and Alpine elements. Sewell and Guha attribute three of the skulls to the Proto-Australoid race, and point out that they show the ethnical connection of the Sindh people with the Veddahs, Tasmanians, Australian aboriginals, and the people of the Ādittanallur finds. The two scholars also show that the Sindh man resembled in several respects the Homo neanderthalensis of Europe and North Africa. Certain skulls, moreover, discovered at Kish, Al Ubaid and Ur in Mesopotamia, it is pointed out, show the same features, thus indicating relationship.

The presence of the Mediterranean race is inferred from a set of six skulls, and it is pointed out that they agree with the Nāl skull from Baluchistan and other skulls discovered at Kish and Ur in Mesopotamia, as well at Sialkot and Bayāna in the Panjab and United Provinces†. The value of these data is, it is true, considerably diminished by the fact that all the skulls belong to the variety discovered huddled together in a room or

* *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Civilization* (1931), Vol. II, Chap. 30, pp. 598—648. The chapter is enriched with 26 drawings of skulls, anthropometrical tables, and comparative bibliography.

† See Vol. I. (Pre-Historic India), pp. 104-5.

in the street. Only two or three of them could be utilized *satisfactorily* for purposes of research, and even these have had to be touched. Further, it is difficult to say whether the skulls belonged to the Chalcolithic people or the people of a later time. It has indeed been suggested that the finds indicate a group of slaves or prisoners who died in captivity or from some sudden pestilence, and were hastily covered over where they lay instead of undergoing the customary burial or cremation rights. From the fact that these skeletons represent more than one race, it has been suggested* that their original owners must have been "foreigners, whether prisoners or slaves." Another theory is that they might be "squatters in the ruins or treasure-hunters who met this tragic fate in later times." But, as against these criticisms it may be argued that the conclusion in favour of the influence of the Mediterranean race is supported by what is generally known of the ethnographical history of the age. As has been already shown in Volume I, the Mediterranean race played a very important part in the history of pre-Vēdic and proto-Vēdic India. The Āryans and Dravidians were equally important elements therein, and the presence of the same feature in Sindh need not cause surprise.

The third fact enunciated by the two anthropologists is the presence of the Mongoloid variety of the Alpine type in ancient Sindh, comparable to the Nāga skull in the Indian Museum. Objection†, however, has been raised against this theory on the ground that, "even if it be taken for granted that this particular skull possesses the usual Mongoloid facial characteristics, we would still look askance as to the propriety of inferring a summer from a single swallow, and particularly when that swallow was found in a badly mangled state."

Lastly, Sewell and Guha infer the presence of the Alpine element positively from the skull of a child, and surmisingly from three other skulls of a rather doubtful

* See *Indian Culture*, October 1934, pp. 300—2.

† *Ibid*, p. 301.

character. Mr. A. K. Sur wonders "at the hardihood of these official anthropologists to infer a type from the skull of a child! It is well-known that anthropometrical measurements to be of any value are always taken on adult people. The skull of a child is still in a plastic condition, and it has considerable potentiality of undergoing subsequent transformations." But, though it is dangerous to draw conclusions from a child's cranium and from doubtful specimens, still the fact remains that the general trend of ethnological history is not against the official theory.

The composite character of the Sindh people is also evidenced by the human statuaries* found in the ruins of Mohenjo Daro. Dr. Mackay has examined six of them. His conclusions are as follows: "The Human statuary displays many interesting features. In the first place, it is hardly comparable with that of any adjacent country. It does not resemble the Sumerian statuary of any period, the chief points of difference being the form of the eye and the arrangement of the hair. In all Sumerian statuary, whether early or late, the eye is round and full, whereas in all the statues found at Mohenjo Daro it is curiously narrow; so narrow, in fact, in some examples that it produces the effect of half-closed lids†. This is a feature of the Mongolian eye, but the resemblance ceases at that, for there is no trace of Mongolian obliqueness; indeed, the slope which certainly is present in some of the Mohenjo Daro heads (Pl. XCIX, 1 and 7; Pl. C, 4) is in the reverse direction. Struck by this very curious feature, I made an examination of some of the Sindhi workmen at Mohenjo Daro, and found that the eyes of many of them presented the half-closed appearance seen in some of the statuary, an appearance which is quite distinct from the almond-shaped eye that we find in other parts of India. This is hardly to be wondered at, as there is every probability that certain elements of the old population have survived. It is, however, idle to dwell on this subject, until

* See *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Civilization*, Vol I, Chap. XIX, pp. 356—64.

† It has been suggested that this indicates the practice of Yōga in ancient Sindh. *Ibid*, p. 44 and p. 54 and p. 357.

a proper anthropological survey has been made in Sindh, a task which promises interesting results" (Vol. I, p. 360-1.) Another feature which Dr. Mackay notes is the thick short sturdy neck, a feature found in the early statuaries of Babylonia, but particularly pronounced at Mohenjo Daro, thus indicating a racial characteristic of the latter. Still another feature of the Sindh statuary is the low receding forehead. Dr. Mackay suggests that this also must have been racial on the ground that it is a conspicuous feature of every one of the heads he examined. He suggests that this does not necessarily imply lack of intellect or brain power. Amongst the other features which Dr. Mackay notes may be mentioned the flattening of the cheek-bones as in Babylonia; the complete lack of prognathism and the decidedly weak character of the chin; the lack of prominence in the nose with the consequence that the ridge of the nose is in a line with the forehead; and above all the variety of the shape of the heads. "Viewed from the top, the heads vary considerably in full." There are examples of brachycephalic, dolicocephalic, and mesocephalic types. The sculptor, points out Dr. Mackay, apparently paid no particular attention to the shape of the head. With regard to the portraits discovered in Sindh, Dr. Mackay similarly notes the dissimilarity among them. He suggests that they were iconographical in character and that they are of no significance in regard to the portrayal of human forms. For purposes of ethnological conclusions, therefore, they have to be ignored.

The one thing which is clear from these investigations is the mixed character of the people of Sindh. We can explain this perhaps by stating that (1) originally there was, as elsewhere in India, an Australoid element; (2) that this was followed by the preponderance of the Alpine element; and (3) that in subsequent times the Mediterranean element (with which we can identify the earlier Dravidian as well as the later Āryan) came into the land. Lastly, there was a small Mongoloid streak, which was a variety of the Alpine. Obviously, the numerous clans which came to power after the Āryanisation of the country in the later Vēdic period, and

the history of which has been traced in the preceding pages, the Kēkayas, the Sindhus, the Sauvīras, the Bāhlikas, the Vāṭadhānas, the Abhīras and even the Yādavas, had probably a predominant strain of the Alpine race in them, considerably modified by 'the Mediterranean' streaks of the Ikshvāku, Pūru and other Āryan or Āryo-Dravidian clans with whom they were in close contact in the age of Āryan expansion. To these two chief factors, we may suppose, there were added, to a certain extent, influences of the Mongoloid branch of the Alpine bracycephals and the Proto-Australoid dolicocephals, with whom they were respectively in touch in the west and the east. It was through the negotiations and fusions with the Proto-Australoids of Central India, Central Provinces and the Vindhya region that the eastward trend of the Alpine race took place.

The next conspicuous point to be noted in regard to Indian anthropology is the homogeneity of the cephalic index among the peoples of the north-west, the Panjāb, Rājputāna, the United Provinces, and Bihār. But while there is this general agreement in regard to the shape of the head, differentiation emerges when we consider the nasal, the orbito-nasal and stature indexes. The peoples of the north-west, Panjāb and Kashmir are uniformly Lepterrhine, but those of Rājputāna, the United Provinces and Bihār are Mesorrhine in different degrees, thus indicating fusion with the Dravidians and, to a smaller extent, with other non-Āryans. The comparative purity of Āryanism in the Panjāb is clear from the fact that communities which differ considerably in social status have got the same Lepterrhine nose, averaging, like the Parisians of Topinard, at about 69·4 degrees.* The Āryo-Dravidian or Hindustāni, on the other hand, who is found in parts of Rajputana, the United Provinces and the Panjāb, and who is represented in the upper strata by the Brahman and the lower by the Chamār†,

* The views of Topinard and others are excellently summarised by A. C. Haddon in his *Study of Man* (1908), chap. III, pp. 59 ff.

† The caste of tanners and shoe-makers, from *charma* or hide. See M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes* (1872), pp. 391—95;

shows "intermixture in varying proportions of the Indo-Āryan and Dravidian types. The head-form is long, with a tendency to medium; the complexion varies from lightish brown to black; the nose ranges from medium to broad, being always broader than among the Indo-Aryans; the stature is lower than in the latter group, and usually below the average. The higher representatives of this type approach the Indo-Āryans, while the lower members are in many respects not very far removed from the Dravidians. The type is essentially a mixed one, yet its characteristics are readily definable, and no one would take even an upper class Hindustāni for a pure Indo-Āryan, or a Chamār for a genuine Dravidian. The distinctive feature of the type, the character which gives the real clue to its origin and stamps the Āryo-Dravidian as racially different from the Indo-Āryan, is to be found in the proportions of the nose. The average index runs in an unbroken series from 73·0 in the Bhuinhār* of Hindustān and 73·2 in the Brāhman of Bihār, to 86 in the Hindustāni Chamār and 88·7 in the Musahār† of Bihār. The order thus established corresponds substantially with the scale of social precedence independently ascertained" (*Imperial Gazetteer*, chap. VI, p. 294).

It can be seen from these facts that there is no justification for dividing the people of Bihār from those of the

J. N. Bhattacharya's *Hindu Castes and Sects* (1896), p 266; R. V. Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces* (1916), Vol. II, pp. 403—23.

* A caste of landholders who claim to be Brahmans or Rājputs. They are also known as Bābhans. See Sherring, pp. 39—44; and Bhattacharya, pp. 109—13.

† A Kolarian rat-eating caste of this province. They are supposed to be a branch of the Bhuiyas, once the rulers of Chota Nagpur and "recognized as the oldest inhabitants of the country From this centre they have spread north through Lohardaga and Hazāribagh and into Southern Bihār, where large numbers of Bhuiyas are encountered on whom the opprobrious designation of Mūsahar or rat-eater has been conferred by their Hindu neighbours." Others of the tribe who travelled southward rose considerably in status. See Russell, Vol. II, p. 307.

United Provinces in regard to their ethnological and anthropological features. Pargiter's theory of separate races is most clearly disproved by evidences of ethnology and anthropology. No doubt he claims to have a supporter in Sir George Grierson in his theory of the relations between different languages of North India. But Sir George Grierson includes amongst his languages of 'the outer band' the tongues spoken by the peoples of the Panjāb, Rajputana, Oudh, and Bihār.* What he calls the pure Āryan language of the Midland belongs only to a limited area in the centre, and he would class the languages spoken by the Rajputs and the peoples of Oudh and Bihār amongst the 'outer band'. Grierson's linguistic divisions thus clearly cut across the lessons of ethnology and anthropology. They in fact seem to disprove the conclusions of the anthropological data. The fact is, the derivation of ethnical origins and relationships from languages is dangerous. It is quite possible for peoples belonging to different ethnical sections of mankind to speak the same tongue or *vice versa*, as the result of history and accident. The fact that all the languages of Hindustan are Sanskritic in their derivations only go to show the all-conquering character of the Āryan civilization and cannot in any matter be taken as an indicator of racial relationship or separation.

THE EARLY KOSALA KINGS.

We may conclude, then, that the different communities which belong to the United Provinces and Bihār were brought into the world of culture by the solar and lunar clans under more or less the same circumstances, and that the activities of the solar stock were not culturally in any way less important than those of the lunar or Puru line. We may now resume the thread of the history of the different solar clans, of whom the Kōsalas, we have already seen, were the foremost. It has been already mentioned that Kōsala was formed by Ikshvāku's son, Vikukshi. The following genealogy

* See *Imperial Gazetteer*, chap. VII, pp. 357-8.

can be constructed from Manu, the grand-father of Vikukshi, to Māndhāta, the twenty-first of the line.

1. Manu
2. Ikshvāku
3. Vikukshi (Śaśāta)
4. Kakutstha
5. Anēnas
6. Pṛthu
7. Vishṭarās'va
8. Ardra (left out sometimes)
9. Yuvanās'va (I) or Chāndra
10. Śrāvasta, founder of Śrāvasti, later on the capital of North Kōsala
11. Bṛhadas'va
12. Kuvalayās'va
13. Dṛḍhāśva, Chandrāśva, Kapilāśva
14. Pramōda (left out sometimes)
15. Haryas'va I (son of 13)
16. Nikumbha
17. Samhatās'va (or Amitās'va)
18. Akṛshās'va (or Kṛtās'va)
19. Prasēnajit
20. Yuvanās'va II
21. Māndhātṛ (Purukusta, according to the Bhāgavata)

The information available about the few kings of the dynasty is generally very legendary and allegorical. Vikukshi is given a strange story of a sacerdotal character. He is said to have eaten away a portion of the fresh game which his father had asked him to bring from the woods, and was

therefore abandoned by him. Having eaten away a śaśa (rabbit), he came to be known as Śaśāta. The story is of course late and apocryphal. In spite of his misfortune, Śaśatā came to the throne after his father's death, and ruled the kingdom in accordance with the injunctions of Dharma.

Kakutstha, the son of Vikukshi, had originally the name of Paranjaya, or Puranjaya. He is said to have been so valiant that Indra sought his aid against the Asuras, and he gave it on the condition that he was borne by Indra himself on his shoulders in the battle-field. Indra, accordingly, assumed the guise of a bull, and bore him on his head between his horns. In consequence of this, the king got the name of Kakutstha (*kakud*=horn). It is possible that this prince came into clash with the aborigines and did something for their Aryanisation. It is also possible that he was in some way connected with the cult of the bull; for though he is stated to be an *ams'a* of Vishṇu, he preferred the bull for his vehicle. The connection with the Asuras, on the one hand, and with the bull, into which Indra changed himself, suggests interesting problems regarding the history and transmission of the cult in the pre-Aryan and Aryan worlds. The subject is discussed in the chapter on the Aryan religion in Part II.

King Śrāvasta founded the city of Śrāvastī* which later on became the capital of North Kōsala. His grandson, Kuvalayāśva is the theme of a wild legend. In order to rescue a sage named Utaṅka from an Asura named Dhundhu in a shallow sand-filled sea, Kuvalayāśva went against him at the head of his 21000 sons (!), destroyed his subterranean quarters, and put an end to his fiery form, thus obtaining the name of Dhundhumāra. It is difficult to say what the real significance of this legend is. Apparently, Kuvalayāśva spread the Aryan culture westward at the expense of the Asuras. From the fact that Dhundhu took the form of a destructive fire and burnt away almost all the sons of

* Śrāvastī was on the Rāpti, and is believed to be represented by Sahat Mahet. The latest historical reference to it is an inscription of the Gūrjara-Pratīhārā king, Mahēndrapāla, about A. D. 900.

Kuvalayāśva, it has been suggested by Mr. Law that there is a disguised reference to some volcanic phenomena. Pargiter, on the other hand, suggests that there is perhaps here a reference to a shallow sea which covered the southern part of Rājputana and which formed the limit of Āryan advance in this direction. His suggestion that the southern part of the Indus region lay outside Āryan influence or occupation for this reason cannot, it seems to me, sustain scrutiny. Kuvalayāśva's exploits may have something to do with the subjugation and Āryanisation of some aboriginal people in the southern fringes of the Rajputana desert.

Māndhāta, the twenty-first of the line, has a very interesting legendary history. His father, Yuvanāśva, is said to have been long childless, and performed a sacrifice for the realisation of his desire. At the end of the sacrifice the king drank away the holy sacrificial water which ought to have been taken by his queen. As the result of this, a son was born to him out of his left rib with the help of the Aśvins. The child is said to have been nursed with the nectar of the thumb of Indra himself. As Indra said *Mām dhātā* on the occasion, the child came to be known as Māndhātā. He is represented as a universal emperor,* who conquered all the seven parts of the universe on a single day! The sun never set in his dominions; and for this reason his greatness has become proverbial. The Bhāgavata says that Māndhātā came to be called Trasadasyu in consequence of the terror he inspired among the Dasyus; but it seems to be unique in this version, as Trasadasyu is not identified with Māndhāta but with his grandson (that is, son of Purukutsa by Narmadā) in other versions.

One of the most significant stories in connection with Māndhātā concerns his daughters. By Bindumati, the

* Māndhātā's career can be studied in the Mahābhārata, *Vanaparva*, chap. 127; *Droṇaparva*, chap. 82; and *Śāntiparva*, chap. 28; the Vāyu Purāṇa (chap. 88 and chap. 68), the Vishṇu Purāṇa (aṁśa 4), and the Bhāgavata, *Skandha* IX, chaps. 5-6. Amongst the particular kings conquered by him we find the name of Aṇgāra, Marutta, Asita, Gaya, Aṇga and Bṛhadratha. There are slight differences in the details of the emperor's life as given in the different authorities.

daughter of Śaśabindu, the Yādava 'emperor,' one of the sixteen great monarchs of antiquity like his son-in-law (see p. 252), Māndhātā, had three sons* and fifty daughters. Sage Śaubarī, an expert in the Rg-Vēda and a great Yōgin, who had spent twelve years in meditation within water, and who happened, on account of the sight of a happy family of fishes in it, to yearn once again for family life, went to Māndhātā and requested him to give his daughters in marriage. Seeing that he was exceedingly old, Māndhātā evaded compliance with the request, and said that he could give a girl of his in marriage only in accordance with her choice, as was customary in his family. The sage subjected himself to this ordeal. Owing to his Siddhic power, he appeared young and beautiful before every one of the princesses, so that, to the surprise of their father, every one of them competed for life-partnership with the sage. Thus it was that Śaubari got fifty wives! He lived with them in a princely manner, creating palaces and all other sources of happiness by his power, and transforming himself into a multiplicity of forms so that he could be in constant company with every one of them. Māndhātā

* One of these sons was Muchukunda, who "helped the dēvas against the *asuras* for a long time and when he was at last relieved, he went to a mountain cave and slept for a long time; and when he rose from sleep," he was blessed by Śri Kṛshṇa. In place of Muchukunda the name of Purukutsa, whose career is given above, is found in some versions. The other two sons of Māndhāta are named Nābhāga and Ambarīsha. Ambarīsha's son, Yuvanāśva, had for his son Prince Arita who was closely connected with the Āṅgirasas. But there are other versions about Ambarisha. (See pp. 354 and 388). The career of Śaśabindu, the son of the Yādava Chitraratha, who was exceedingly prolific in progeny can be studied in the Vāyu (chap. 95), Matsya (chap. 44), Padma (v. 13), Bhāgavata (Vol. II, chap. 23) and Brahmāṇḍa (chap. 3), Purāṇas. It is difficult to reconcile his political greatness with that of Māndhātā. From the legend that he had 10,000 wives and millions of sons, it can perhaps be inferred that he planted various Yādava colonies in different parts of the country—often at the expense of neighbouring peoples. See Pargiter's *Anct. Ind. Hist. Trsdn.*, p. 261.

realised the greatness of Śaubari, and was proud of the connection. In course of time, continues the story. Śaubari saw the futility of earthly life, reproved himself for the sacrifice of his spiritual greatness, became a Vānaprastha and Sanyāsin in succession, and, devoting himself to the propitiation of Vishṇu, eventually reached the heaven of the Lord. This story seems to indicate the lack of social restrictions in that period and the readiness with which even great kings consented to have marriage connections with the sages who had a name for spiritual greatness. The story also indicates the prevalence of the Yōga cult in the later Vēdic age, and this need occasion no surprise when we are aware of its existence even among the Sindh people. Māndhātā, again, was a great sacrificer and patron of the Brahmanical priests. The legends regarding the grandeur of his exploits in this direction are couched in the most exaggerated terms possible. That Māndhātā was held by the sages in high regard is evident from his figuring in the Rg-vēda as a hymn-maker, who had Agni as his ally in slaying the Dasyus and who was a special protégé of the Aśvins. Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśva also figures in the Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa.

Māndhātā had three sons named Purukutsa, Ambarīsha and Nābhāga. The story of Purukutsa is significant in some respects. It is said that the Nāgas who were oppressed by the Gandharvas sought, on the suggestion of Lord Vishṇu, the help of Purukutsu, gave him their princess, Narmadā, in marriage, and as the result of this he was able to rescue them from the Gandharvas. The story has got an element of anachronism in the part played by the doctrine of Vishṇu's Avatāra; but it seems to have been based on the original extension of the Āryan culture towards the Narmadā and the land of the Nāgas whom we might take as the aborigines. Evidently, Purukutsa was an adventurer who helped primitive peoples in their path of progress even against semi-Āryanised peoples like the Gandharvas. The popular belief which exists even now that anybody who worships the Narmadā in the morning and evening will be immune from snake-bite, originated in reality in a very

important historical circumstance. It may be pointed out that either Purukutsa or Muchukunda erected the city of Māndhātā (or Māhishmati), afterwards the capital of Kārtavīryārjuna. Its situation on an island of the Narmadā river, near the spot where the Vindhyas and Satpuras (Ṛksha) meet, indicates the Āryan advance in the time of Māndhātā and his sons.

After Purukutsa the genealogy was as follows:—

Māndhātā
|
Purukutsa = Narmadā
|
Trasadasyu
|
Sambhūta (left out sometimes)
|
Anaraṇya (said untenably to be killed by Rāvaṇa, but probably by an earlier Dakkan chief of that name).
|
Pṛshadaśva
|
Haryaśva II
|
Hasta (found only in some versions)
|
Vasumanas
|
Tridhanvā
|
Trayyāruṇa
|
Satyavrata (or Triśaṅku)

This monarch is one of the personages about whom the Purāṇas have erected piles of fiction in endless amplitude of space. As a prince, it is said, he was guilty of some excesses, and so exiled by his father at the instance of the family priest, Vasishṭha. The fallen prince, now a Chaṇḍāḷa, was wandering in the woods, on the banks of the Ganges for twelve years. Trayyāruṇa died in the meanwhile, and Vasishṭha became regent, but he did not recall Triśaṅku. Some time previous to this, King Viśvāmitra of Kānyakubja had become, on account of his greed, the enemy of Vasishṭha,

and, being conquered by his Brahmanical virtues, given up his kingdom, placed the members of his family in the woods where Triśaṅku afterwards happened to wander, and had gone to do penance on the banks of the Sarasvati. Just at this time, there occurred a great famine, and the wives and children of Viśvāmitra ran the danger of being starved to death. The heart of Satyavrata, whose high impulses had not been blunted by his fall, throbbed with tenderness at the sight of their misery, and he fed them, disguising his own personality on the ground that the gift of food from a Chaṅḍāḷa would not be accepted. Viśvāmitra, when he came to know of his generosity, resolved to meet service with service, and took up his cause. There is no doubt that he was inspired in this by his antagonism to Vasiṣṭha. Eventually, Triśaṅku became king, and chose Viśvāmitra as his priest.

Another version of the legends is that Triśaṅku, who had been called to the throne after his father's death, requested Vasiṣṭha to raise him, by his spiritual power, to heaven in his human person; that Vasiṣṭha, who regarded the request as a stupendous exhibition of human vanity, refused; that Viśvāmitra, on the other hand, acceded to his request and raised him, by his remarkable power of penance, to the world of the celestials; and that, as a silk purse could not after all be made out of sow's ear, Triśaṅku was hurled down by the gods on account of his unfitness; and that, with a resolve which became inexorable with failure, Viśvāmitra defied even the gods, and created the middle heavens for his protégé. Triśaṅku is still supposed to be staying there in eternal suspense between heaven and earth. The real meaning of these extra-terrestrial exploits is obscure; but the one piece of history which is not lost in the maze of myths is priestly rivalry which was attended with an important political crisis.

We have already seen how the enmity between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra figures largely in the traditions of the Ṛg-vēda; how this enmity brought about the so-called battle of the ten kings; how it became hereditary

and was carried to different courts and kingdoms; and how the different Viśvāmitras and Vasishṭhas are rolled into two impossible persons in the Purāṇas. This conclusion seems to be corroborated by the alleged connection of the same sages with Harischandra, the son and successor of Triśaṅku, one of the great Samrāṭs of antiquity and one of the most amiable and well-known figures in Hindu mythology. There is the celebrated story known in every Hindu household that Vasiṣṭha praised the unrivalled virtues of Harischandra, that Viśvāmitra childishly disagreed with him, and that, as the result of this, Harischandra was subjected to various ordeals. The story that Harischandra had originally offered to sacrifice his son to Varuṇa, that he delayed it for years, and then substituted Sunakshēpa, who was related to Viśvāmitra and who was for that reason rescued by him, goes to similarly show that the malignity between the priestly families poisoned their hearts, and that Viśvāmitra, at all events, often worked himself up to a pitch of unreasonable excitement. Harischandra is described as a samrāṭ who performed the Rājasūya-yāga.

From Harischandra we have the following genealogy:

Harischandra
|
Rōhitāśva
(the builder of Rōhitapura)
|
34. Harita (or Haritāśva) — Champa (builder of Champāpuri, near Bhagalpur in E. Bihār)
|
Sañchu (left out in some versions)
|
35. Vijaya
|
36. Ruruka (or Kuruka)
|
37. Vṛka
|
38. Bāhu (Asita)

King Bāhu is said to have got into trouble with the Haihayas and the Tālajaṅghas (see p.313), and been compelled to retire with his queen, then *enceinte*, into the forest. Here she was poisoned by a co-wife so that she could not have any progeny. As the result of this, she was in that condition for the prolonged period of seven years. King Bāhu died in the meanwhile, and the great sage Aurva,* near whose hermitage this incident happened, prevented Bāhu's queen from ascending the funeral pyre, took her to his hermitage, and looked after her. She now gave birth to the celebrated emperor Sagara, who was so called because he was born with *gara* or poison, and regarding whom there is an enormous wilderness of legends which do not easily render themselves to historical comprehension. Brought up by Aurva in a manner which fitted him for his great task, and particularly initiated by the sage in the Āgnēyāstra,† Sagara destroyed the Haihayas, and would have also carried his crusade against their allies, the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambōjas, Bhāratas, and Barbaras, but for the intercession of Vasishṭha, with whom they took refuge. Vasishṭha is said to have advised his royal disciple to leave them alone, as they had already been made un-Vēdic by him and so were practically dead! Sagara is said to have consented, but after insisting, with a touch of asperity, that the Yavanas shaved off their whole head, the Śakas half the head, the Bharatas allowed their hair to hang loose, and the Barbaras reared beards, so that all of them looked strange and unfit for Vēdic ceremonials! This story is patently apocryphal, and tries to give a peculiarly orthodox interpretation of the rationale of the customs of these semi-Āryan peoples who settled in Western India, and became Kshatriyas with the help of the priestly ministrations of sages like Vasishṭha Atharvanidhi Āpava

* A Bhārgava sage whose personal name was probably Agni.

† This *astra* is said to have been invented by sage Bhṛgu. See the previous note.

(who must be distinguished from other Vasishthas). From amidst the darkness of the myths the patch of historic truth is obvious that the crisis in Kōsala history was over, and all danger of Yādava conquest was at an end.

One of the wildest Purāṇic stories concerns the alleged origination of the *sāgara* (ocean) from Sagara. The king, it is said, had one wicked son, Asamañja, by one of his queens, and 60,000 sons by another*; that the former was abandoned by his father on account of his wickedness; that Sagara employed his 60,000 other sons, who were equally wicked and hated by gods and men, to guard the horse which he intended for a sacrifice; that this horse was discovered near the hermitage of Kapila in the nether-world by Sagara's sons after their excavation of the present oceans; that the princes were reduced to ashes by Kapila (an incarnation of Vishṇu, born for this purpose), whom they insulted; that prince Aṁsumān, the son of Asamañja, eventually brought back the horse after obtaining the grace of Kapila, together with the promise that his uncles would be freed from their sins if the heavenly Ganges was brought down and made to fall into the oceans excavated by them; and that the sacrifice was completed by Sagara who then placed the Kōsala crown on the brow of Aṁsumān. The significance of the story is difficult to understand. If we can put any meaning into it, it is perhaps this,—that Sagara and his grandson carried the torch of Āryan culture to the shores of the sea and to regions which were ignorant of the sacrificial cult. That Sagara was an emperor over the whole of the Āryan world is obvious from his victories over all contemporary powers and peoples. His marriage with the Vidarbha princess was probably a political affair.

* One of the queens, Sumati, who was Kāśyapa's daughter, chose 60,000 sons who might not leave progeny behind, and the other, Kēśini, the Vidarbha princess, chose to have one son who would perpetuate the family!

From Sagara to Rāma, the great hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, the genealogy of the Kōsala kings was as follows:—

39. Sagara
40. Asamañja
41. Aṁsumān
42. Dilīpa I
43. Bhagīratha
44. Śruta (or Suhōtra)
45. Nābhāga
46. Ambarīsha
47. Sindhudvīpa
48. Āyutāyus
49. Ṛtuparṇa
50. Sarvakāma
51. Sudāsa
52. Saudāsa Mitrasāha Kalmāshapāda

One version	Second version
53. Aśmaka	53. Sarvakarman
54. Mūlaka	54. Anaraṇya
55. Śataratha (or Daśaratha)	55. Nighna
56. Aidavida Vṛddhaśarman	56. Anamitra and Raghu
57. Viśvasaha I.	57. Duliduhu
58. Dilīpa II. Khaṭvāṅga	
59. Dīrghabāhu	
60. Raghu	
61. Aja	
62. Daśaratha	
63. Rāma	

Bhagīratha, the grandson of Aṁsumān, is another celebrated figure in traditions. Besides being one of the 16 great emperors, he is said to have brought eternal glory to himself by bringing down the Ganges, through the power of his penance, into the earth, thus giving her the name of Bhāgīrathi. The purification of his 60,000 grand-uncles by the holy stream, so that they could go to heaven, has, ever since, inspired Hindu pilgrims to obtain the same blessing by the same means. As usual, some salvage work out of the stumbling and fantastic chronicles is necessary, and very probably Bhagīratha was the originator of the worship of the Ganges. The River-cult played a very important part in the popular religion of ancient India.

Ambarīsha, the son of Nābhāga, might have been the real original of the great Bhāgavata devotee who vanquished Sage Durvāsas by his superior spirituality. The Purāṇas, however, make him either the son of Nābhāga, the son of Manu (see p. 354) or the son of Māndhāta (see p. 380, foot-note), and the ancestor of a clan consisting of three generations, namely, Virūpa, Pṛshadaśva and Ratītara, who became Brahmanized on account of close connection with the Āṅgirasas. Whether Ambarīsha was an earlier Mānavya or later member of the Ikshvāku line, he was, as a Bhāgavata and the populariser of the Dvādaśi vow, a later creation. Politically, he belongs to the class of emperors like Sagara and Bhagīratha who made Ayōdhya great.

The next noteworthy figure is Ṛtuparna who figures in the well-known romance of Naḷa. It was in his court that Naḷa lived as a disguised cook. He is said to have taught Naḷa the art of dice, and in return learnt from him the art of driving horses, when Naḷa drove his chariot from his capital Ayōdhyā to Kuṇḍinapura for the second *svayamvara* of Damayanti. Ṛtuparna's son, Sudāsa, has been identified by some scholars, on the ground of the identity of names, with the hero of the Ṛg-vēda. This view, however, as has been already pointed out, is untenable.* Sudāsa's son, Kalmāshapāda, is a theme of very wild, fantastic

* See pp. 191—5 and 225 above.

legends. Once he went on a chase to the forest. He saw two tigers there, and, believing that they were responsible for the destruction of the beasts of the forest, he killed one of them. The tigers in fact were Rākshasas, and the surviving beast vowed to take revenge on him. Some time after, Saudāsa performed a sacrifice. The Rākshasa took the guise of the king's cook, deceived the king, and made him serve human flesh to Vasishṭha. The sage became wild, and cursed the king to become a Rākshasa.* Discovering that the king was not really to blame, he mitigated the duration of the punishment to a period of twelve years. Saudāsa felt that his Guru was unreasonable and therefore prepared to curse him in return. At that time, his queen, Madayanti, dissuaded him from such a step, and Saudāsa threw the mantra-impregnated water (with which the curse had to be administered) on his own feet, as the result of which they turned into stone,—an experience which led to the king's being known as Kalmāshapāda. Some time later, Kalmāshapāda, while living the life of a Rākshasa in the forest, happened to kill a Brahman and eat him up in spite of the prayers and imprecations of his helpless wife. The injured woman thereupon cursed him to lose life if he approached his queen. The result was that, when Kalmāshapāda recovered his natural position and status at the end of twelve years, he had to provide for the perpetuation of his line through the Niyōga system. The child, which was the result of the union of the queen with Vasishṭha, was given a premature birth, in spite of the alleged lapse of seven years, by the queen's impatiently striking herself with a stone, as the result of which it got the name of Aśmaka. The story seems to indicate something peculiar in King Saudāsa and his relations with Vasishṭha. The Purāṇas seem to refer to a deadly enmity between the two at first, and a close cordiality later on,

* According to one version Viśvāmitra manipulated this on account of his enmity to Vasishṭha. See Pargiter's *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 208-9, for all the versions and his attempt to fit them with each other as far as it is possible.

as the result of which there was the Niyōga connection of the queen with the family priest. The Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa refers to Saudāsa's casting Śakti, Vasishṭha's son, into the fire. Other texts like the Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa (IV. 8) and the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa (IV. 7, 3) refer to Vasishṭha's successful revenge against the king. One is struck with the strangeness, the unreality, and mystery of the whole set of legends. The only reality which seems to break through them seems to be the supreme triumph of the stolid priest over the king, who was probably guilty of irregular habits, which enabled Kōsala to tide over a temporary crisis.

There are two versions in regard to the successors who came after Kalmāshapāda, as can be seen from the genealogical table, given in p. 387. Pargiter suggests "that there was a division with two rival lines reigning for six or seven kings, until Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga re-established the single monarchy." It seems possible, he says, to connect this split with Kalmāshapāda's conduct to Vasishṭha described above, and to the desire of the Brāhmans of Ayōdhya to take revenge upon him. Pargiter sees an explanation to this effect in the Paurāṇic statements that Sarvakarman in one line was brought up in secret, and that Mūlaka in the other fled to the forest for safety.* Whatever might have been the case, both versions agree that the throne ultimately came to Khaṭvāṅga, who is one of the important figures in the Purāṇic traditions. Khaṭvāṅga was also known as Dilīpa II, and it is he that has been made the charming and fascinating hero by the magic of the alluring verses of Kāḷidāsa in the first three cantos of his *Raghuvaṁśa*. The spell of the poet's voice, the witchery of his song, the charm of his similes, the fathomless depth of

* One of the versions gives this story regarding Saudāsa's grandson, Vālika. He was, it is said, a contemporary of Paraśurāma, and in order to save himself from the terrible vow of the latter to exterminate the Kshatriya race, always surrounded himself by a number of women, thereby obtaining the names of *Nārīkavacha* (he who had women for his armour) and *Mūlaka* (the root of future generations).

his capacity to depict Man and Nature, have produced an irresistibly fascinating picture of Dilīpa and his queen as they tend the cow Nandini, alone and in ascetic habits, for the sake of progeny. The story of Dilīpa is found in the Padmapurāṇa; but Kāḷidāsa's pen has made it seductive and etherealised to perfection. Khaṭvāṅga was however, according to the Purāṇas, a much higher man than the attender on a divine cow. He is represented as a Samrāṭ who was invited by the gods to help them against the Asuras. Learning that he was to live only for a *muhūrta*, he hastened to the earth, devoted himself to an intensive meditation of Vāsudēva, the Supreme Being, and obtained Mōksha. The Bhāgavatic details of the story perhaps lack substantiality; but Khaṭvāṅga was obviously a man of real individuality who was much more than a flitting shadow in the spiritual history of his times.

Khaṭvāṅga's son, Dīrghabāhu,* had Raghu, the great king from whom the dynasty itself came to be known, for his successor. Raghu had Aja† for his son, and he had the celebrated Daśaratha for his son and successor, by Indumati, the princess of Vidarbha, whose *svayamvara* is described with graphic picturesqueness by Kāḷidāsa. Daśaratha was an emperor whose chariot went with flying colours over the ten directions, and whose personality fills up some of the most charming passages of the Rāmāyaṇa. For countless centuries Daśaratha has lived in the affections of the Hindu world as the father of the divine heroes of the magnificent Epic, the story of which has made such a colossal hit at the popular imagination, and filled the Indian atmosphere with its perfumes of beauty and its exalting philosophy of life. We are not at present concerned

* Most of the Purāṇas make Dīrghabāhu father of Raghu. The Brahma, Harivaṁśa and Śiva Purāṇas make *dīrghabāhu* an epithet of Raghu. The *Raghuvaṁśa* omits him altogether, and Raghu is described as the son of Dilīpa. See Cantoes III and IV for Raghu's career.

† Some of the Purāṇas (Matsya, Padma and Agni) give a wrong order in regard to the kings Dilipa II, Dīrghabāhu, Raghu and Aja. For Aja's career, see Kāḷidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, Sargas V—VIII.

with the career of Rāma as an avatār of Vishṇu; nor are we concerned with those noble qualities of his adventure which were inspired by the notion that, as a true Kshatriya, his anxiety for honour outran his anxiety for the crown. What we are now concerned with is the political and cultural significance of the enthralling war-song; and the great lesson that emerges from the wilderness of its myths is that it is but a steady and natural progression of events that the Ikshvāku princes, who did so much to spread the torch of Āryan civilization in all directions in North India, had also the chief hand in the Āryanisation of the southern peninsula as well. There are, of course, as has been already said (see pp. 40—3), exaggerations, allegories, anachronisms, and interpolations, which make the Epic too often and too deeply slip into incredible unreality; but there is no gainsaying that, amidst all its baffling fertility of fiction, there lies the hidden truth, the solid central fact, that the great Ikshvāku prince-adventurer was a redoubtable champion of Āryan culture, whose soul exulted, in spite of its apparently inscrutable serenity, in the dynamic transmission of Āryan ideals and institutions, of which he was the guardian and defender, into regions which had but imperfectly learnt them. As Pargiter observes, the story of Rāma brings South India definitely into view for the first time. The Yādavas had established themselves in the north-west portion of the Dakkan. The rest of the Dakkan had been largely occupied by the great Daṇḍaka forest. The religion of North India had, indeed, to some extent penetrated this region, for the Epic clearly speaks of sages whom the Rākshasas maltreated; but the Āryan footing had been precarious, and it had to be strengthened in the face of the Rākshasas. Regarding these Rākshasas who had formed a colony, called Janasthāna, in the lower Gōdāvari valley and who had a flourishing kingdom in Ceylon with their capital Laṅkā, Pargiter observes: "These so-called Rākshasas were not uncivilized, for Laṅkā is described in the most glowing terms, and allowing for poetical exaggeration both therein and also to the contrary in personal descriptions, it is obvious that their civilization was as high as

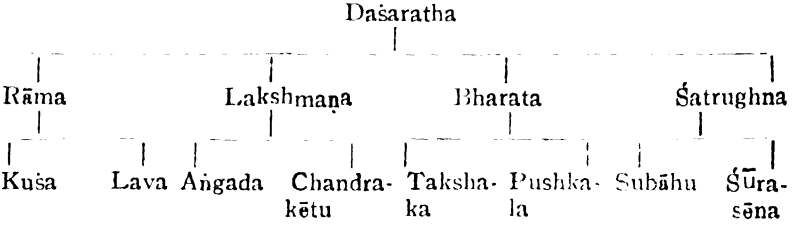
that of North India.* These Rākshasas were evidently a sea-going people, as the connection of their colony in Janasthāna with Laṅka indicates. Their king was 'Rāvaṇa,' called also Daśagrīva (and synonymously Daśaśīrsha, Daśānana, etc.) Rāvaṇa was probably the royal title, the Tamil *Iraiwan*†, 'king'; and Daśagriva or one of its synonymous forms was probably his personal Dravidian name Sanskritized, which accordingly gave rise to the fable that he had ten heads. The story of Rāma now appears largely as fable, but it is fairly clear that the fabulous in it is a perversion of simpler occurrences distorted gradually in accordance with later Brahmanical ideas about Rākshasas and the marvellous, especially in the Rāmāyaṇa" (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 276-7). Describing the course of Rāma's advance, the same scholar observes: "He travelled south to Prayāga, then south-west to the region of Bhopal, then south across the Narbadā, and then to a district where he dwelt ten years. That was probably the Chhattisgarh district, because that was called Dakshiṇa Kōsala, and in it was a hill called Rāmagiri. His long stay there would have connected it with his home, Kōsala; hence probably arose its name. Afterwards he went south to the middle Gōdāvari, where he came into conflict with the Rākshasa colony of Janasthāna. It is said he avenged on the Rākshasas their ill-treatment of munis. Rāvaṇa carried Sīta off to Laṅkā. Rāma went south-west to Pampā lake, and there met Sugrīva (with his counsellor Hanūmant) who had been expelled by his brother Bālin, king of Kishkindhā. They went south there, and Rāma killed Bālin and placed Sugrīva on the throne. These persons and the people of Kishkindha are called monkeys, but they were a Dravidian tribe and were apparently akin to the Rākshasas of Laṅkā, for Rāvaṇa and Sugrīva are spoken of as 'like brothers'. With their aid Rāma proceeded south to what was afterwards Pāṇḍya, crossed over to

* As a matter of fact their civilization is already described as semi-Āryan except in regard to certain features. See pp. 125-6 above.

† Keith, amongst others, ridicules this derivation. See p. 126.

Ceylon by Adam's Bridge, killed Rāvaṇa and recovered Sīta. Thus the only civilized communities in South India mentioned at that time were in Janasthāna and at Kishkindhā. No others are alluded to, not even the Pāṇḍyas, through whose country Rāma passed. Hence Pāṇḍya had not then come into existence, nor therefore Chōla or Kērala" Pargiter points out that these names occur only in the later geographical chapter of the Epic, and that the introduction of them in the legends connected with Sagara is an anachronism. *Kālidāsa too is not quite historical in this respect.**

According to the Purāṇas, Rāma and his brothers had these sons:



Of these, the sons of Śatrughna ruled at Mathurā which had been established by their father (see p. 251). The sons of Lakshmaṇa are credited with the establishment of two kingdoms in the Karapatha Dēśa† in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, with their capitals at Aṅgadīya and Chandrachakrā. Nothing further is known about these principalities. Bharata's sons, as we have already seen (pp. 272-4), became the founders of the Takshaśilā and Pushkalāvati States in the north-west‡. The Kōsala kingdom proper was divided between the two sons of Rāma.§

* See p 41 above.

† अङ्गदं चन्द्रकेतुं च लक्ष्मणोऽप्यात्मसंभवौ ।
शासनाद्रघुनाथस्य चक्रे कारापथेश्वरौ ॥ (*Raghuvaṁśa*, canto XV, verse 90).

‡ स तक्षपुष्कलौ पुत्रौ राजधान्योस्तदाख्ययोः ।
अभिषिच्याभिषेकार्हौ रामान्तिकमगात्पुनः ॥ (*Ibid*, 89).

§ स निवेश्य कुशावत्यां रिपुनागाङ्कुशं कुशं ।
शरावत्यां सतां सूक्तैर्जनिताश्रलवं लवं ॥ (*Ibid*, 97).

The elder, Kuśa, became the ruler of South Kōsala with Kuśāvati or Kuśasthali for his headquarters. This city (which was different from its name-sake in Kāthiāwār) is said to have been on the spurs of the Vindhyas. Apparently, Kōsala extended at this time to what later on came to be called Dakshiṇa Kōsala. Lava became the ruler of North Kōsala, and set up his capital at Śrāvasti which remained as such till the rise of the Buddha.

The Purāṇas give a list of twenty-eight kings from Kuśa to Bṛhadbala, the last of the line, who was killed by Abhimanyu in the war of the Mahābhārata. The genealogy is as follows:

Kuśa
|
Atithi
|
Nishadha
|
(Anala or Naḷa)
|
68. Nabhas
|
69. Puṇḍarīka
|
70. Kshēmadhanvā
|
71. Dēvānīka
|
72. Ahīnagu
|
Kuru (left out sometimes)
|
73. Pāripātra (Pāriyātra, or Sudhanvan)
|
74. Bala or Dala or Śala (Śīla of Kāḷidāsa)
|
75. Uktha (Unnābha of Kāḷidāsa)
|
76. Vajranābha
|
77. Śaṅkhaṇa
|
78. Vyushitāśva
|
79. Viśvasaha II or Viśvahaya
|

80. Hiraṇyanābha
81. Pushya
82. Dhruvasandhi
83. Sudarśana
84. Agnivarṇa
85. Śīghraga
86. Maru
87. Prasuśruta
88. Susandhi
89. Amarsha and Sahasvant
90. Viśruṭavant (or Viśvabhavan)
91. Bṛhadbala

Kāḷidasa gives these between Hiraṇyanābha and Pushya, that is, 80 and 81.

Kausalya
Brahmishṭha
Putra

Pushya, a great Yōgin and disciple of Jaimini.

From Ahīnagu some of the Purāṇas give the above list of twenty kings, though particular Purāṇas stop with one or other in the list, instead of completing the series. There is another version giving only six kings instead of twenty, namely, Sahasrāśva, Chandravalōka, Tarāpiḍa, Chandragiri, Bhānuchandra, and Śrutāyu. The latter version (of six kings instead of twenty) is unreliable,* as Kāḷidasa himself testifies.

The information available about each of the above kings is rather scanty, which is an indication of the comparative powerlessness of Kōsala in the times which followed. Kuśa was given the primary place by the other princes at the time of Rāma's death. While staying at Kuśāvati, he had a radiant but pathetic vision of the tutelary goddess of Ayōdhyā who, in the form of a deserted maiden, fondly prayed to him to return. Without a ruler, she lamented, her turrets, terraces, ramparts and edifices were going to ruins; her streets were being filled up by jackals; and her bathing pools, instead of being frequented by beautiful

* Pargiter's *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradition*, p. 94. The Raghuvaṁśa accepts the general version, with slight variations. See cantos 17-18.

women, were agitated by buffaloes! Describing other similar scenes of horror, the bereaved mother of Ayōdhyā prayed to Kuśa in tears to give up his new dwelling-place and go back to herself. Tortured by what he heard, Kuśa felt a sudden pang of remorse surging up in his veins, and he resolved to give over Kuśāvati to Brahmans versed in the Vēdas to and go back Ayōdhyā. Kaḷidāsa's description* of the journey from the Vindhyan valley, after the receipt of farewell presents from the mountain tribes, across the Rēvā to the Sarayū, is characteristically picturesque. Equally charming† is the description of the revival of Ayōdhyā. The sad mother's face was no longer darkened by the clouds of sorrow and neglect, and she smiled once again in power and plenty.

It is obvious from this that, after some stay in the southern part of his dominions, Kuśa went back to Ayōdhyā. We have reasons to believe that, later on, in Jarāsandha's time, there was a migration of some Kōsalas to this region, and it might then have come to be known by the name of Dakshiṇa-Kōsala. Whether this was the case or not, Kuśa deserves to be remembered for the great part he played in the firm and permanent transplantation of Vēdic culture in the region where he had stayed for a time and whence his exit could not be avoided.

A romantic story is given regarding Kuśa's marriage with his queen, Kumudvati. While sporting with his women in the waters of the Sarayū, it is said, he lost his necklace, once his father's property and the cause of his prosperity. It could not be discovered in spite of vigorous search, as it had fallen into the hands of Kumudvati, the sister of the Nāga king Kumuda. Unaware of the exact situation, but stung to indignation by the fancied insult, Kuśa discharged the *Gārutmata* missile against the guilty Nāga. The serpent-king promptly saved himself from the disaster which was swooping down upon him. Possessed by the agitation of terror, he rushed to the surface,

* Canto xvi, verses 25-37.

† *Ibid*, verses 38-42.

explained the situation, restored the jewel, and above all bestowed his sister on the king. Anger was now transmuted into love, and Kuśa paid prompt court to her, and grasped her hand in wedlock. The story is perhaps a corroboration of the fact that Kuśa promoted the Āryanization of parts of the Kōśala dominions which still remained aboriginal. Kuśa, however, was eventually surged and overwhelmed by the tide of war. Going to the help of Indra against a demon named Durjaya (probably another aboriginal chief), Kuśa was victorious against the latter, but himself fell, betrayed by fate to his rival's sword. He was succeeded by Atithi, his son by Kumudvati.

The next great figure in this period seems to have been Hiraṇyanābha. He is described as a lofty soul, a great yōgin, who was a disciple of Yāgñavalkya and who always looked upon life as something beyond what was testified by the senses. Apparently, this Hiraṇyanābha was the sovereign who figures in the Brâhmaṇas and Upanishads and who has been already referred to in p. 349.

With regard to Agnivarṇa, the son of Sudarśana, who is the last sovereign figuring in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (canto xix), the poet gives a very graphic description of an abandoned voluptuary, whose conduct led to the ruin of himself and the administration. The king became subject to the disease of *rājayakshma* (consumption), and the ministers gathered together in the palace garden at the head of the family priest, and, under the pretext of performing a ceremony for the cure of the disease, consigned him to the flames, and then raised his wife, then *enceinte*, to the throne. We have got here an interesting example of the removal of a king, and the choice of a woman to the throne, by the ministers.

* See Kāḷidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto xvi, for an account of this exploit.

† *Ibid*, canto xvii. Kāḷidāsa gives a beautiful description of the coronation ceremonial and the ideal rule of Atithi. It contains, however, only platitudes and not any historical matter.

Another great king who seems to have had a distinction in spiritual attainments was Maru. A great yōgin, he is said to be living even now in a village called Kalāpa in the Himalayan borders; and it is believed that he will be born as the first solar king in the next Kṛtayuga to be formed.

The last of the pre-Bhārata kings of Kōsala was Bṛhadbala. He was killed by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, in the battle of Kurukshētra. There are various references to the king in the Epic. Bhima conquered him* before the Rājasūya-Yāga; but Karṇa subsequently compelled him by force of arms to pay tribute to the Kauravas†. Bṛhadbala fought, with several other kings, in the very forefront of the Kaurava army‡. As has been already said, he was eventually slain by Abhimanyu‖. There is reference to a Kōsala prince, Sukshētra, who also took part in the battle¶. We are told in the Aśvamēdha-parva§ that Arjuna had to vanquish Kōsala before the performance of Aśvamēdha by Yudhishṭhira. The king of Kōsala at the time was Bṛhadkshaṇa, the son of Bṛhadbala.

The Purāṇas give the following list of thirty sovereigns

* Sabhāparva, chap. 31 (Southern text).

† Vanaparva, chap. 255.

‡ Bhīshmaparva, chap. 16. His companions were: Saubala Śakuni; Śalya; Jayadratha; Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti; Sudakshiṇa of Kāmboja; Śrutāyu of Kalinga; Jayatsēna; and the Sātvata Kṛtavarmā.

‖ Karṇaparva, chap. 2. A list is given in the chapter of all the fallen chiefs.

¶ Drōṇaparva, chap. 22 (Calc. Edn). The Śouthern text contains different names.

§ Chap. 42.

from Bṛhadbala to Sumitra, alleged to be the last of the line:—

1.	Bṛhadbala	16.	Suparṇa
2	Bṛhadkshaṇa	17.	Amitrajit
3.	Urukshaya	18.	Bṛhadbhāja
4.	Vajravyūgha	19.	Dharmi
5.	Prativyōma	20.	Kṛtanjaya.
6.	Divākara	21.	Raṇañjaya
7.	Sahadēva	22.	Sañjaya
8.	Bṛhadaśva	23.	Śākhya
9.	Bhānuratha	24.	Suddhōdana
10.	Vratitāśva	25.	Rāhula
11.	Supradīka	26.	Prasēnajit
12.	Marudēva	27.	Kshudraka
13.	Sunakshatra	28.	Guṇḍaka
14.	Kinnara	29.	Surata
15.	Antariksha	30.	Sumitra

A glance at the list will reveal some interesting facts We find that Śākhya, Suddhōdana (Buddha) and his son Rāhula are included in the Paurāṇic genealogy. Secondly, Prasēnajit who, we know from Buddhistic traditions, was a contemporary of the Buddha, is made by the Purāṇas the grandson of the Buddha. There is also the patent fact that, if we exclude the eight generations from Śākhya, there would be only twenty-two generations from the time of the Mahābhārata to the time of the Buddha, and this is inconsistent with the chronological scheme we have adopted. It is clear, therefore, the Purāṇic lists are both inaccurate and incomplete. All that we can be sure of from them is that the Prasēnajit of Buddhistic literature is not an imaginary person, but a real historical personality. We are told in the Buddhistic works that Pasēnadi was the son of a certain Mahākōsala, and that the latter lived a

generation before the Buddha. It is quite possible that this Mahākōsala, who must have been the contemporary of the first two or three of the Śaiśunāga kings, established the supremacy of Kōsala, over the contemporary kings of Āryāvarta; for we have got evidences to show that Kōsala was the most powerful of the sixteen Mahājanapadas which existed in the seventh century B. C. The career of Prasēnajit, which is copiously illustrated in the Buddhistic literature, takes us to the next period of Indian history.

A number of traditions indicate Kōsala's relations, friendly or hostile, with the neighbouring states throughout this period. Kōsala and Kāśi naturally fought with each other many a time. Reference has been made already to the slaughter of a king of Kōsala by a king of Kāśi, and the eventual triumph of the son of the former after a blockade of Kāśi at the instance of his widowed mother (see p. 328). Reference has also been made to the invasion of Kāśi by a king of Kōsala at the instance of a traitrous minister of Kāśi, and the eventual restoration of the king of the latter by the potency of his superior moral character (see p. 328). Another Kōsala king, Dabbasēna, whose heart was brimming over with gall, captured the king of Benares, and fastened him by cord with head downwards; but the latter, who was absorbed in yōga, was not only completely unaware of the storm which had burst over his head, but burst his bonds with miraculous ease, and sat cross-legged in air! The malignancy of the Kausalya's nature gave him, it is said, a burning sensation, and realising that he had sinned against a saint, he restored him to the throne, and thereby got rid of the agony of his soul and body.* The story of the Kōsala prince Chatta who became an expert in magic as the result of training at Taxila and who put his wits victoriously against a successful king of Kāśi, has been already given (see p. 328). Thus the two kingdoms were sometimes friendly, and sometimes hostile towards each other. Apparently, Kōsala was eventually successful in annexing Kāśi some time in the seventh century; for we

* *Ekarāja-jātaka* (No. 303). See Cowell, III, pp. 9-10.

understand that King Mahākōsala of Kōsala, who lived a generation before the time of the Buddha, gave his daughter in marriage to Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, with a lucrative village of Kāśi for her *nahāna-chunna-mūla* (snāna-chunna-mūla), or bath-and-perfume-money. The same friendships and rivalries must have existed with other states like the Śākyas, Magadha, the Yādava principalities, etc., till its days of political greatness were numbered with the rise of Magadha under the Śaiśunāgas. In the days which immediately preceded the rise of Buddhism, Kōsala seems to have obtained a sort of primacy among the Āryan kingdoms; but the rise of Magadha brought about a wreckage of any imperialistic schemes on her part, and she was destined, like other states, to be in bondage to Magadha.

A few words about the general conditions might close this account of Kōsala in the Vēdic age. Kōsala seems to have been prosperous and rich in various crops. There were occasions when the rains ceased, the crops withered, the ponds and lakes dried up, and gangs of robbers were rampant; but this was due, to a certain extent, to the hilly and forest-encumbered character of several parts of the kingdom, particularly on the border of the Himalayas. A certain amount of insecurity was bound to exist, but such times seem to have been more or less occasional. The inhabitants of Kōsala had, on the whole, a reputation for health and strength. They had abundance of food, drink and the seven kinds of gems and wealth. They had prosperous merchants in their midst. The townsmen had assemblies and gilds of their own, which did good business. The merchants of Śrāvasti traded frequently with Vidēha and other neighbouring countries of 'Uttarāpada' at the head of hundreds of cart-loads of merchandise, and some even used to go to Suvarṇabhūmi in search of wealth. Buddhistic traditions refer to the existence of several rich bankers who lived in the times which saw the rise of the Buddha. Some of these opulent men belonged to the Brahmanical caste.

* Cowell, II, pp. 164, 275 and IV, pp. 216-7.

The reputation which the people of Kōsala had for charity in later times was no doubt due to the material prosperity enjoyed by them.

One thing which demonstrates the prosperity of Kōsala was its busy town-life. We find that a number of towns had already been flourishing before the age of the Buddha. Ayōdhyā on the Sarayū extended over a space of twelve *yōjanas*, and was famous for its riches. Some of the most picturesque passages of the Rāmāyaṇa indicate its strength, wealth and beauty. Another important city was Śrāvasti. It was on the Rāpti, and is now represented by the village of Saheth-Maheth on the border of the Gonḍa-Bahraich districts of the United Provinces. We have already seen how it was established by King Śrāvasta, but from the fact that the later Buddhistic writers traced its name to *sabbam atthi*, that is, 'everything is available there,' we have got an idea of the reputation of the place for its wealth. Buddhistic literature refers to its merchants worth 'eighteen crores' (though this might be a formula), to men who fed the poor on a grand scale, and to donors of munificent gifts. We are told that Śrāvasti was surrounded by beautiful *ārāmas* or groves in the suburbs, which were tenanted by scholars and saints, and which afterwards formed centres of Buddhistic activities. The Pubbārāma, the Jētavana, the Ārama of heretics, the Ārama of Anathapiṇḍika, and other groves afterwards figure largely. Legends connected these and similar places with sylvan deities, who had to be won over by the observance of *karmasthāna*, and with Yakshiṇis like Kāḷi who could foretell draught and rainfall and who were of course popular objects of worship.

Similarly, there was the town of Sākēta which was the capital in the period immediately preceding the Buddha, and which was probably the same as, or in close vicinity to, Ayōdhyā. Other towns which are incidentally referred to in later literature are Daṇḍakappaka, Nalakapāna, Setavyā, Paṅkadhā, and Ukkaṭṭha, which were visited later on by the Buddha and perpetuated in the memory of the Buddhists by some notable achievements of his.

Side by side with material prosperity, Kōsala had considerable reputation for intellectual attainments. We have already seen how it was a centre of Vēdic culture and how eminent priestly families lived and had their rivalries therein. Later Buddhistic literature refers to a number of Bharadvājas, Kāśyapas and others who belonged to the kingdom and who were famous for their spiritual attainments. The kingdom formed a Brahmanical stronghold. Living in villages of their own (like Nagaravinda), the members of the order received a patronage* and a help which enabled their gifts to burst into full bloom, and made them famous for their knowledge, their mental tranquillity and their purity in body and mind. Once, in response to certain questions, the Buddha lamented that the Brāhmaṇas of his time had parted with their traditional virtues, and he enumerated these virtues as self-restraint; indifference to the objects of the five senses; incessant engagement in penance and self-culture; and indifference to cattle, gold and corn. Their best wealth, he said, had been the skill in mantras, and their greatest protector, Dharma. They had practised *Brahmacharya* from infancy to forty years. They had used to marry women belonging only to their own ranks and never bought them. They had practised all kinds of charities and religious ceremonies, and been free with the gifts of the things they got by begging. They had not killed cows even in sacrifices, but treated them as their parents and relatives†. They had advised kings for the performance of various sacrifices and received the royal patronage. The Buddha concluded that the Brahmans had lost their character when they came to offer cows for

* The royal patronage has already been referred to in the treatment of the individual kings of the line. Māndhāta, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, Trayyāruna, Triśaṅku, Harischandra, Rōhita, Bhagīratha, Ambarīsha and Rituparṇa figure in Vēdic literature from the Ṛg-vēda onward. It is held by some that Daśaratha is referred in Ṛg-vēda, 126. 4, and Rāma in *ibid*, X. 93. 14, though they are not distinctly called Aikshvākus.

† The Suttanipāṭa, from which this is taken, seems to be inconsistent here. See Pali Text Book Society Edn., pp. 50-5.

sacrifices, when they came to attach too much distinction to castes, when there was a fall in their domestic virtues, and when there was a new indulgence in pleasures in which the Kshatriyas too were equally to blame.

This view of the Buddha indicates the general idea concerning true Brahmanical character and mode of life. Experts in *mantras*, highly educated in the Vēdas and the eighteen 'Vijjas,' they commanded a reputation by no means negligible. There can hardly be a doubt that they lost much of their greatness in consequence of their addiction to sacrifices. A clue to this is available in the fact that, in the time of the Buddha himself, a great yagña was performed by a certain 'Uggataśarira Brahman,' in which five hundred bulls, five hundred calves and five hundred goats were brought for sacrifice, and the Buddha taught them that a far greater sacrifice than these was the sacrifice of passion, anger and ignorance.

There can be no doubt that, in the centuries which immediately preceded the Buddhistic age, Kōsala was a busy centre of intellectuality. While the classical Sanskrit flourished highly in all departments of knowledge then known, a more popular aspect of it was developed in the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa on the basis of the ballads recited by the Sūtas and others. The common people, as T. W. Rhys Davids points out, spoke a conversational dialect which was primarily of a local character and in general use among officials, merchants and cultured classes throughout the Kōsala dominions, but which also extended 'east and west from Delhi to Patna, and north and south from Sāvatthi to Avanti' (*Buddhist India*, p. 153). In contrast were various 'Primary Prakrit dialects' from which, as Sir George Grierson says, the later 'Secondary Prakrits' were to come into existence. It was in the latter that the Buddha was to preach to the common people in his grand attempt to overthrow the citadel of Brahmanism.

THE SĀKYAS

Before concluding this section on the Kōsalas it is perhaps advisable to deal with a very important branch of

them, namely, the Sākyas of Kapilavastu, amidst whom the Buddha was destined to be born. The Sākya territory was included in the Kōsala kingdom, just to the south of its Himalayan confines. The Buddha himself later on used to say that he was the member of a family of the Ādichcha-Sākyas, famous for their wealth in the kingdom of Kōsala. The fact that the Purāṇas include Suddhōdana, and Rāhula amongst the Kōsala kings goes to show the same connection in spite of their historical inaccuracy. The Sākyas were, in fact, proud of being 'Okkākas' or Iksvākus. The Sākya territory, which was of course bounded on the north by the Himalayas, had the river Rōhiṇi for its eastern boundary, and the Rāpti for its western and southern limits.

It is believed by some scholars that the Sākyas were not really Āryan but Mongoloid. Together with the Lichchhavis of Vaiśali, of whom we shall speak presently, they have been stated to be a Tibeto-Mongolian hill tribe which extended towards the south, and settled in the plains in pre-historic times. Vincent Smith contends that the Lichchhavis of Vaisalī, whom he connects with the Sākyas, exposed their dead as the Tibetans; that judicial procedure at Vaisali and Tibet was similar; that the Tibetans traced their kings to the Sākya-Lichchhavis; that the early testimony of the sculptures at Bharhut, Sanchi, etc., demonstrates clearly the presence of a large Mongolian element in the population of North India in the centuries which immediately preceded and followed the Christian era; and that Gautama Buddha and Mahāvīra, the respective founders of Buddhism and Jainism, were probably Mongolian by birth, that is, hill-men, like the Gūrkhas, with Mongolian features and akin to the Tibetans.

Another theory regarding the origin of the Sākyas is that they were Persian. Dr. Spooner* who has postulated, on the ground of archæological and epigraphical finds, as well as his own interpretations of the Epic Literature, a distinct Zoroastrian period of Indian History, contends that the term Sákya, to which clan Gautama Buddha belonged, was identical with the Persian term Śaka; that the Śākyas

* *Arch. Sur. Rep.* (Central Circle), 1913-4 and 1914-5.

were of Zoroastrian origin ; and that the Buddhistic cult had its origin in the Persian atmosphere which had been already introduced into India by the Zoroastrian Magi about 600 B.C. and earlier. According to a tradition, points out Dr. Spooner, Gayā was claimed as a temple of theirs by the Persians. This could have only meant, he says, that Gayā was an early seat of Magian worship, and that "Gautama as a religious student went thither as to the holy place of his own people, the Zoroastrians." The discovery of the figure of the Persian fire-altar in one of the ancient sites excavated at Pāṭaliputra, of an image of the sun, and of potsherds bearing in relief Zoroastrian figures (chiefly, the varieties of the sun) are additional proofs, he contends, of the establishment of the Magi. The internal evidences in the Buddistic system and in the Buddha's story, again, he says, show the same thing. Many of the Buddhistic labels in the Gandhāra sculptures of the Peshāwar Museum may be given Zoroastrian labels with equal suitability. Many legends are common to Zarathushtra and Gautama. The Buddistic theory of the evolution of the Buddha from previous Buddhas and Chakravartins is the same as "the Avestan doctrine of the passing on, from ruler to ruler and from saint to saint, of the divine, sacerdotal and kingly glory." Both the Persian and Indian prophets dwelt in the region of eternal light before their birth ; both had miraculous births ; the advent of both was signalised by the rejoicings of nature ; the childhood of both was passed amidst dangers of life ; both reached enlightenment at the age of thirty ; both have a remarkable similarity of legends about Māra and his daughters. "The iconographical evidence, as far as I can see, establishes conclusively that the details of all the Buddha story, particularly in the cycle of Nativity, were brought into India before the Buddha's birth, and were then attached to his person with local adaptation, on his appearance in the role of the enlightened one, though subsequently to his death, of course. This does not mean to imply that all the Magian

elements in Buddhism are post-Buddha, still does it raise any doubt as to the Persian race of Gautama? The title of Iranian sage (Śākyamuni) which Buddha wears, and the Sakya legend told above are to be taken in conjunction with these internal evidences, and in such conjunction not only prove that Buddha was a Persian, but explain how the Persian legends were fittingly associated with his person at a slightly later date."

It is difficult to say how far these Mongolian and Persian theories can be taken as correct. With regard to the former, it may perhaps be conceded that, to a certain extent, there was a mixture of the Mongolian element in the ethnical composition of the Himalayan border-peoples. But to assert on this ground that the Śākyas were Mongolian is absurd. They were, as the Hindu traditions unmistakably indicate, Kshatriya descendants of the Ikshvākus, but probably with customs considerably modified on account of the contact with the Mongoloid people who, of course, differed in some fundamental respects from the Āryans. As Prof. Keith points out, early Buddhism was hardly touched by Zoroastrian ideas, and the connection of the Buddha with the Persian race, like the theory of a Zoroastrian period of history, is an absurd fancy of Dr. Spooner. Haraprasada Sastri believed that the Śākyas and the Lichchhavis were Vrātyas or impure Kshatriyas. They were "not the Kshatriyas of the *Dvijāti*, the second *varṇa* of the Brāhmaṇas. It is a noteworthy fact that the second *varṇa* had Upanayana or investiture with the holy thread. Kālidāsa takes special care to state that Raghu was first instructed in the alphabet and then invested with the holy thread, but Buddha was sent to a Lipisa, and not after that to a Guru to study the Vēdas, and there is no mention of his being invested with the holy thread. That shows that he was a Vrātya." He might have been a Kshatriya, "but not such a Kshatriya as would be recognized by Brahmans. So Manu and other writers are perhaps right in calling these clans Vrātya-

Kshatriyas." It is difficult to come to any definite conclusions on the matter. The Buddhistic traditions are clear in describing the Buddha as a proud Kshatriya. At the same time there are references to loose customs like the marriage of sisters among the Śākyas. Probably it was this looseness that favoured the anti-Brahmanical character of the Buddhistic creed. In any case, it was from this semi-Āryan community in the extreme north of Kōsala that the most formidable revolt from Brahmanism, which shook its very foundations and which became a universal religion, was born.

THE VIDĒHAS

The most important member of the Kōsala-Vidēha group (or even 'confederacy' as Prof. Eggeling would say) next to Kōsala was Vidēha. The two kingdoms were separated by the Sadānīra, modern Gaṇḍakī*, which flows into the Ganges opposite to Patna. The Vidēha kingdom had the district of Tirhūt or Northern Bihār for its main area, and the town of Mithilā, which has been identified with Janakapura on the Nepal border, for its capital. Brahmanized by immigrants like Mādhava Videgha from Kōsala, the Vidēhas had close political relations with Kōsala and Kāśi. The Kauśītaki Upanishad (IV. 1) couples the Vidēhas and Kāśis together. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 29. 5) shows that Kāśi, Kōsala and Vidēha had the same Purōhita, Jala Jātukarṇya. The same work (XVI. 9. 11-13) refers to the connection between a Vidēhan king named Para Āhlāra and the Kōsala king Hiraṇyanābha by calling him Hairaṇyanābha. In this it is corroborated by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5, 4, 4). Āhlāra had also the variant *Atnāra* (see p. 349 above), which is found in the Pañchaviṁśa (XXV. 16. 3) and

* The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I, 4, 1, 14, *et seq.* On the ground that the Mahābhārata distinguishes the Gaṇḍakī from the Sadānīra, it is held by Oldenberg and Pargiter that the Sadānīra was the Rāpti. But Keith questions the truth of the Epic tradition and agrees with Weber in taking it to be the Gaṇḍaki. Indian geographers identify it with the Karatoyā, but it is too far to the east. See *Vēdic Index*, II, pp. 421-2

Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇas (II. 6. 11), and we understand from the latter that Para Ātnāra performed a sacrifice for obtaining a son. The names Para Āṭnāra, Āhlāra and Hiraṇyanābha in fact seem to have been common between the two royal houses, which must have been due to marriage alliances between them. There is no doubt that, occasionally at least, these alliances brought about political unions. But Vēdic literature is clear in its description of separate Vaidēha kings as a whole. One of these was Nami Sāpya. He figures in the Rg-vēda (VI. 20. 6 and X. 48. 9) and Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa (XXV. 10. 17). The celebrated monarch that is referred to, however, in later Vēdic literature is Janaka, the reputed royal philosopher. He figures in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad (III. 1. 9) as the wisest Kshatriya teacher of the day, and we understand from his career that Vidēha became the greatest leader in spiritual matters.* Rshis, even from Kuru-Pañchāla lands, flocked to his court for discussions, and in the presence of his teacher Yājñavalkya men dwindled into nothing. The Upanishad gives this curious story. Samrāṭ Janaka Vaidēha performed an Aśvamēdha and gave many presents to priests. Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru-Pañchāla lands attended it, and Janaka wished to know which of them was the best-read. So he enclosed a thousand cows, with ten *pādas* of gold fastened to each pair of horns; and then told them that the wisest among them could drive away the cows. None dared to do so, but Yājñavalkya did it, thus proving to be the wisest of them all. Aśvala, the Hōṭṛ priest of the kingdom of Janaka, then bowed to him, and put to him certain questions which he answered to his perfect satisfaction. The Upanishad goes on to enumerate several other individuals who disputed Yājñavalkya's supremacy and were vanquished by him. Among these were Ushasta Śākrāyana, Kahola Kauśītakēya, Uddhālaka Āruṇi, and above all, Gārgi Vāchaknavī. The last of these put two

* There can hardly be a doubt that the Mahājanaka-jātaka (No. 539, Cowell, V, pp. 19—38), which mentions the story of the renunciation of Mahājanaka, is an echo of the Epic and Upanishadic traditions skilfully adapted for purposes of propaganda.

questions to Yājñavalkya, comparing herself to a Kāśi or Videha warrior going to battle with two pointed arrows. She was beaten, and she advised all the assembled Brāhmans to bow before her invincible antagonist. The same discomfiture was experienced by Vidagdha Śākalya, a Kuru-Pañchāla Brahman. The whole incident shows that, in the regime of wise sovereigns like Janaka, the Vidēha country was even more advanced than the land farther west, from which it had derived its Āryan culture, in the keenness of spiritual and intellectual activity.

More information is available about the Vidēhas from the Epics and Purāṇas than from the later Vēdic literature. It is clear from the Rāmāyaṇa that Rāma married the daughter of Janaka of Mithilā. The poem gives a splendid picture of the Vidēhan capital and its sacrificial hall. It is difficult to say whether this Janaka was the Janaka referred to in Vēdic literature. As a matter of fact, the term Janaka was applicable to the kings of the Vidēha dynasty in general.* The Rāmāyaṇa, it is curious to state, which can naturally be expected to give substantial information about the Vidēhas, is very defective and unsatisfactory. The Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata are more instructive and informing.

The Purāṇic version of the origin of Vidēha is that it was founded by Nimi, the son of Ikshvāku, the eldest son of Manu. Nimi is said to have been called Vidēha (body-less) under peculiar circumstances. The story is that Nimi wanted to perform a sacrifice which was likely to occupy 1000 years, and asked Vasishṭha to conduct it. That sage had just been appointed as the conductor of a sacrifice likely to last for 500 years by Indra, and so advised Nimi to postpone his function till he was able to take charge of it. Nimi kept silent, giving Vasishṭha the impression that he consented to the proposal; but he went on with the ceremonial, engaging Sage Gautama for the purpose. When, at the end of 500 years, Vasishṭha returned to Nimi with a view

* Compare the Vāyu-Purāṇa's statement: *vaṁśē Janakānām mahātmanām.*

to take up the work, he found that he had been ignored in favour of Gautama. Livid with rage, he cursed Nimi to become body-less. When the king woke up and learnt of his misfortune, he burst into a storm at the unreasonable conduct of Vasishtha in cursing him without asking for an explanation, and bestowed, in return, a curse of the same character on him. The story continues to the effect that Vasishṭha had a rebirth as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa; and that Nimi, who became body-less, received a boon from the gods, who were assembled for the receipt of his sacrificial offerings, to the effect that, though without a body, he would for ever live in the eye-lids of all beings. As Nimi or Vidēha left no son, the Vidēha kingdom ran the danger of becoming subject to anarchy. So the Rshis consulted with one another, and churned, out of his dead body, a son who, in consequence of his peculiar birth, was known as Janaka. He came to be also known as Mithi for the reason that he was churned out. From the latter the name Mithilā came to be applied to the Vidēha kingdom; and from the former all the kings of the dynasty came to be known as Janakas.

The Purāṇas give this genealogy from Nimi Vidēha to Kṛta or Kṛtakshaṇa*, the last of the line:—

1. Nimi
2. Mithi ('Janaka I'), founder of Mithilā
3. Udāvasu
4. Nandivardhana
5. Sukētu
6. Dēvarāta
7. Bṛhaduktha.
8. Mahāvīra
9. Dhṛtimant
10. Sudhṛti

* Pargiter has compared the different Paurāṇic versions and shewn their agreements and differences. See *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 95-6. Buddhistic and Jain literatures too give some traditions which are occasionally inconsistent with the Paurāṇic ones. The Majjhimanikāya (II. 74—83) and the Nimijātaka (No. 541 in Cowell and Rouse, Vol. VI, pp. 53—68) mention a Makhādēva as the progenitor of the line, and Nimi as a later king. But these cannot be taken as more authoritative than the Paurāṇic versions. See p. 415.

11. Dhṛshṭakētu
12. Haryaśva
13. Maru
14. Pratīndhaka (or Pratika)
15. Kīrtiratha (or Kṛtiratha)
16. Dēvamīḍha
17. Vibudha
18. Mahādhṛti.
19. Kīrtirāta (Kṛtarāta)
20. Mahārōman
21. Svarṇarōman
22. Hṛasvarōman
23. Śīradhvaja, or 'Janaka II
24. Bhānumant — Sitā (adopted) *md.* Rāma
25. Pradyumna, Śatadyumna or Sudyumna
26. Muni (or Śuchi)
27. Urjavāha (or Urja)
28. Śatadhvaja (or 'Śanadvāja')
29. Śakuni
30. Añjana
31. Rtujit
32. Arishṭanēmi
33. Śrutāyus
34. Supārśva
35. Sañjaya
36. Kshēmāri
37. Anēnas
38. Mīnaratha
39. Satyaratha
40. Upaguru
41. Upagupta
42. Svāgata
43. Suvarshas
44. Śruta
45. Suśruta

Kuśadhvaja of Śāṅkāśyā

Dharmadhvaja

Kṛtadhvaja — Mitadhvaja

Kēśidhvaja — Khāṇḍikya

46. Jaya
47. Vijaya
48. Rta
49. Sunaya
50. Vītahavya
51. Dhṛti
52. Bahulāśva
53. Kṛtakshaṇa, or Kṛti

('with whom the race of the Janakas ended').

Besides the kings of the above regular genealogy there are available, in the Mahābhārata and stray parts of the Purāṇas,

the names of several other kings. Amongst these may be named Dharmadhvaja, Janadēva, Daivarāti, Khāṇḍikya, Karāla, Aindradyumni and other 'Janakas.' A great confusion has been introduced into the traditions by rolling the different Janakas into one personality!

A passage* of the Mahāvaṁśa, which pretends to give a list of the descendants of Mahāsammata, who occupies the position of Manu of the Paurāṇic traditions, mentions various kings of Vidēha or Mithilā side by side with those of the other kingdoms. After enumerating a list of kings like those of Chēdi mentioned in p. 265 and others (*e.g.*, Sāgaradēva, Suruchi, Patāpa, Mahapatāpa, the two Panādas, Sudassana and Nēru) down to Achchimā and his 28 grandsons, the Mahāvaṁśa enumerates the following kings: 100 at Pakula (*sic*); 56 at Ayujjha; 60 at Bārāṇasi; 84,000 at Kapilanagara; 36 at Hatthipura; 32 at Ēkachakku; 28 at Vajra; 22 at Madhurā; 18 at Ariṭṭhapura; 7 at Indapatta; 15 at Ekachakkhu (*sic*); 14 at Kośāmbi; 9 at Kannagochchha; 7 at Rōjananagara; 12 at Champā; 25 at Mithilā; 25 at Rājagaha; 12 at Takkaśilā; 12 at Kuśinara; and 9 at Malitthiya. It then says that Sāgaradēva, the last in the Malitthiya list, was Makhādēva, and that his dynasty of 84,000 people reigned in Mithilā. The last of these is said to be Nēmiya, father of Kalārajanaka. The list then seems to refer to kings of Bārāṇasi, hinting thereby that there was an end of the line at Mithilā, and that presumably it came into the hands of the Kāśis.

This Buddhistic version is too wild and absurd to be useful for historic purposes. It is, however, of some value in its references to the first and last kings of the Vidēha line, and in its hinting that the political existence of the kingdom had an eclipse in consequence of an apparent aggression on the part of Kāśi.

Passing on to individual kings, we find some perplexing inconsistencies in the case of Nimi who, according to the Purāṇas, founded the line. How is it reconcilable, for

* Geiger's Edn., 1912, chap. II, pp. 10—11.

instance, with the tradition of Vidēgha Mādhava? Then, again, the name of his successor, Mithi Vidēha, seems to be a disguised or corrupt form of Mādhava Vidēgha. Can we infer that there was some attempt made on the part of the Purāṇic chroniclers to tamper with the real tradition? A presumption of something like this seems to be authorised by the Buddhistic tradition that the founder of the line was Makhādēva* and that Nimi was a later king. It seems to me that that this Makhādēva was also a corruption of Mādhava Vidēgha. However it might be, Makhādēva is said to have passed through three 84,000 years as a young votary of pleasure, as a viceroy, and as king, and eventually renounced the world on seeing grey hairs on his head which he interpreted as the harbinger of death. He is said to have been followed by 84,000 descendants, every one of whom had a similar career! Nimi is then said to have been the last of this series, and known as such in consequence of the fact that he rounded off the family of hermits like the hoop (*nēmi*) of a chariot-wheel. He is described as an exceedingly charitable man who learnt from Indra, as the result of his journey on chariot in the heavens and hells, the fruits of holy life and the opposite of it in all its varieties! The son of this Nimi, Kalārajanaka, is said to have been the last of the line.

Another Jātaka† refers to a Nimi who, impressed by a disconcerting incident, resigned the world, and became a Buddha in course of time. Looking down at the street through the window of his palace, he saw a hawk, carrying a parcel of meat, attacked by another and compelled to part with it. The victor was, in his turn, attacked by another, and deprived of his spoil. This went on many a time; and seeing this successive chain of attacks and submissions, Nimi came to the conclusion that the possession of things was always a source of misery and that the renouncement

* Jātaka No. 541. Cowell and Rouse, VI, pp. 53-68. Also Makhādēva-sutta of the Majjhimanikāya, II. 82.

† The Kumbhakāra. No. 408. Cowell, III, p. 230. The Jātaka gives a number of stories on resignation.

of them, on the other hand, was always a source of happiness. So he sacrificed the company of his 16,000 women, and adopted a saintly life which eventually transformed him into a Buddha.

From the fact that Nami Sāpya, who is referred to in the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa* as *Vaidēhō-rājā* is not described as the founder of the Vidēha dynasty, and from the fact that Mithi Vaidēha, the second king in the Epic or Purāṇic list, reminds one of Mādhava Vidēgha who is described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as the founder of the dynasty, and from the Buddhistic traditions described above, it has been suggested† that "the name Nami was borne not by the first, but probably by some later king or kings."

After all, the question is not important as to whether the Paurāṇic Nimi was the progenitor of the line or his son, Mithi Vaidēha, who seems to have been the same as Mādhava Vidēgha but given a Paurāṇic genealogy and connected with Ikshvāku. Whatever might have been the case, Mithi is called in the Purāṇas the first Janaka, while the Rāmāyaṇa gives that title to his son. The title ever after clung to every member of the line, and a great confusion has been introduced, as has been already said, in all kinds of religious traditions, Vēdic, Paurāṇic, and Buddhistic, by speaking of Janaka as a single king.

There are a number of early Janakas not referred to in the above genealogy. One of these was the son of Dēvarāta, to whom a Yāgñavalkya is said to have delivered a profound discourse on all sorts of philosophical topics (Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, southern text, chaps. 315—24). Another was Siradhvaja, the son of Indradyumna, who allowed a great scholar of his court, Vandī by name, to have all philosophic disputants, vanquished by him, immersed in water; and the proud tyrant was eventually vanquished by the young Ashṭāvakra. The episode dwells largely on the brilliance of Janaka's sacrificial hall and the high philosophical

* xxv. 10-17. He also figures in the Ṛg-vēda (VI. 20. 6; X. 48, 9) See '*Vedic Index*,' I, p. 436.

† Raychaudhuri, p. 30.

disputations held there (Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, chaps. 134—36). Still another Janaka, Janadēva, received some profound teachings from a sage named Pañchaśikha, condemning materialism and upholding the superior spiritual pursuits (*Ibid*, Śāntiparva, chaps. 220-2 and 324). It is this Janadēva or a namesake of his that was responsible for the statement that he lost nothing even when Mithilā was burning. A chapter of the Śāntiparva (225 of the Southern version) says that the Lord Himself, in the guise of a Brahman, set fire to the city in order to test the constancy of Janadēva, and that the wonderful tranquillity of the latter even in the midst of the disaster amply fulfilled the expectations formed of him.* The Mahājanaka† of the Jātaka No. 539 probably refers to this king. The Jaina‡ *Uttarādhyayana* attributed it to a king named Namī; and as Nami or Nēmī is called the son of Arishṭa in the Paurāṇic genealogy, and as Mahājanaka is represented in the Jātaka as the son of Arishṭṭha, Namī has been identified by some with Mahājanaka. The question of identification, however, is too perplexing to allow solution.

One of the most celebrated of the Janakas was Sīradhvaja, the father of Sītā. From the fact that he killed the king of Sāṅkāśyā and installed his brother, Kuśadhvaja, on its throne, it is obvious that, occasionally at least, Vidēha followed an aggressive political career, which the application of the epithet *Samrāṭ* to its kings in Vēdic literature indicates. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa, chaps. 70-1) tells us

* See also chap. 17 where Janaka expressed himself thus:

मिथिलायां प्रदीप्तायां न मे दह्यति किञ्चन ।

† Cowell and Rouse, VI, pp. 19 ff. Mahājanaka was the son of Ariṭṭha-janaka, and grandson of a namesake. Ariṭṭha-janaka had been killed by his brother Polajanaka. His queen, then *enceinte*, fled from the city and was saved by a Brahman. Her son, Mahājanaka (the Buddha in a previous birth), eventually obtained his father's crown, but afterwards renounced the world. His son was Dīghāvu.

‡ 'Sacred Books of the East,' Vol. 44, p. 37. "Happy are we, happy live we who call nothing our own; when Mithilā is on fire, nothing is burnt that belongs to me."

that Sudhanvā of Saṅkāśyā attacked Sīradhvaja for possession of the great bow of Śiva and the hand of Sītā, and was killed by the Vidēha king's own hand, and that Kuśadhvaja, the twin-brother of the latter, was then appointed in his place. Sāṅkāśyā is described as a lovely town, decked with divine grace and shining like Pushpaka, with the waves of the Ikshumatī washing the foot of her ramparts.

Sāṅkāśyā has been identified with Saṅkisa or Sankisa-Basantapur (27° 20′ N. and 79° 16′ E.) on the Ikshumatī in Farrukabad District of the United Provinces by Cunningham, but Vincent Smith was disposed to doubt it and preferred to look for it in the north-east corner of the Itāh district*. It was known as Kāpitthaka in Varāhamihira's time, and played a considerable part in Buddhistic legends to which Hiuen Tsang refers. That a scion of the Vidēha dynasty found himself seated in such a distant place beyond the intervening Kōsala and other kingdoms, indicates the political enterprise of the Vidēhan kings on occasions. The descendants of Kuśadhvaja, it may be pointed out, of whom three generations alone are known from the Vishnu Purāṇa, figure in some of the traditions. Dharmadhvaja† is said to have been a great Sanyāsin who had an interesting discourse on the characteristics of a *Mukta* with a Yōgic Bhikshukī named Sulabhā. His grandsons, Kēśidhvaja and Khāṇḍikya, were the participators in an erudite controversy regarding the Great Truth. Through Yōga, Khāṇḍikya was deprived of his kingdom and home by Kēśidhvaja, but the latter became successively the pupil of his victim in sacrificial lore and his teacher in the science and art of Yōga‡.

Passing on to the main line, we have not got any details regarding the thirty successors of Sīradhvaja, down to Kṛtakshaṇa who lived in the time of the Mahābhārata war. It is quite possible that to this period must be assigned

* Majumdar Sastri's Edn. of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 423-7 and 705-6.

† Śāntiparva, chap. 325.

‡ The Vishṇu Purāṇa, Amśa 6, chaps. 6 & 7.

that Karāla Janaka* who had a serious discourse from Vasishṭha on the character of the soul during the *akshara* and *kshara* stages, and various other topics of spiritual life Buddhistic traditions, we have seen, make him the last of the Vidēhan kings; and a proposal has been made to identify him with Kṛti, the last in the Pauraṇic list†. It is quite possible, however, that there was more than one Karāla, and that the Karāla of the Kaḷārajātaka was a later member of the dynasty.

Coming down to the age of the Mahābhārata, the Vidēha sovereign, Bahulāśva, was a great devotee of Śrī Kṛshṇa. The latter is said, in the Bhāgavata, to have visited Mithilā with a number of sages to do honour to its king as well as to a pious householder in it named Śrutadēva. The passages dealing with the great *bhakti* displayed by the king and his subject, and the teachings of Śrī Kṛshṇa on the occasion, show the influence of the devotional cult in Mithilā in this period, if we are to believe this Purāṇa (X, chap. 86). Vidēha figures in a number of passages in the Mahābhārata. Bhīma vanquished the Vidēhas in his *digvijaya* preliminary to the Rājasūya-yāga (Sabhāparva, chap. 30). Karṇa vanquished, for the sake of his friend, Duryōdhana, the king of Mithilā together with the kings of all eastern states—Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Chuṇḍika, Magadha, Garga-kaṇḍa, etc. (Vanaparva, chap. 250). In chapter 20 of the Sabhāparva we have an excellent description of the mountains and rivers crossed by Bhīma and Kṛshṇa during their journey from Indraprastha to Girivrajā, Jarāsandha's capital in Magadha, *via* Mithilā. Curiously enough, the Vidēhas, though mentioned together with the Magadhas and Tāmraliptakas in the list of eastern peoples, do not play any conspicuous part in the Mahābhārata War.

We know nothing of the Vidēha kings after the age

* Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, chaps. 308-14. The *Parāśaragīta* (*Ibid*, chaps. 296-305) was addressed by Sage Parāśara to a Janaka who might have been Karāla or any of his immediate successors.

† Rāychaudhuri, p. 51.

of the Mahābhārata. According to the Arthaśāstra* Karāla, the Vaidēha, perished with his kingdom and relations because of his violence to a Brāhmaṇa maiden. This tradition is confirmed by a reference made to it by Aśvaghōshaṭ. This seems to indicate that the dynasty became extinct on account of the degeneracy of its character. It is quite possible that this Karāḷajanaka is the person who is referred to as Kaḷārajanakaṭ, in Buddhistic stories, as the last king of the line. Mr. Raychaudhuri makes the interesting remark that "the downfall of the Vaidēhas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Vidēha, the overthrow of the monarch was followed by the rise of a Republic—the Vajjiyan Confederacy."‖ He also points out that the Kāśī people had a share in the overthrow of the Vidēhan monarchy. "Already in the time of the great Janaka, Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, could hardly conceal his jealousy of the Vidēhan king's fame. The passage 'Yaṭṭā Kāśyō vā Vaidēha vograputra ujjyam dhanu ruḍhijyam kṛtvā dvau vānavantau sapatnātivyādhinau hasta kṛtvō-potishṭhēd' (Brihad. Upanishad, III. 8. 2) probably refers to frequent struggles between the kings of Kāśī and Vidēha. The Mahābhārata (XII. 99. 1-2) refers to the old story (*itihāsam purātanam*) of a great battle between Pratardana (king of Kāśī according to the Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 48. 15) and Janaka, king of Mithilā. It is stated in the Pali commentary, *Paramatthajōtikā* (Vol. I, pp. 158-65) that the Lichchhavis, who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in Vidēha, and formed the most important element of the Vajjian Confederacy, were the offsprings of a queen of Kāśī. This probably indicates that

* Shamasastri, p. 12.

† Buddhacharita, IV. 80.

करालजनकश्चैव हत्वा ब्राह्मणकन्यकां ।
अवाप भ्रंशमप्येव न तु त्यजेच्च ममथं ॥

(Cowell's Edn., 1893, p. 34).

‡ See *ante*, p. 419.

‖ *Political History*, p. 52.

a junior branch of the royal family of Kāśī established itself in Vidēhā." *

The transformation of the Vidēhan State from a Monarchy to a Republic, or rather the member of a Republican Confederacy known as the Vajjiyans, is pre-disposed by Buddhistic literature. It is true that both Buddhistic and Jain traditions speak of 'kings' both in Vidēha and other members of this Confederacy. Jain traditions, for example, refer to a king named Kumbēra, the contemporary of the 19th Tīrthaṅkara† Mallinātha. This Kumbēra is said to have had a queen named Prabhāvati. Another king, Chētaka‡, is referred to as a munificent patron of Mahāvīra, just like Kuṇika of Aṅga, and Śatānīka of Kauśāmbi. Mahāvīra's mother, Triśalā, is again called Vidēhadattā, a princess apparently of the Vidēhan line. But we have reasons to believe that the so-called kings of the Vajjiyan Confederacy were only members of the Kshatriya clans who had some voice in the state, and they did not form big hereditary dynasties as in the past.

The kings of Vidēha had, as has been already pointed out, close relations with neighbouring monarchs. Their connection with Kōsala, Sāṅkāśya, and Kāśī has been already referred to. From the fact that Udayana has been called Vaidēhīputra, it has been inferred that the Vidēhas had also marriage relations with the Vatsas. Later on, the Magadhan king, Ajātaśatru, had a Vidēhan princess named Vāsavī for his queen. A number of traditions connect the Vidēhan monarchs with contemporary chiefs as the teachers or pupils of the latter in *dharma* and *vairāgya*. One of the remarkable stories in the Jātakas is the resignation of the Vidēhan king and his resort to a life of penance in the Himalayan forests on merely hearing of an act of resignation on the part of the Gandhāra king, Bōdhisattva‖.

The services of Vidēha to culture were, as has been

* *Ibid*, pp. 52-3.

† See Mrs. S. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 56-7.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 40.

‖ Jātaka No. 406 (Gandhāra-jātaka). Cowell, Vol. III, pp. 221 ff.

already said, enormous. It cooperated heartily with Kōsaıa in its religious and secular life, as a stronghold of Āryanism. This cultural unity was the result of the scholars of one kingdom commonly visiting another and distinguishing themselves there. As Oldenberg observes*, "The king of the east' had a leaning to the culture of the west, and collected the celebrities of the west at his court, much as the intellects of Athens gathered at the court of the Macedonian princes."

Nor were the Vidēhan kings wanting in secular attractions. Their court had all the worldly allurements of a cultural and civilized centre. The court life was rich and impressive. The royal state-coach was drawn by four horses†. The palace was magnificently equipped and provided‡. It had not only rich storehouses, but extensive harems which included, in the case of one traditional sovereign, a collection of 16,000 women! Certainly the Janakas, if they specialised in sacrifices and hermit life, also specialised in the arts and accomplishments of pleasure! If there were Janakas who were indifferent to the burning of Mithilā itself, there were others who were not indifferent to the flames of passion! What is more curious, they had a philosophy to back them up! It is not surprising that King Brahmadatta§ of Benares hesitated to give his daughter, Sumēdhā, in marriage to a Vidēhan king, Suruchi-kumāra, on the ground that the worst misery for a woman was to quarrel with her fellow-wives, and that, as the Vidēha prince had a crowd of women, he would not give her in marriage to him, but would prefer one who would wed her alone and none other. King Suruchi of Vidēha thereupon gave this remarkable reply: "Ours is a great kingdom, the city of Mithilā covers seven leagues, the measure of the whole kingdom is 300 leagues. Such a king should have 16,000 women at the least!" Eventually, the prince

* *The Buddha*, pp. 398-9.

† Cowell, Vol. II, p. 27.

‡ *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 222.

§ *Ibid*, Vol. IV, Jātaka No. 489 (Suruchi-jātaka); pp. 198 ff.

married Sumēdhā on the distinct promise to be a monogamist. Now it happened that the queen had no son. The people blamed the king for his vow of self-denial, and insisted that he should choose a company of women 'as some worthy wife might bring him a son'; for, they argued, 'a royal prince should have 16,000 at least!' The story goes on to say that Queen Sumēdhā herself, with a noble self-sacrifice, arranged for the king's marriage, by degrees, with 16,000 women belonging to the warrior caste, the courtiers and householders, and that, as the king had still no son, she was given one by Lord Sakka in recognition of her great nobility. The Jātaka which gives this remarkable tale also gives an insight into very interesting scenes of amusement and pleasure at the court of Mithilā. The king's marriage feast lasted seven years! Dancing, juggling, magical performances, and similar scenes were indulged in. Apparently, the Janakas were versatile in their tastes and accomplishments!

It is remarkable that, in spite of the system of polygamy which prevailed on a large scale in the Vidēhan court, the Vidēhan princesses came to have a reputation for great conjugal constancy and virtues. The well-known story of Sītā need hardly be referred to. A celebrated example of later times is that of Vāsavī, the Vidēhan queen of Bimbisāra. According to the Buddhistic traditions, Bimbisāra was put in prison by his son, Ajātasatru, and about to be starved to death, and he was saved by his queen carrying honey, ghee and corn-flour attached to her own body, and grape-juice hidden in her garlands.

Nor was economic activity in the back-ground. By the time of the commencement of the Buddhistic period, Vidēha is said to have had 16,000 villages and several opulent towns. The city of Mithilā is said to have covered seven leagues, and further possessed four market towns at its four gates. It had been carefully planned by the architects, and presented a beautiful appearance with its walls, gates and battlements. It was traversed by streets on every side, and it abounded in horses, cows, chariots, tanks and gardens.

The crowd of gallant knights who swarmed in it lent it unusual gaiety, and picturesqueness as well, with their robes of tiger-skins, their colours, and their shining arms. Its Brahmans were rich enough to be robed in the cloth of Kāśī, and tasteful enough to be perfumed with sandal and adorned with gems. Its palaces were tenanted by queens who shone with their diadems and their robes of state. Its merchants were engaged in busy trade with neighbouring countries. On the whole the picture of Vidēha presented by the traditions is that it had a versatile distinction.

VAIŚĀLI

Another important member of the Kōsala-Vidēha group of kingdoms was the Vaiśālika, the capital of which was Vaiśalī or Vaiśālī in Mithilā or Tirhūt, now represented by the villages and ruins at and near Basārh, in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihār, about twenty-five miles off Patna, to the north of the Ganges. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Vaiśālī was founded by Viśāla, son of Ikshvāku and ancestor of a line of nine kings, the last of whom, Sumatī, was the contemporary of Rāma*. The Purāṇas†, however, trace the dynasty from Nābhāga, the son of Dishṭa and grandson of Manu, and place Viśāla and the nine kings who succeeded him at the end of a dynastic list which had already passed through about twenty-six generations. All the versions agree that the dynasty was Ikshvāku in origin; and on the whole the Purāṇic versions, in spite of differences in detail among themselves, are more complete and trustworthy.

The Purāṇic version of the origin of Vaiśālī is as follows. Nābhāga, the son of Dishṭa (Manu's son), became

* Bālakāṇḍa, Grantha Edn., Sarga 47, verses 11-21.

† Of all the Purāṇas the Mārkaṇḍēya is the most prolific in the description of the dynasty; but it comes only up to Rājyavardhana. The Vishṇu and five other Purāṇas deal with it in different degrees of accuracy. The Epics are positively defective. The Vāyu, Vishṇu, Garuḍa and Bhāgavata Purāṇas give the fullest lists with slight differences. See Pargiter's *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 96-7 where the different authorities are summarised and compared.

a Vaiśya under strange circumstances. Coming across a beautiful Vaiśya maiden, Suprabhā by name, he was conquered by the seduction of her loveliness, and he decided that the sum of his existence was his marriage with her. Her father referred the matter to King Dishṭa, and the latter consulted the Rshis as to whether it could be permitted or not. The Rshis declared that the prince might marry her, provided he first married a Kshatriya lady. But the die had been cast, and Nābhāga, spurning the proposal, clung to his choice. His obstinacy drove all that was soft out of his father's veins, and he tried to bring him round by force, but was advised by his Brahmanical counsellors that he should not do so, as the prince had become a Vaiśya by his act, and that it was not fit that a Vaiśya should be opposed in battle by a Kshatriya.

Nābhāga, continues the story, had, in course of time, a son named Bhalandana.* With the help of a sage named Nīpa†, an expert in the science of weapons, Bhalandana conquered the earth, and offered the sovereignty to his father. The latter, who had drifted into a haven of contentment, declined it on the ground that, in the view of great men, he had declined in his social rank. Suprabhā, at this stage, conjured up in her mind the picture of her past life-history, and explained that she was not really of Vaiśya descent, but the daughter of a king named Sudēva who had been cursed by a sage to be born as such. She also added that the memory came to her that, in another birth, she had been the daughter of a royal sage named Suratha, and been cursed to be born as a Vaiśya woman by Agastya.

* Another version is Bhanandana.

† A Nīpatithi appears in the Ṛg-vēda as a fighter (VIII. 49. 9) and as a sacrificer (VIII. 51. 1). He composed a hymn of the Ṛg-vēda as well as a Sāman (Pañchavimśa B., XIV. 10. 4). See *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 456.

In spite of this reassurance, Nābhāga refused to fret about the loss of the crown. He could not go against the commands of his father. He had to continue to be a Vaiśya for ever. But the paragon of contentment that he was, he offered to pay tax as a loyal subject in case his son ascended the throne. Thus it was that Bhalandana became the ruler of Vaiśāli.

We would naturally expect the Purāṇas from this to trace the name Vaiśālī to the fact that it was founded by a Vaiśya, but they do not expressly say so. On the other hand they inconsistently attribute it to a prince named Viśāla whom they place after some twenty-six generations! The Rāmāyaṇa does not commit the inconsistency, but it makes Viśāla the son of Ikshvāku, and gives only nine generations for the dynasty, and this is disproved by the Purāṇas. All that we can infer from these foggy and confusing evidences is that the Vaiśāli line was a branch of the Ishvākus ; that it was probably founded by a prince who was not very particular in his notions of marriage and who had a Vaiśya bride instead of a Kshatriya one. It may be that the notions of social prudery which figure so largely in the story were later creations of the Paurāṇic chroniclers; but that Vaiśāli was in origin something like the one mentioned in the Purāṇas is probably a historical fact. The royal clan might really not have been so high or pure, though its kings outbade the most Āryan of the Āryan kings in their ideals and practices.

From Bhalandana, who is said to have been an embodiment of righteousness and valour, and who distinguished himself both as a sacrificer and universal conqueror, to Marutta, the fourteenth of the line, we have got the following genealogy :—

Purāṇic version.

Manu
|
Nābhānedishṭa
|
1. Bhalandana
|
2. Vatsaprī
|
3. Prāmśu
|
4. Prajān[illegible]
|
5. Khanitra (or Khanimitra)
|
6. Kshupa (or Chakshusha) *md.* Pramathā
|
7. Vimśa (or Vīra) *md.* Nandini, the Vidarbha princess
|
8. Vivimśa (or Vimśaka or Vivimśati)
|
9. Khaninētra
|
10. Ativibhūti (left out in some versions)
|
11. Karandhama
|
12. Avīkshit
|
13. Marutta

Mahābhārata version.

Manu
|
Prajāti
|
[illegible]huta
|
Ikshvāku
|
Vi[illegible]sa (one of 100 sons)
|
[illegible]vimśa
|
Khaninētra the tyrant. One of 15 sons. Deposed in favour of his son.
|
Suvarchas the good or Karandhama
|
Avīkshit (performer of 100 yāgas)
|
Marutta

All the above (except Ikshvāku whose name seems to be wrongly interpolated) can be identified with the corresponding names in the Purāṇic list, which is more complete and exhaustive. It will be seen that some names are omitted, and that in regard to some others there is a verbal variation; *e.g.*, Kshuta instead of Kshupa.

Vatsaprī (or Vatsaprīti), Bhalandana's son, had the strong strain of his virtuous father in him. The Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa gives an elaborate story indicating how the spirit of romance stirred the very depths of his being. It is said that a Daitya, who lived in the Rasātala or nether-world, and who possessed a magic club (named

Sunandā), made a mock of the royal authority of King Suratha of Nirvindhya (the Vindhyas), and carried away his daughter and sons, and Vatsaprī rescued them after slaying the Dānava. The story seems to refer to some engagement with the Nāgas or the aborigines in the borderland of the Āryan world, and to the victory which attended the Āryan prince's arms. The marriage with the rescued princess gives a clue to the intermarriage which was common in this period between the Āryan and non-Āryan royal houses. That Vatsaprī was much more than an adventurer, that he was a sage, is evident from the facts that he composed or 'saw,' as the Vēda says, the *Sāman* known after himself, and that the Taittiriya, Kāṭhaka and Maitrāyaṇi Samhitas as well as the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa refer to him as such.* Pargiter draws attention to the fact that Vatsaprī Bhalandana is the reputed author of the Ṛg-vēda IX. 68, and probably X. 45 and 46; and that, in consequence of such works, some of the Purāṇas speak of the Vaiśya kings of Vaiśāli having become Brahmans.

Prāmśu was a great sacrificer. His son, Prajāti, was a terrible foe of the Dānavas and Asuras, and a valued friend of Indra. His successor, Khanitra, figures in a curious story. He was, we are told, always righteous and doing good to his people. Versed in the Vēdas, eloquent, modest, and engaged in prayer, day and night, he was loved by all. He appointed his four brothers, out of affection, as rulers of separate kingdoms. Thus, he made Śauri the king of the east; Udāvasu, of the south; Sunaya, of the west; and Mahāratha, of the north. These subordinate kings had their own Purōhits who belonged to the families of Atri, Gautama, Kāśyapa and Vasishṭha. The minister of Śauri was a skilful magician, and he, by corrupting the Purōhitas of the other princes, secured for his master ascendancy over them. But events proved that he had been playing with edged tools; for a terrible female deity which arose out of the magician's sacrifice was quelled by the superior spiritual merit of Khanitra, and the guilty traitors themselves became victims to her fury. On hearing the destruction of the

* See *Vēdic Index*, Vol. II, p. 239 for all the references.

family priests, Khanitra, whose piety had a deep root in spirituality, took the blame upon himself, resigned the kingdom to his son, Kshupa, and went away to the forest with his three wives, to end his days in austerities.

Kshupa was a very pious and liberal sacrificer, who resembled the very son of Brahma and who was a great friend of cows and Brahmans. His son, Vīra had, by the Vidarbha Princess, Nandinī, a son named Vivimśa who succeeded him. In his time the earth was prosperous and became densely peopled. The showers were timely, and the harvests plentiful. People became wealthy without becoming degenerate. Vivimśa's enemies were discomfited. In spite of this, we are told, he met his death in battle, and departed to the world of Indra.

Khaninētra*, the son of Vivimśa, completed ten thousand sacrifices! He gave the very earth away, with its seas, in charity to high-souled Brahmans till they became satisfied and wanted no more. Once he went to the chase in order to obtain flesh for a sacrifice to the Pitṛs whom he propitiated for progeny. Separated from his people, Khaninētra came across two deer which offered themselves to him, one because it found life too dreary on account of sonlessness, and the other because it was worried by too many children! Such noble acts of self-sacrifice proved a spur to the innate kindliness of the king's nature, and he resolved to secure his purpose without slaughter and through austerities. He propitiated Indra, and eventually had a son in Balāśva. In course of time Balāśva became king. He was then besieged by several rivals; and though momentarily defeated, he was saved by an army which issued from his arms, in consequence of which he came to have the name of Karandhama. His son, Avīkshita, is said

* The Mahābhārata makes him the eldest of fifteen sons, who became unpopular on account of his tyranny and who was therefore deposed by the people in favour of his son, Suvarchas. It further says that it was this Suvarchas that later on came to have the name of Karandhama. Having lost all his treasure on account of his charities, he was attacked and overpowered by his enemies, when his virtues created an army out of his arms.

to have been so called because he was regarded with benignity by the planets. Greater than Indra himself, he performed a hundred sacrifices. He was chosen by many princesses as their lord on account of his valour, and he himself captured Viśalā, the daughter of the king of Vidiśa, in a Svayamvara, beating all other rivals. The latter combined and captured him, and the Svayamvara was reopened. But the princess refused to choose anybody else than Avīkshita and insisted on marriage with him. But Avikshita was a proud man. Having sustained defeat, he refused to marry her, even though he was set free by his father, Karandhama. Helpless and sorrow-struck, Viśalā proceeded to the forest, and engaged herself in austerities. The gods took pity upon her, and promised a universal emperor for her son. As a result of the divine favour, Avīkshita was eventually persuaded to forego his resolution and accept the hand of Viśalā.* The son of this highly interesting union was Marutta, one of the sixteen universal emperors of antiquity. He is said to have been so called because, during his birth, he was blessed by the gods headed by the Marutas.

It is quite possible that the legends connected with Karandhama and Avīkshit indicate an important political episode in the history of Vaisalī, namely, the presentation of a successful resistance to the aggressions of the Haihayas who, as we have seen (p. 313), extended their activities beyond Vidēha. The attack on Karandhama by a confederacy of kings and the struggle of Avīkshit with the king of Vidiśa and others, were probably episodes in this struggle.

We now come to Marutta, one of the most important figures in Paurāṇic mythology. He is described as one of the sixteen universal emperors of antiquity. He had the might of 10,000 elephants, and shone like Vishṇu. He was a tireless performer of sacrifices and a magnificent patron of Brahmans. In order to perform sacrifices in the

* The story as given in the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa is at this stage complicated by Viśalā's alleged re-births as a Daitya and a Gandharva princess. It indicates the contact of the Vidiśa kingdom with the aborigines of the Vindhyan borders.

golden hill near Meru, north of the Himalayas, he had thousands of vessels, weapons, seats and other sacrificial things and materials made in gold. God Indra lost all sense of himself at the excess of the Sōma he drank in Marutta's sacrifices. The Brahmans showed equal self-forgetfulness on account of the gifts with which they were loaded. The gods themselves adorned the Sabhā of the pious monarch, and they were served with food by the gods of wind themselves. There was no end to Marutta's presentation of largesses which included golden palaces, to all castes. Now, at that time, there was a quarrel between Samvarta and Bṛhaspati, the two sons of Aṅgiras. The latter was the teacher of Indra who was jealous of Marutta in whom he saw a dangerous competitor. Choosing Samvarta as his sacrificial guide, Marutta propitiated God Śiva and, with his grace, obtained a shower of gold and wealth necessary for his pious task. The story concludes that Indra acknowledged his defeat, and accepted the great emperor's offerings in person in the presence of all the gods. The resources left by Marutta after the completion of his ceremonials were afterwards, says the Mahābhārata, utilised by Yudhishṭhira during the performance of the Aśvamēdha by him.

The story of Marutta given in the Mahābhārata seems to be an elaboration of the reference to be found in the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 21. 12) to the anointment of Marutta Avīkshita Kāmaprī by Samvarta. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 4, 6) also refers to the same king under the title of Ayōgava.

Passing on from these legendary pictures of Marutta, where the historian is naturally in a fog, to sober history which is not obstructed by any baffling or confusing wall of mist, we understand that, in spite of his great valour, Marutta had immense troubles from the Nāgas. He would have, we are told, set their world on fire, and exterminated them completely even though they took refuge with his venerable and retired father, but for the fact that the enemies restored the Ṛshis they had killed to life by means of divine herbs and by sucking out the poison,

Pargiter believes that these enemies were really the Haihayas, and that Marutta must be given the credit of ending their aggressions for ever in this part of the country.

After Marutta we can construct this genealogy of the Vaisalī kings :—

Marutta
|
Narishyanta
|
Dama
|
Rāshṭravardhana or Rājyavardhana

One version	Another version
Sudhṛti	Suvṛtti
Nara	Kōvala
Kōvala	Sudhṛti
Bandhumant	Nara
Vēgavant	Chandra
Budha	Kēvala
Tṛṇabindhu	Bandhumān

md. Alampushā
|
Viśravas
|
Viśāla 'founder' of Vaisali (sometimes made son of Tṛṇabindu)
|
Hēmachandra
|
Suchandra (Chandra)
|
Dhūmrāśva or Dhūmrāksha
|
Śṛñjaya
|
Sahadēva
|
Kṛshāśva
|
Sōmadatta
|
Janamējaya
|
Pramati (or Sumati)

Narishyanta is said to have performed a grand sacrifice in which he enriched the Brahmans so much that he could not induce any of them to attend a second sacrifice. On account of his generosity, the poorest of men became rich enough to engage in sacrifices of their own.

Narishyanta's son, Dama, was a valiant and accomplished king who married Sumanā, the daughter of the king of Dāśarṇa, after defeating rival kings in a Svayamvara. A student of Daitya Dundhi in the science of weapons and of Śakti in the Vēdic lore, versed in religious devotion, he was placed on the throne by Narishyanta before his retirement to the forest. The retired king was killed by Vapushmant, one of his old rivals. Getting the information from his mother, Indrasēnā, Dama engaged Vapushmant in fight, killed him, and celebrated his father's obsequies with his flesh and blood.

After Dama there were about a score of generations in the Vaisalī line down to Pramati or Sumati, with whom it ended. Of these sovereigns, Tṛṇabindu is celebrated as a great soul. His son or grandson, Viśāla, is absurdly said to have founded the city of Vaisalī. Another sovereign, Sōmadatta, is credited with the performance of ten sacrifices. The last king, Pramati or Sumati, is declared in the Rāmāyaṇa to have been a contemporary of Daśaratha of Ayōdhyā, Sīradhvaja of Mithilā and Lōmapāda of Aṅga. King Sumati addressed sage Viśvāmitra, when he took Rāma and Lakshmaṇa to the court of Mithilā, in a language of great reverence and welcome, and requested him, 'with suppliant hands, with head inclined,' to grace his country with his presence. And they stayed there for a night, and then pursued their way to Mithilā.

It is remarkable that no Purāṇa throws light on the history of Vaisalī after Sumati, the contemporary of Rāma. This gap is one of the most startling mysteries in the history of pre-Buddhistic India. As has been already said, we understand from Buddhistic traditions that the most interesting fact in the history of eastern Āryāvarta in the centuries which immediately preceded the Buddhistic era

was the rise, in the areas of the Vidēha and Vaiśāli kingdoms, of a loose confederation of several tribes which had a non-monarchical and republican type of government, with elected Rājas or Presidents, either single or corporate, with popular assemblies, and busy urban and village life. It is very probable that, in the centuries which followed Sumati, Vaiśāli was either subject to Vidēha, and eventually shared with it the upheavals which brought about the triumph of oligarchical or republican governments, or was subject to the same commotions even in earlier times. It is quite probable that, to a certain extent, this important political and constitutional change was due to the advent of the Mongoloid or semi-Mongoloid elements from the further north and east.

NEW TRIBAL STATES.

The following are the tribal confederate states which are mentioned in Buddhistic literature as having come into existence in the pre-Buddhistic era in place of the old Vidēha and Vaiśāli kingdoms :—

1. The Śākyas of Kapilavastu.
2. The Vṛjjiyans who were divided into the two branches of the Vidēhas of Mithilā (Tirhūt) and the Lichchhavis of Vaisalī (Basarh).
3. The Bhaggas of the Śumsumāra hill.
4. The Bulis of Allakappa.
5. The Kalamas of Kēśaputta.
6. The Kolias of Rāmagrāma (Deokali).
7. The Moriyas of Pipphalivana.
8. The Mallas of Kuśināra.

Having studied already the interesting history of the Śākyas, we shall now pass on to trace the history of the other communities of the group. The Vṛjjiyans, who came to occupy the old Vidēha kingdom, seem to have taken possession of it immediately after the fall of that kingdom. Nothing is known about the Vṛjjiyans of Mithilā or Tirhūt.* It is enough to state that in the sixth century B. C. Mithilā continued to be prosperous under them.

* The Vṛjjis are mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 2. 131).

With regard to the ethnology of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśalī many wild and incredible theories have been suggested. Hewitt connected them with the Kolarians.* Beal traced them to a Northern people allied to the Yuechi or Scythians, and placed the Sākyas also under the same category.† His arguments are: (1) Tibetan writers derive their first king (about B. C. 250) from the Litsabyis (that is, the Lichchhavis). (2) The Chinese used the same symbols for the Yuechi and the Vṛjjiyans. (3) Ajātaśatru regarded them as foreigners to be rooted out. (4) The Lichchhavis had chariots and cognizances similar to those of the northern nations. (5) The sculptures at Sanchi representing them show Yuechi affinities. From the fact that Khotan was called *Li yal* (land of *li* or lions) by the Tibetan writers, Beal further surmises that this land must have been the original home of the Lichchhavis, whose king was known as the lion king. We have already seen how Vincent Smith believes that they were a Tibeto-Mongolian hill tribe which settled in the plains.

Another theory is that the Lichchhavis were Persian in origin. Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushana connects them with Nisibis in Persia.§ He holds that the Pāli term Lichchhavi is the softened form of the Indianised term Nichchivi or the Persian Nisibis; that the immigrants were the subjects of King Darius who came to India about 515 B. C. and settled in the Vrātya land of Magadha beyond the lands of the orthodox. He sees a proof of this in Manu, who refers to them as Vrātyas. It was the custom of new tribes which got sovereign power to call themselves Kshatriyas, and this must have been the case with the Lichchhavis as with the Sākyas. Haraprasada Sastri believes that both these tribes were completely indifferent to the

* J. R. A. S., 1883, p. 53.

† 'Buddhistic Records of the Western World,' II, p. 70.

‡ *Ind. Antq.*, 1903, pp. 233-5; *Oxford History*, p. 64.

§ *Ind. Antq.*, 1908, p. 78. Manu says: झल्लो मल्लश्च राजन्याद्व्रात्या-ल्लिच्छिविरेव च (X, 22).

orthodox *samskāras* and had not even the sacred thread ceremony before initiation into bachelorhood.

It is difficult to say how far these theories can stand scrutiny. To argue that, as Li yal was the Tibetan name for Khotan and the term Lichchhavi began with Li, Khotan must be the original home of the Lichchhavis, can hardly be taken seriously. The argument based on the appearance and the dress, again, is not quite free from doubt. Sāñchi, moreover, was not the land of the Lichchhavis, and the sculptural works attributed to them are imaginary. Then again there is no record of Scythian migration into India till later times. Too much historical value cannot be attached to the shady Tibetan traditions. The exposure of the dead existed not only among the Lichchhavis and the Tibetans but other peoples also. The Tibetan judicial procedure, again, was different from that at Vaisalī in not insisting on immunity from punishment before proof or liberation of the accused. Similarly, the theory of the Persian origin is vitiated by the fact that the Lichchhavis were much earlier than the age of the Persian invasions. There is no tradition recording migration from Nisibis. The term *Nichchivi*, a corruption of Lichchhavi, cannot be connected with Nisibis. Bimbisāra's marriage with the Lichchhavi lady shows that, far from being new settlers, they were an ancient people with settled historical position. For these reasons Vidyābhūshaṇa's theory cannot be accepted. Nor can the arguments of Dr. Spooner. As Prof. Keith* points out, early Buddhism was hardly touched by Zoroastrian ideas, and the connection of the Buddha with the Persian race is simply absurd. We may therefore conclude that the Lichchhavis were an indigenous people, that the Tibetan similarities might be due to their spread from their original homes in the plains as in later times.† Manu probably called them Vrātyas because of their

* J. R. A. S., Jan. 1918, p. 143.

† Sylvain Levi's *Le Nepal*, I, 14 and II, 153. Jayadēva, the first historical king of Nepal, was Lichchhavi (330-55). See Fleet's *Corpus Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 135. In the time of Hiuen Tsang, a Lichchhavi still ruled over Nepal.

indifference to the Āryan customs of orthodoxy, and because they had, on account of their ethnological environment, professed some customs which could not be reconciled with notions of orthodoxy. It should never be forgotten that it was this difference that made the advent of Buddhism and Jainism so natural in these communities.

Whatever might have been the origin of the Lichchhavis, there is no question that they were the foremost of the confederate clans of the Vṛjjiyans. Their capital, Vaisalī, continued to be a very busy and prosperous city, ten or twelve miles in circuit and surrounded by three walls which were at intervals of a league, and provided with three gates and lofty watch-towers. It consisted of three or four divisions.—Vaisali proper, Kuṇḍagāma, Vaṇiagāma, and Kollāga, the last two of which are represented today by the villages of Baniya and Kollua. The Lichchhavis were so highly prosperous, that the suggestion has been made that their republic was one of guilds (*Saṅgha*, *Gaṇa*) rather than of military clans.* The Vaisalī ruins have revealed as many as 700 clay seals of bankers and merchants, indicating their busy economic life. Vaisalī had also a large reputation for learning, and was visited by students from foreign parts for the intellectual pursuits and disquisitions therein. There is no doubt that it was, as the result of this intellectual atmosphere, that the heretical religions made headway here to a larger extent than in other parts. The Jātakas give a pleasing picture of the keen race between Jain and Buddhistic scholars, male and female, for spiritual conquest, in the land of the Lichchhavis. The Buddha himself had dialectic arguments with them often-times. For holding their religious discussions, the Lichchhavis had a *kūṭāgāra* (gabled pavilion) which later on resounded with the preachings of the Buddha. The Lichchhavis were a gay and vivacious people who were fond of gorgeous processions, spectacular pageants, and artistic displays and decorations.

* See D. R. Bhandarkar's 'Lectures on the Ancient History of India,' Carmichael Lectures for 1918, pp. 114, & 148-50.

The Bhaggas (Bhargas) who ruled over the state of Sumsumāragiri were a people who were in the close vicinity of the Vatsas. The Mahābhārata*, the Harivaṁśa,† and later Buddhistic‡ traditions show this connection. The Bhargas are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 28), for there is reference there to a Bhārgāyana prince named Kairiśi Śutvan. Pāṇini§ associates them with the Yaudhēyas. It was apparently in comparatively late times that they came to be associated with the Vatsas. The Harivaṁśa, in fact, describes Bharga and Vatsa as the two sons of Pratardana. The Dhonasākha-Jātaka¶ says that prince Bōdhī, the son of the Vatsa king, Udayana, dwelt in Sumsumāragiri and built there a palace called Kōkanada. This can be explained only on the basis that the Bharga kingdom was incorporated with the Vatsa. It is curious, however, that the Bhargas are represented as a rebublican tribe in Buddhistic literature. Apparently there was a change to this type of government some time in the seventh century B. C.

The Bulis of the kingdom of Allakappa have a very obscure history. From the fact that, later on, they obtained, like the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a comparatively large share of the bodily remains of the Buddha, we have to infer that they were rather an important section in the tribal group. The later Dhammapada$ commentary says that the Allakappa kingdom was ten leagues in extent. Further, its king had intimate relations with the king

* वत्सभूमिञ्च कौन्तेयो विजिग्ये बलवान् बलात् ।
भर्गाणामधिपञ्चैव निषाधिपतिं तथा ॥ (II. 30. 10-11).

† प्रतर्दनस्य पुत्रौ द्वौ वत्सभर्गौ बभूवतुः ॥ (XXIX. 73).

‡ Jātaka No. 353. See also the *Majjhima-nikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 332-8; Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 91-7; *Samyukta-nikāya*, Pt. III, pp. 1-5; and Pt. IV, p. 116.

§ IV. 1. 176. न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः । in Bālamanorama Edn. (1912); IV. 1. 178 in the Kāśika Edn. (Benares, 1898).

¶ No. 353. Cowell (Francis and Neil), III, pp. 105-7.

$ Harvard Oriental Series (No. 28), p. 247.

Bethadīpaka, from which it has been inferred that Alakappa was not distant from Vethadipa, the home of Drōṇa on the way from Masār in Shahabad District to Vaisālī.* Cunningham† identifies 'Alakappo of the Balayas or Bulukas' with some locality near Navandgarh (or Naonadgarh), a ruined fort near the village of Lauriya, fifteen miles to the north-north-west of Battiah and ten miles from the nearest point of the Gandak river. "The ancient remains," he says, "consist of a handsome stone pillar, surmounted by a lion and inscribed with Aśōka's edicts, and of three rows of earthen barrows or conical mounds of earth, of which two rows lie from north to south, and the third from east to west. Now the Stupas usually met with are built either of stone or of brick; but the earliest stupas were mere mounds of earth, of which these are the most remarkable specimens that I have seen. I believe that they are the sepulchral monuments of the early kings of the country prior to the rise of Buddhism, and that their date may be assumed as ranging from 600 to 1500 B. C. Every one of these barrows is called simply *bhisā* or 'mound,' but the whole are said to have been the *kots* or fortified dwellings of the ministers and nobles of Rājā Uttānpat, while the fort of Navandgarh was the king's own residence." Cunningham points out that these earthen *Stūpas* or *chaityas* were pre-Buddhistic; that they are described in the Ceylonese *Atthakatha* as *Yakkatthānāni* or 'edifices belonging to Yakha, or demon-worship'; that, as the Yakshas are the guardians of Kubēra's city of Alakāpura, the Alakappo of the Balayas or Bulukas "may have been connected with the early Yaksha-worship, and that the pre-Buddhistical Stūpas of Navandgarh may be some of the ancient *chaityas* of the Vṛījjis that were referred to by Buddha."‡

* Raychaudhuri, p. 118.

† Majumdar Sastri's Edn. of *Ancient Geography*, pp. 515-6.

‡ Another Yaksha principality referred to in Buddhist literature is Ālavika, which has been equated to the Sans. Aṭavī, and which has been located in the Ghazipur region. See Raychaudhuri, pp. 119-20.

With regard to the Kālāmas of Kesaputta we are equally ignorant. It is quite possible that they were the same as the Dālbhyas or Kēśins who figure in the Rg-vēda (V. 61) and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. 8. 4, 6). The latter says that their king learnt from a certain Khaṇḍika the atonement for a bad omen at the sacrifice. The Kēśins seem to have been a branch of the Pañchālas (like the *Krivis, Turvaśas, Śṛñjayas* and Sōmakas); for we find *that King Kēśin Dārbhya had Pañchāla subjects. He had a ritualistic dispute with a certain Shaṇḍika, and further composed a Sāman or chant. He is said to have been taught by a golden bird and he had another sage for his companion named Kēśin Satyakāmī.* The Kālāmas or Kēśins seem to have been on the banks of the Gōmatī* or somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kōsala.† Pāṇini also seems to refer to them.‡ "In the Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta (Dīgha-Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 130-1) and other Buddhistic texts, ancient and modern," says Bimala Charan Law, "we are introduced to a renowned religious teacher named Āḷāra Kālāma (Sans. Arāḍa Kālāma). One caravan merchant named Pukkusa, a young Mallian, was a disciple of Āḷāra Kālāma. Much emphasis was laid by Pukkusa on the spiritual attainments of Kālāma. He said that his preceptor's ecstatic trance was so very deep and profound that a long train of heavily-laden carts passed by him but he did not perceive them (Buddhist Suttas, S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 76). Āḷāra Kālāma might have been a Haṭhayōgin. Buddhaghōsha says that he was called Āḷāra because he was a Dīghapingala or hermit of long standing, Kālāma being his family name (*Ibid*, p. 75 f. n.).....The Buddhist texts represent the Kālāmas as worshippers of the Buddha Gautama who was, before his enlightenment, a disciple of Kālāma, a

* Rg-vēda, V. 61.

† Raychaudhuri, (p. 118) on the authority of Aṅguttara-nikāya, I, 188.

‡ VI. 4. 165. गाथिविदथिकेशिगणि पणिन श्च.

renowned teacher of philosophy."* The Buddhacharita refers to this teacher.†

The Kolis or Koliyas of Rāmagāma seem to have been an important section of the Vṛjjīyan confederacy. They were, like the Sākyas, closely related to the Kośalas. Their territory was divided from that of the Sākyas by the river Rōhiṇī,‡ which they jointly dammed and about which they occasionally quarrelled for purposes of irrigation. Cunningham§ has identified Rāmagāma with the village of Deokali in the land immediately to the east of the Sākyas. The Buddhistic traditions trace the Koliyas to the Ikshvāku (Okkākā) line. It is said$ that Ikshvāku had four sons and a daughter; that the last of these suffered from leprosy and was therefore taken by her brothers to a lonely forest and shut up in a cave there; that Rāma, a king of Benares, who had had the same hideous disease and been cured by some leaves and fruits of the forest, came across her, cured her, and then married her; that he built a town on the spot of a *kola* tree in the forest, giving rise thereby to the town of Kolanagara; and that the descendants of this prince came to have the name of the Koliyas. The Mahāvastu¶ gives a slightly different

* *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 204.

† XII. (1) ततः शमविहारस्य मुनेरिक्ष्वाकुचंद्रमाः ।
अराडस्याश्रमं भेजे वपुषा पूजयन्निव ॥
(2) स कालामस गोत्रेण तेनालोक्य दूरतः ।
उच्चैः स्वागतमित्युक्तः समीपमुपजग्मिवान् ॥

‡ The Thēragāthā (verse 529, p. 56), for example, says :
पस्सन्तौ तं साकिया कोलिया च पच्छामुखं रोहिण्यां तरन्तं ।

§ *Ancient Geography* (Majumdar Sastri's Edn.), pp. 482-5. Cunningham describes the legends about the local Nāga, and the inaccuracies of the Ceylonese chronicle in describing the local topography. Rāmagrāma was the *Lanmo* of the Chinese chronicles. *Vide* Beal, *Records*, II, pp. 25-6.

$ *The Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, (Burm. Edn.), pp. 260-2.

¶ Senart, Vol. I, pp. 352-5. Law's *Some Kshatriya Tribes* (1924), pp. 205-8.

version. It says that the beautiful daughter of a Sakya nobleman was detested by the people for her incurable leprosy, and so was taken by her brothers to a lonely cave in the Himalayas, and left there with the necessary food and water but with no access to the outside. The heat of the enclosed cave cured the lady of her disease, and she recovered her old radiancy and beauty. A tiger who had got scent of her existence tried to get entrance into the cave by clearing off the *debris* at its front. It had half accomplished the task, when a sage of the neighbourhood, Kola by name, came on the scene, opened the cave, and, smitten by the fair captive's charms, exchanged his asceticism for wedded life with her. Sixteen pairs of twin sons are then said to have been born to them. When these grew of age, they were directed by their mother to go to Kapilavastu and claim kinship with the Sakya nobles. Having been brought up exactly like the latter in their habits and deportment, they were readily admitted into the Motehall of the Sākyas, and recognized by them as one with them, and entitled to lands, villages and brides.* The Mahāvastu observes that, as the princes were the sons of the royal sage Kola, they came to be known as the Koliyas. The Kunāla-jātaka† gives a totemistic origin to them, and says that they were so called because they had their dwelling in a hollow jujube or koli tree. The Jātaka refers to an unedifying controversy between the Sākyas and Koliyas in which they ridiculed each other. The Koliyas laughed at the Sākyas as men who, like dogs, jackals and other beasts, had marital connections with their own sisters; and the Sākyas retaliated and called their rivals wretched, destitute and ill-conditioned lepers, who, like brutes, dwelt in a hollow jujube tree! A third version‡ says that the Kolis belonged to the serpent race.

* Vol. I, pp. 352-5.

† Cowell, V, No. 536, pp. 219-45.

‡ The Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta of the Dīghanikāya. See (Dialogues of the Buddha) by Rhys Davids (1910), Pt. II, p. 191.

The Jātaka above-mentioned gives details of the quarrels between the Koliyas and Sākyas in regard to the water of the Rōhiṇi which was available only for a single irrigation.* The Koliya prince was a rival to the Buddha in an arrow-contest and was beaten by him.†

The Moriyas of Pipphalivana were another member of the tribal group. According to one version they were so called because they lived in a *modīya* or delightful land: and according to another, they derived their name from *mora* or peacock which was plentifully available in the city founded by them.‡ The latter version is connected with the story that a certain Sākya king who was hard-pressed by Prince Viḍūḍabha of Kōsala, fled to the Himalayan region and built a new city round a lake in the forest tract which abounded in pipphali trees. This story is a little anachronistic, inasmuch as Viḍūḍabha is said to have been a contemporary of the Buddha. But, while the details are inaccurate, it is perhaps a fact that the Moriyas were kins of the Sākyas like many other tribes of this region. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta of the Dīgha-Nikāya calls them Kshatriyas. The Mahāvaṁsa§ deduces the later Mauryans of Magadha from the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. It, in fact, says that Chandagutta, the Chandragupta of the Mauryas, was the son of the chief queen of the Moriyan king of Pipphalivana. This account is is quite inconsistent with the Paurāṇic one which makes

* Another version of the story traces the quarrel to a dispute regarding the identity of the cloths of two women who came to the Rōhiṇi to fetch water, and its eventual settlement by the Buddha.

† Mahāvastu (Senart), II, pp. 76-77.

‡ Law's *Some Kshatriya Tribes* (1924), p. 212, based on the Mahāvamsaṭika, Sinhalese Edn., pp. 119 ff.

§ "Then did the Brāhmaṇa Chānakka anoint a glorious youth known by the name of Chandagutta, as king over all Jambudīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas." (Geiger, p. 27). The Jain Pariśishṭa-parvan says that he was the *dauhitra* of the chief of the village of Mayūrapōshaka. Book VIII. The *Divyāvadāna* calls Bindusāra and his descendants Kshatriyas. (See Cowell and Neil, 1886, p. 370).

him the son of the last Nanda by a Śūdra woman named Murā. It is quite possible that Mura was a princess of the Moriya family, and called Śūdra and low-born by the Purāṇic chroniclers. The fact that the Jains called her a noble lady would indicate that they were less prejudiced. Whatever might have been the case, there is no doubt that the Moriyas played an important part in the politics of this part of the country just before the rise of Buddhism. Pipphalivana, which has been referred to later on by Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang, has been identified by Cunningham* with the Nyagrōdhavana or banyan grove where there was the famous 'Embers Tope.' According to Fa Hien it was twelve *Yōjanas* to the west of Kuśinārā, but Cunningham points out that it could have been only five Yōjanas, and that it must have been twenty-five miles to the east of Gorakhpur. The Moriyan Stūpa has been called the 'embers' or 'charcoal' tower, because the Moriyas applied too late for a share of the relics of the Buddha's body, and had to be content with the ashes.

The Mallas of Kuśinagara (or Kuśinārā) were a powerful people of Eastern India, referred to in Buddhistic works as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas.† The Mahābhārata says that the Mallas were conquered by Bhīmasēna after the conquest of North Kōsala‡ and other lands. The Bhīshmaparva mentions the Malla-rāshṭra amongst the kingdoms.§ Apparently, just before the Buddhistic age, the Mallas formed at least two groups, one with the capital at Pāvā and the other at Kuśinārā. The former has been identified with Padarona, twelve miles off the village of Kāśiā,‖ to the east of Gorakhpur District, with which Kuśinārā has been identified; and this view has been recently confirmed by the discovery of a copper plate

* Majumdar Sastri's Edn., pp. 491-3.

† Law's *Some Kshatriya Tribes* (1924), p.147 based on Aṅguttara-nikāya, XLII, 4; Vol. IV, p. 252.

‡ Sabhāparva, chap. 31. (Southern version).

§ Chap. IX of Bengal Edn. and of the Southern text too.

‖ *Ancient Geography*, Majumdar Sastri's Edn., pp. 713-14.

inscription referring to the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha on the spot on which a Chaitya was constructed; but Vincent Smith* places it in Nepal beyond the first range of hills. The land of the Mallas seems to have been to the east of the Sākya territory and to the north of the area occupied by the Vajjian confederacy, though a slightly different situation is given by different scholars. Besides the above two towns, Buddhistic literature refers to two others called Anupiyā† and Uruvēlakappa‡. All these figured in the career of the Buddha. The Mallas are said to have belonged to the Kshatriya caste and to the Vasishṭha§ gōtra§ (Vāseṭṭha), like the Lichchhavis. Manu shows his usual prejudice by calling them sons of a Kshatriya mother and a Vrātya-Kshatriya father. The Kuśa-jātaka refers to a Malla king named Okkāka (Ikshvāku), from which we can infer that the early Malla kings belonged, like the Sākyas, to the Ikshvāku stock. Another king was Mahāsudarśana, who figures in Buddhistic literature‖. The monarchy seems to have given place to a republican form of government some time before the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. One of the Jain Kalpasūtras refers to a league of 9 Mallakis and 9 Lichchhavis and 18 Gaṇarājas of Kāśi-kōsala¶. A Jātaka$ tale, on the other hand, refers to a war between the Mallian, Bandhula, whom it calls Kōsala's general, and the 500 kings of Lichchhavi. Apparently, the tribal groups were occasionally hostile to one another, and

* *Early History*, p. 159.

† Chullavagga, VII, 1.1; Vinaya Texts, pt. 3, S. B. E. XX (1885), p. 224, *Jātaka* No. 10. Cowell, Vol. I, p. 32.

‡ Law's *Some Kshatriya Tribes*, 1924, p. 149, based on Samyutta-nikāya, pt. V, p. 228; Aṅguttara-nikāya, Vol. IV, p. 438.

§ Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta; S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 121-35) and T. W. Rhys Davids 'Dialogues of the Buddha,' (Sacred Book of the Buddhists Series, Vol. II), part 2, pp. 162, 179, 181.

‖ Mahāsudassana-Sutta (which gives an eloquent description of ancient Kusinārā). S. B. E. XI, p. 248.

¶ Jacobi: S. B. E., Vol. XXII (1884), p. 266.

$ Bhaddasāla Jātaka, No. 465. Cowell and Rouse, IV, pp. 91 ff.

manipulated by the neighbouring monarchies. On the other hand, they were friendly to one another too, and were inspired by the same ideas of social and political life. The Buddha is credited in one of his discourses* with a high estimate of the character of the confederate members. Addressing Ānanda he says: "Ānando! hast thou heard that the Wajjiyans, whatever the number may be of the *Wajjiyan Cheṭiyāni* belonging to the Wajjian rulers, whether situated within or without the city, they maintain respect, reverence, and make offerings to them; and that they keep up without diminution the ancient offerings, the ancient observances, and the ancient sacrifices righteously made?" If Manu describes the Vajjians as Vrātyas, the Buddhistic writers describe them as noble and conservative; and in this very conflict of authoritative opinions we see the semi-Āryan character of their race and civilization. The fusion of the Āryan, Mongoloid, Dravidian and even the aboriginal stocks must have been a very important factor in the history of these peoples; and their eventual subjugation by the growing power of Magadha must have been due to a temporary looseness in their allegiance to their common league, or possible decline of some members at least. A clue to this decline seems to be afforded by the description of Kuśinārā in the time of the Buddha as a little branch town, in the midst of a jungle and with wattle-and-daub huts. On the other hand the passage might have been introduced in order to belittle the importance of the place by interested partisanship. The greatness of the Mallas in the field of war, in learning, and other fields of greatness is amply evidenced by the traditions recorded in Buddhistic literature. †

Having traced the evolution of historical events in the Kuru-Pañchāla and Kōsala-Vidēha groups of the Āryan and Āryanised peoples and states, we shall now pass on to those states and peoples who did not belong to these groups, who were considerably outside their pale, but who still

* See *Ancient Geography*, 1924 Edn., p. 515.

† *Vide*, for example, S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 121-35.

made their contributions, by no means small or negligible, to the civilization and culture of the country. Those peoples may, for convenience' sake, be classed as those of East Āryāvarta, the Dakhan, Southern India and even Ceylon. In between the first two of these belts, and scattered in the midst of each, are found communities which failed to be influenced by the movements of civilization around them, and many of which exist in that condition even to-day. We shall now pass on to investigate the extent to which these regions and communities—Dravidian, Muṇḍa, pre-Dravidian—were conquered and civilized or Āryanised by the gifted race, the history of which we have studied in the preceding pages.

Taking the region to the east of the cis-Gangetic Magadha and the trans-Gangetic land of the Vṛjjiyan confederacy, the first lands which require our attention are the distinct group consisting of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Sumha. The Epic and Purāṇic traditions call the dynasties of these areas members of the Saudyumna stock (see p. 353), which originated, as we have already seen, from Ilā, the daughter of Manu, who was, for a time, transformed into Sudyumna. This son of Manu had, we are told, three sons, namely, Utkala who had the Utkala or Orissa country; Gaya, who had the city of Gayā and the eastern region; and Viratāśva who had a western country, 'not particularised and never alluded to afterwards.' According to another version, Gaya received Gayā alone, and another brother, Haritāśva, had the eastern region together with 'the Kurus, that is, the Northern Kurus.' As it is impossible that the same prince ruled over East Āryāvarta and the distant Uttara Kuru, we may take Gaya's inheritance or occupation of Gayā as well as the farther east as the more probable version. The Sudyumna stock, which, according to the Purāṇic account, was co-ordinate with the Purūrava and Ikshvāku stocks, and which got possession of 'the country eastward of a line drawn roughly from Gayā to Cuttack, and the region north of the Ganges eastward of Vidēha and the Vaiśālaka kingdom,' did not play in the Āryanization of India such an important

part as the solar or lunar lines, the history of which has been traced; but it had its own share in the making of Indian civilization.

We have reasons to believe that the Sudyumnas of the east were subsequently reinforced by a section of the Purūravas, namely, the Ānavas. It has been already shown in p. 201 that Yayāti of the lunar line had five sons —Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru—and that these founded the Yādava, the Turvasu, Gandhāra, Ānarta and Puru lines. The Ānartas, it has been pointed out, founded under Uśinara the Panjab dynasties. This Uśīnara had a brother named Titikshu; and he is said to have founded in East Bihār a dynasty of his own. This kingdom came apparently to cover the region around Monghyr and Bhagalpur, immediately to the east of Pāṭaliputra. Titikshu was followed in succession by Kuśadratha, Hēma, Sutapas and Bali. A remarkable incident is narrated in connection with Bali. A sage named Dīrghatamas,* who was the son of Uśatya and Mamatā, who was born blind owing to an alleged curse of Bṛhaspati (Uśatya's younger brother), and who developed in course of time into a great scholar, is said to

* The traditions connected with this sage are very wild and occasionally even indecent in character. He had, by Pratvēshi, Gautama and other sons. He is said to have been deserted by the latter for his beastly dharma, which has been interpreted as gross immorality. It was he, says the Mahābhārata, that introduced the system of conjugal constancy in the place of promiscuous connection. The Epic and Purāṇic accounts of Dīrghatamas show irreconcilable variations in details. Whatever his character might have been, he was a great historical figure on account of his close connection with the Gautamas, his foundation of the royal clans of East Āryāvarta, and his service to Bharata. Dīrghatama's son by Auśinārī (the Śūdra woman), Kakshivant, was the progenitor of a clan which was connected with Magadha, and which attained Brahmanhood by austerities. Kakshivant's descendants were known as Kūshmāṇḍa, or according to another version, Kṛshṇāṅga Gautamas. The significance of Dīrghatamas' career in social and religious history is dealt with in Part II of this treatise.

have, in consequence of his discipleship under Kāmadhēnu's son, practised the obnoxious *dharma* of beastly life, and so been thrown by his co-sages and relatives into th Ganges Rescued by Bali, the king of the east, he did not only marry the queen's Śūdra nurse (Auśinarī) and raise several clans, but became, by *niyōga* to Bali's queen (Sudēshṇā), the father of the five brothers, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Puṇḍra and Sumha, who founded the five kingdoms known after their names. If we are to draw any inference from this tradition, it is this,– that the dynasties of Aṅga and adjoining kingdoms were scions of the Sudyumna and Ānava stocks; and that they were semi-Kshatriya and semi-Brahmanical, in consequence of which they were indiscriminately known as Bāliya Kshatras and Bāliya Brāhmans. The Rāmāyaṇa,* it may be pointed out, says that Aṅga was so named because Manmatha threw off his body (*aṅga*) there owing to Śiva's curse. This story is apparently fanciful.

According to Pargiter, the Sudyumnas were Muṇḍas and their Monkhmēr section in the east; and before their conquest by the Paurava Ānavas, they were subject to attack by a race of invaders from beyond the sea. "The Sudyumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and Pauravas, and were restricted to the Utkalas and other clans who occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissa. All North and East Bengal was held by the Prāgjyōtisha kingdom, which is nowhere connected with any of these races and would seem to have been founded by an invasion of Mongolians from the north-east, though tradition is silent about this outlying development. The configuration of the five Ānava kingdoms in the east, the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras, Suhmas and Kalingas, which held all the sea-coast from Ganjam to the Gangetic delta, and formed a long compact curved wedge with its base on the sea-coast and its point above Bhagalpur, suggests that there had also

* See Bk. I, chap. 25, Griffith's Trans. (1912 Edn.), p. 42.

been an invasion from the sea, that penetrated up the Ganges valley, leaving the hilly tracts on its west and east alone; and this conjecture, if reasonable, would mean that the invaders had driven the Saudyumna stock into those hilly tracts, and that that had taken place before those five kingdoms were formed. But there is no trace in tradition of any such invasion of this distant region." (*Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, pp. 292-3.)

The theory of an invasion from the sea between the Sudyumna and Ānava settlements seems to be as fantastic as the theory that the Ailas were Āryan, the Mānavas were Dravidian, and the Sudyumnas Muṇḍas and Monkhmērs. There can hardly be a doubt that a considerable section of the population of these parts consisted of the Dravidians, Muṇḍas and Monkhmērs, and the Mongoloids. This is the explanation for the prevalence of some un-Āryan customs like the negligence of the diseased and the sale of wives and sons in the Aṅga country, to which the Mahābhārata refers (see Karṇaparva, chap. 38). But the preponderant element was the Alpine stock, reinforced by the Meso-cephalic Āryans or rather Āryo-Dravidians in the form of the Sudyumnas and Ānavas. Though the ethnological elements other than Āryan were more considerable than in the farther west, on which account the Aṅga kings were sometimes called Mlēchchhas, it is certain that it was the migration of the Āryan clans and the establishment of the semi-Brahmanical and semi-Kshatriya dynasties that formed the determining factor in the evolution of culture in this part of India.

AṄGA.

The kingdom of Aṅga, the first of the congeries of States in East Āryāvarta, "comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr, excluding the extreme north and south portions." It was separated from Magadha by the river Champā, now known as the Chāndan. The name of

its capital, Mālinī, was later on changed to that of Champā* either because it abounded in Champaka† trees, or more probably because it was ruled by a king named Champā. Mālinī or Champā is described in one of the Jātakas‡ as situated on the river Champā; but it is described generally as a city on the south bank of the Ganges.§ It has been identified with Bhāgalpur,¶ or rather the villages$ of Champanagara and Champapura, twenty-five miles off that place, where there is 'the rocky island opposite Pathargāta.'

A large number of the Purāṇas‖ give twenty generations of Aṅga kings from Aṅga, the son of Bali, to Vṛshasēna, the son of the celebrated Karṇa, who lived in the time of the Mahābhārata. The list is too small when compared with those of contemporary dynasties, and seems to be

* चम्पस्य तु पुरी चंपा या मालिन्यभवत्पुरा । The change is referred to in all the important Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata.

† The Rāmāyaṇa refers to sweet Champā, Lōmapāda's fair town, "wreathed with her Champacs' leafy crown" (Bālakāṇḍa, XVII. Griffith's Trans., p. 33). The southern texts omit this chapter.

‡ Champeyya-jātaka (No. 506). Cowell and Rouse, IV, pp. 281 ff. Champā is described here as a place of serpents ruled by the serpent-king Champeyya.

§ See, *e.g.*, Vanaparva (Southern text), chap. 83. The Ganges is called Bhagīrathi here.

¶ Pargiter in *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 272.

$ Cunningham in his *Anct. Geogr.* (Majumdar's Edn., pp. 546-8).

‖ See *Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 109, for a comparison of the different Paurāṇic versions. The Mahābhārata (Sabhā-parva, chap. 28) refers to a Bṛhadratha who was conquered by Mandhātā; but Pargiter points out chronological difficulty in this (*Anct. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*, p. 142.) But the Śānti-parva (chap. 122) narrates the teachings of the Aṅga king Vasuhōma to Mandhāta on the origin of *Daṇḍa*.

imperfect. It is as follows :—

1. Aṅga
2. Dadhivāhana
3. Diviratha
4. Dharmaratha
5. Chitraratha
6. Satyaratha
7. Lōmapāda
8. Chaturaṅga
9. Pṛthulāksha
10. Champa
11. Haryaṅga
12. Bhadraratha
13. Bṛhatkarman
14. Bṛhadratha
15. Bṛhadbhānu
16. Bṛhanmanas
17. Jayadratha
18. Dṛḍharatha
19. Viśvajit
20. Karṇa
21. Vṛshasēna or Vṛshakētu

One point to be noticed about this succession list is its lack of support in Vēdic literature. The Aṅgas figure only in the Atharva-vēda (V. 22. 14) and the Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 9), in the former of which they are mentioned together with the Gandhāris, Mūjavants and Magadhas, and in the latter with the Magadhas alone. The Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 22), however, mentions a certain Aṅga Vairōchana in the list of anointed kings. The paucity and lateness of the references indicate the fact that the Āryan expansion 'to the east' was, comparatively speaking, a late event.

Passing on to the achievements of the individual kings mentioned in the Paurāṇic list, we find that the name Dadhivāhana occurs in Jain traditions. But the latter assign him to a very late time, to, in fact, the time of Mahāvīra ; and we have therefore to assume that they should refer to a namesake of the early Dadhivāhana, who lived long after the termination of the dynastic list given above. Chitraratha, the fifth in the list, might be the husband of Queen Prabhāvati who figures in the Vīpulōpākhyāna of the Anuśāsana-parva of the Mahābhārata.*

* See Sorensen's *Index*, pp. 37 and 554.

Some information is available in the Rāmāyaṇa about Lōmapāda (or Rōmapāda), the seventh of the kings in the genealogical tree given above. He was a particular friend of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma, and was among the few kings honoured by that monarch. A singular episode in the Epic makes him the adoptive father of Śāntā, the real daughter of Daśaratha and afterwards the wife of the sage Rshyaśṛṅga who lived in the forests in the vicinity of Champā. We are told that the negligence of some of his duties by Lōmapāda was betrayed by a famine which told heavily on his people; and it was eventually terminated by the visit of the unsophisticated Rshyaśṛṅga.* The sage is also credited with the conduct of Daśaratha's *Putrakāmēshṭiyāga* which had the rich fruit of the avatar of Vishṇu Himself in the form of Rāma and his brothers.

According to Jain traditions, it may be added, the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara, Suvrata, was a contemporary of Rāma, and had his *janma*, *dīksha* and *kēvalagñāna* in Champā, as the result of which it is a place of pilgrimage for them.†

It was in the time of Champā, Lōmapāda's great-grandson, that Mālinī came to have the name of Champā. It is probable that it was the seventh in descent from him that figures as Bṛhadratha, one of the sixteen traditional Samrāṭs of antiquity. Bṛhadratha is said to have performed sacrifices at the Vishṇupāda at Gaya in Magadha, set himself on the heights of Indra's rank, and bestowed in charity ten lakhs of white horses, ten lakhs of jewelled brides, ten lakhs of lotus-garlanded elephants, and crores of cows and bulls! He enraptured and enriched the gods, men and Gandharvas by his munificent gifts in the hundred sacrifices he performed. All other monarchs in history are said to have dwindled into small creatures in the celebration of the seven kinds of Sōmasamstha (that is, the agnishṭhōma, atyagnishṭhōma, uktya, shōḍhaśi, atiratra, vājapēya and abdōryāma) offerings. Bṛhadratha seems to have been, if

* See Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, chaps. 110–14 also.

† P. C. Nahar and K. C. Ghosh: *An Epitome of Jainism*, p. 688.

we are to judge from these traditions, a sovereign who dedicated his life-time earnestly and energetically to the popularisation of the Āryan culture in Champā.

In the days of the Mahābhārata, Aṅga was on the side of Duryōdhana. Its great king, Karṇa, at once famous for the stern fibre and inexhaustible generosity of his nature, was the most powerful and indefatigable ally of Duryōdhana. Like Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Puṇḍra, Aṅga was for a time under the supremacy of Jarāsandha; but after Jarāsandha's death Karṇa was in undisturbed possession of it. It was in consequence of the fact that Karṇa, the Sūtaputra, ruled over Aṅga, that it came to be known as Sūta-vishaya, the land of the charioteer. It is, however, held by some that Aṅga was the land of the Sūtas as Magadha was the land of the Māgadhas (bards or minstrels); and this explains the full significance of the term *Sūta-Māgadhas*. Whatever might have been the case, Aṅga reached the height of its glory under Karṇa. No other figure in the Mahābhārata, except perhaps Bhīshma, appeals so irresistibly to our sympathy and love. Pursued by ill-luck from the beginning of his birth, deserted by his mother (Kunti), and brought up as a Sūta, insulted and injured at every step of his career, this unknown brother of the Pāṇḍavas, who might have been worshipped by them had his relation been known to them, became the foremost champion of their enemy, for whose sake 'he conquered the world,' and laboured with a whole-heartedness which knew no hesitancy or sense of danger. The most gallant of the knights of the Epic, he was worthy of the steel of Arjuna; and he died in the battle not because he was beaten, but because he was the victim of his own greatness. Everybody conspired against him; and fate laid the heaviest hand of all; and there is no picture throughout the magnificent Epic more noble, pathetic, exalting and heart-rending than the unforgettable scene of that last fight wherein the great hero deprived of the fruits of his valour and skill by a curse, applied his shoulders, alone and undefended, and in the midst of the cruel assaults of his relentless enemy, to the wheels of his chariot, and tried to lift it up to the surface·

There is nothing again so moving and so elevating as the sweet readiness with which he parted with the only weapon of defence he had, his invincible *dharma*, to part with which he knew was inevitable death, when the Lord Himself stood as a 'beggar before him.' Karṇa died a martyr to the greatness of his own nature; but in the manner of his death he has reaped more glory than even in the manner of his life; and alike in life and in death he has become a hero not for ages but for ever.*

We have not got much information about the history of Aṅga from the time of Vṛshasēna, the son of Karṇa, to the close of the Vēdic period and the beginnings of the age of Jainism and Buddhism. The traditions of these two creeds, however, refer to certain stray kings and episodes belonging apparently to this big chronological gap. A Dhatarattha figures in the Mahāgōvinda Suttanta of the Dighanikāya (See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 270). Occasionally, the Aṅga kings of this epoch seem to have engaged in an enterprising and victorious career of imperialism. According to the Vidura-Paṇḍita-Jātaka,† the neighbouring kingdom of Magadha, which was eventually to become the seat of the first Indian empire, was part of the Aṅga dominions. Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, is called therein "the far-off city of Aṅga, rich in provisions and abounding with food and drink." Another king, Aṅga,‡ is said to have been Kāśi's lord and to have poured so many profuse offerings that the Gaṅgā itself was

* The Mahābhārata also refers to a Mlēchchha Aṅga king who was killed by Bhīma. See Drōṇaparva, Samsaptaka-vadha section, chap. 26 (Southern text). The Karṇaparva (chap. 43) refers to the battle between Bhīma and three sons of Karṇa, namely, Sushēna, Satyasēna and Vṛshasēna. The second of these was killed by Bhīma. The Southern text does not seem to mention Nakula's killing of the Aṅgaputras, to which Sorensen draws attention (*Index to Mahābhārata*, p. 481, based on Karṇaparva, XX, 880).

† No. 545. Cowell and Rouse, Vol. VI, pp. 126 ff.

‡ The Bhūridatta-jātaka (No. 543). Cowell and Rouse, Vol. VI, p. 108.

swelled by their flood, and the sacrificer stood in the court of Sakka, the lord of the heavens.

On the other hand, the king of Magadha is said to have been occasionally victorious over Aṅga. We are told that, in this contest, a Nāga king named Champeyya* who lived in the Champā, the boundary between the two states, helped the king of Magadha. Once, when the Magadhan king was defeated and pursued by the Aṅga troops, he is said to have jumped into the Champā and then been received by the Nāga king, with the result that the latter secured not only the restoration of his own kingdom but the conquest of Aṅga itself, an achievement which was always kept in grateful memory by the Magadhan monarch in the form of offerings to the Nāga king on the bank of the river every year in the midst of great and pompous rejoicings.

On the other hand, the two states were often friendly and co-operated with each other in measures of mutual welfare. The Mahāvastu (I, pp. 288 ff.) tells us that Magadha was once the victim of a severe pestilence; and that the pest was got rid of by the generosity of the contemporary Aṅga king. The latter, we are told, possessed a bull which had the remarkable divine power of irradiating plenty and power in the land where it sojourned. At the request of the Magadhan king it was sent over to his kingdom, with the result that the people were miraculously relieved from their misery; for the latter was, we are told, due to the malignant efforts of super-human beings.

The Sabhā-parva† indicates the tradition of Aṅga aggressions towards Vaṅga and even the sea. The *Kathā-saritsāgara*‡ says that Viṭaṅkapura, a city of the Aṅgas, was situated on the shore of the sea, thus indicating that Aṅga extended so far south. We have reasons to believe

* Champeyya-jātaka (No. 506). Cowell and Rouse, Vol. IV, pp. 281-90.

† Chap. 44 (Bengal text). वङ्गाङ्गविषयाध्यक्षं. Elsewhere we have Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅgāmś-cha, Kalinga-Vaṅgāṅga-Nishāda-vīrāh, etc.

‡ *Vide* 25-35, 26-115, and 86. 3 ff.

that, occasionally at least, there was a league between Aṅga and Kauśāmbi either as equals or in relation of supremacy and subordination, in a joint contest with Magadha which, as we have already seen, was a second-rate state in this epoch.

Jain traditions say that the king who ruled over Aṅga in the time of Mahāvīra was of the name of Dadhivāhana. We are told that his daughter, Chandra or Chandrabālā, was the first lady to embrace the Jain cult, and that this took place shortly after the death of Mahāvīra. Śatānīka, the king of Vatsa, is then said to have attacked Champā, and in the confusion which followed, the fair enthusiast is said to have fallen into the hands of a robber, but remained true to the vows of her order in the midst of all these vicissitudes. According to the drama *Priyadarśikā*, the Aṅga king, Dṛḍhavarman, was once restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśāmbi. As Udayana was the contemporary of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, it is difficult to reconcile this with the story of Śatānīka and Dṛḍhavarman. Another complexity is engendered by a fact attributed to the same date. The king of Aṅga, according to this version, was Brahmadatta. He is said to have defeated Bhaṭṭīya, who, we are told, was king of Magadha. The latter was consequently subject to the former; but Bhaṭṭīya's son, Bimbisāra Śrēṇika, avenged his father's humiliation, attacked and killed Brahmadatta, captured Champā, and resided there as Governor till his father's death when he returned to Rājagṛha. This story is confirmed by the Dīgha-Nikāya (I. pp. 101 ff.) which says that, while the Buddha was staying at Champā in the Aṅga kingdom, the local Governor was a Brahman named Śōṇadaṇḍa who had been appointed as such by Bimbisāra of Magadha. Champā was one of the six great cities in the Buddhistic age, and was both strong and opulent; but it was politically subject to Magadha. A lake near it named after a queen, Gaggara, was well-known.

The region around Monghyr seems to have been known by the name Mudgagiri or Mudgalagiri,* and it seems to

* Cunningham, Majumdar Sastri's Edn., pp. 545-6 and p. 722.

have been ruled by a clan called Madgurakas in the Matsya Purāṇa,* the Mudakaras† in the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa. The word, as Pargiter observes,‡ might be connected with Modāgiri in the eastern region where, according to the Mahābhārata,§ there existed a kingdom. Quite possibly the Mudgalas, if they existed as a separate state in the later Vēdic period, were feudatories of the Aṅgas. Another tribe of a similar character lived in Antargiri,‖ which has been identified "with the Rajmahal hills (in the modern district of the Santhal Parganas) which form a marked natural division between Aṅga and Vaṅga," though an Antargiri figures in the slopes of the Himalayas.¶ Next to the Antargirīyas seem to have lived the Vahirgiriyas. "Vahirgiri might well designate the outskirts of those hills bordering on Aṅga, that is, the southern portions of the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts and the lands bordering thereon to the south in the Santhal Parganas and Hazaribagh."$

VAṄGA.

Passing on further east, there was the Vaṅga kingdom. It must have been colonised comparatively late. It is mentioned in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (II, 1. 1) in the expression *Vaṅgāvagadhāḥ*, as well as the *Pariśishṭa* (I. 7. 7) of the Atharva-vēda. Bodhāyana mentions it as an impure country (I. 1. 14). Manu distinctly includes it in Āryāvarta. From Vaṅga or Baṅga the term Bengal has come into existence. Lying to the south-east of Aṅga, and connected further south with Kaliṅga, Vaṅga figures as the land of one of three tribes which are often mentioned together in

* Chap. 113, verse 44.

† Chap. 57, verse 43.

‡ See his edition of the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, p. 324.

§ Sabhāparva, XXIX. 1095; Drōṇaparva, XI. 397.

‖ Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, chap. 57, verse 43; Matsya, chap. CXIII, verse 44; Bhīshmaparva, IX. 357.

¶ Sabhāparva, XXVI. 1012 with Bahirgiri and Upagiri.

$ Pargiter in the Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, p. 325.

the Epics, and which are traced in them to the same eponymous ancestor. The Vaṅga king paid tribute to Yudhishṭhira, but was subdued by Karṇa and made to join Duryōdhana in the Great War. Arjuna later on beat him prior to the Aśvamēdha. Thus Vaṅga is represented in the Epic as taking part in the affairs of the Āryan states, though no dynastic list is given. "Vaṅga comprised the northern portion of Western and Central Bengal, *i.e.*, the modern districts of Birbhum, Moorshedabad, Bardwan and Nuddea. Its capital in early times does not appear to be mentioned. In later times the name was extended over the whole of Central Bengal, for the *Raghu Vaṁśa* describes the Vaṅgas as dwelling in the islands of the Ganges delta, warring chiefly in boats, and transplanting their rice seedlings into the fields just as at the present day (IV. 36, 37). In those early times the upper part of the delta consisted of numerous islands separated by large rivers, and the southern part could not have been formed."* In the part of Bengal comprising the modern district of Malda, the region of the later historic cities of Gaur and Pandua, there were a local people called the Māladas. We may regard them as a branch of the Vaṅgas. It has been surmised that the Mānavartikas mentioned in some of the Purāṇas might be connected with Mānbhūm or Mānabhūmi in West Bengal.

THE PUNDRAS.

Closely allied to the Vaṅgas were the Puṇḍras, who were also called Puṇḍrakas, Pauṇḍras and Pauṇḍrakas. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 18) regards them as outcasts. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV. 26) and Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra (I. 1. 14) mention them in the same spirit, and the Mahābhārata once calls them Vṛshalas and puts them together with the Kirātas; but, as Pargiter observes, they are not always described in the Epic as a barbarous nation. Further, it appears from the arrangement of the names and descriptions in various parts of the

* Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa, p. 326 footnote. See also Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, XV, pp. 145-6, and his *Ancient Geogr.*, Majumdar's Edn., p. 731.

Mahābhārata, that "the Puṇḍras had the Kāśis on their north, the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Suhmas on their north-east and east, and the Odras on their south-east"; and that "their territory corresponded to the modern Chota Nagpur with the exception of its southern portions. Their bounds on the south were no doubt the land of the Utkalas." The Puṇḍra king was conquered by Pāṇḍu. A famous Pauṇḍraka-Vāsudēva was forced to acknowledge Yudhishṭhira and pay tribute. The Puṇḍras joined Duryōdhana in the Mahābhārata war, thanks to Karṇa's victory. The Puṇḍras thus are represented in the Epic as one of the Aryanised peoples. Occasionally, the Puṇḍra kings extended their arms at the expense of their western neighbours. There is reference, for instance, to a king named Balina who ruled over both Pauṇḍra and Matsya; but such times were very exceptional. In later days the name Puṇḍravardhana was applied to North Bengal.

SUHMAS AND UTKALAS.

Closely allied with the Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅga group were the Suhmas. We have reasons to believe that the Suhma area included the lands which extended to the sea. Later literature, in fact, placed Tāmralipti within it, and so, occasionally at least, the Suhma territory must have extended to the sea. It has been identified with the later Rāḍha or Lāḍha of literature, traditions and inscriptions. But the identity is by no means certain. The Mahābhārata distinguishes them at times, and at other times does not. While the exact limits cannot be determined, it can be conceded with Pargiter that it corresponded to the modern districts of Midnapur and Bankura, and perhaps also Purulia and Manbhum in West Bengal. The Suhmas figure in the campaigns of Pāṇḍu, Bhīma, Arjuna and Karṇa. They joined Duryōdhana in the great war. No dynastic lists are available. Closely connected with the Suhmas were the Utkalas. Pargiter modifies the expression Sumhōttarāḥ found in some Purāṇic versions into Sumhōtkalas, and observes that the latter were a rude tribe of very early origin who had no close affinities with the races

around them, and who were given, on that account, a fabulous origin from Ilā. "Their territory reached on the east the river Kapiśā" which Lassen identified with the Suvarnarēkha near the northern boundary of Orissa, but which Pargiter identifies with the Kāsāi in Midnapur. The Utkalas had the Mēkalas, with whom they are always associated in the Epics, immediately to their west, that is, in the hills to the west and north of Chhatisgarh. To the north of the Utkalas were the Panchālas, already mentioned, and to their south the Odras and Kalingas. Utkala therefore "comprised the southern portions of Chota Nagpur, the northern tributary States of Orissa and the Balasore District." The Utkalas, like the others, were on the side of Duryōdhana in the war.

PRĀGJŌTISHA.

According to the Purāṇas another early kingdom which came into existence in the extreme border of Eastern Āryāvarta was the Prāgjyōtisha, identified with Assam. The Mahābhārata refers often to a celebrated and valiant king of that region named Bhagadatta. Curiously enough, however, his kingdom is said to have been a Mlēchchha one. Elsewhere the same Epic says that it had been a Dānava or Asura kingdom, ruled over by the demons, Naraka and Muru, and that Kṛshṇa vanquished Naraka. It was apparently after this that it was ruled by Bhagadatta. The Rāmāyaṇa attributes the foundation of the kingdom to Amūrtarajas, one of the four sons of Kuśa, whom the Mahābhārata mentions as the father of king Gayā. From these references, and also from the fact that Prāgjyōtisha bordered on the land of the Kirātas and Chinas, and included portions of the Himalayan slopes, we have to infer that Bhagadatta or his ancestor was a king who established the Āryan culture in a land occupied by the Mongoloid Monkhmēr Mlēchchhas. This is the only way of reconciling the greatness of Bhagadatta with the ethnical characteristics ascribed to his people. Bhagadatta was vanquished by Arjuna in the Bhārata war, and was succeeded by his son Vajradatta. The latter was

defeated by Arjuna just before the Aśvamēdha sacrifice (see Aśvamēdhikaparva, chaps. 75-6). His kingdom seems not only to have comprised Assam and North Bengal beyond the Brahmaputra, but also the marshy regions near the sea or 'the eastern ocean'; and Pargiter believes that these regions were "the alluvial tracts and islands near the mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra as they existed anciently." In later days, Prāgjyōtisha was known as Kāmarūpa. This name is mentioned in the Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 83-4), but not in either of the Epics. Quite possibly the peoples, known as Gōnardhas, Gōlāngulas or cow-tailed people, belonged to this part of the country.

THE KIRĀTAS.

In dealing with the peoples of the east, attention has to be paid to a tribe called Kirāta. The term Kirāta has come to be used in a general sense to denote non-Āryan peoples. The Mahābharata (Śāntiparva) mentions them with the Kambhōjas, Gandhāras, and Barbaras of Uttarāpatha. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa) also calls them Mlēchchhas. The later Bhāgavata puts them along with the Hūṇas, Āndhras, Puḷindas, Pukkasas, Abhīras, Suhmas, Yavanas, Khasas, and other impure tribes who were purified by contact with Kṛshṇa. The Vishnupurāṇa (Aṁśa 4) also places them amongst the peoples of the north. From the reference of Ptolemy to the Kirrhadai among the tribes of Sogdiana it has been inferred by some writers that the Kirātas belonged to the north-west. On the other hand, the *Periplus* seems to refer to the Kirātas in the east as well, that is, the region forming the delta of the Ganges, as far as the Arakan river in the coast of Further India. A corroboration of this seems to be found in the location of the Kirātas in the neighbourhood of the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra in the Mahābhārata. Then, again, the Tibetan Bhotas or Kirātas are found in Nepal. Prof. Lassen exercises much ingenuity in trying to reconcile these statements and deducing a connected history of the movement of the Kirātas. But apparently the term was used by the Āryan writers to non-Āryans in

different parts of the country, who led a nomadic life, who had mere orifices instead of nostrils, who dwelt in woods, and who lived on the game they hunted in the chase. Tradition refers to Kirāta settlements in Nepal, in the Abhira country, in Kāmarūpa, above all in Tripura; and the reference to such distant regions cannot but indicate a generic name. Racially the Kirātas of East Āryāvarta would seem to refer to either the Monkhmēr-speaking Mongoloid peoples of the extreme north-east or the Muṇḍas of the Central Indian plateaus and woods. It is very difficult to trace the ethnological history of the north-east. The times and routes of the migrations of the early peoples of Āryāvarta into the rich alluvial plains of Assam and the extent of their mixtures with the aborigines are uncertain. Nor can we say which of the Mongoloid peoples now found were there in the Vēdic period. Most of the tribes about whom some definite knowledge is available came to their present abodes in very late times. The Meithis or Maṇipuris, the Kukis (or Lushais) to the south of them, and the Nagas in the north, the Semas, the Aṅgamis, and the Garos are very closely associated with the later Shan Ahams, Chingpos and Mishmis, and the Tai Khamtis, Phakis and Kamjangs. But it is certain that most of them migrated only in historical times. The cultural history of the earlier tribes will engage our attention in the second part.

It may be pointed out that the Mahābhārata describes the eastern states in the course of their subjection by Bhīma. These include the Malada, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, 'Simha,' Lauhitya, and other countries already referred to. The Epic says that Vāsudēva of Puṇḍra was too afraid of Kṛshṇa to fight and so paid tribute to Bhīma. Other princes referred to in the campaign are Mahaujasa on the Kauśikī, Chandrasena and Samudrasena, and Tāmralipta of Karpaṭa-dēśa. Bhīma is also said to have conquered several peoples on the shores of the sea, besides the Mlechchhas and many islanders ruled by barbarous chiefs, all of whom paid tribute in the form of sandals, *ahil*, cloths, gems, pearls, shawls, and precious metals.

A very interesting question which suggests itself is whether Burma was brought under the Āryan occupation. Traditions exist of voyages of merchants to Suvarṇa-bhūmi. The Buddhistic literature of Burma traces the northern dynasties to the Buddha, but places the latter many centuries before his actual existence. All that we can infer from it is that early Burmese culture must be traced to the influence of Āryāvarta. But we are not able to say definitely that Burma was subject to the Āryan invasions and conquests in the Vēdic age. It is quite probable, however, that the Monkhmēr race which occupied Assam and the further north and east extended to Burma and Further India. The language of the Khasis of the Khasi and Jaintia hills of Assam is closely like the Austro-Asiatic languages of Mon-Palaung-wa, etc. Though there are some fundamental differences between Khasi and other Monkhmēr languages, to which Grierson refers, they belong to the same group*. The Selung nomadic fishers of the Mergui Peninsula were, perhaps, the earliest people, Indonesian in origin and Protō-Malay in mixture; but the peoples of the Monkhmēr, Tibeto-Burman and Siamese-Chinese sub-families subsequently superseded the original Indonesians. Some believe that the *Mon* were an earlier settled race to whom the Talaing (Telinga or Klings) brought a civilization from India about 1000 B.C., and that the fused race is now known by either name (Hadden's *Races of Man*, p. 68). To this group belong the Palaung of the Shan States and the head-hunting Was of the north-east. The earliest Tibeto-Burmans came into the Irawadi valley some time about B.C. 638. From that time Indian influence increased largely in Burma and Further India.

* See his *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. I, pp. 33, 34 and Vols. II and III.

CHAPTER VI

THE ĀRYANIZATION OF THE DAKKAN, SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON.

We have thus far studied the progress of the Āryans throughout Hindustan, and the complex civilization they established by their mixture with the different types of the non-Āryans who had occupied different parts of the country. Throughout the period when they were spreading eastward, those Dravidians and 'Kolarians' who refused to be Āryanised found refuge in the Central Indian plateaus and woods, in the uplands which spread on both sides of the Vindhyas and Satpuras and which extended from West Bengal across Chota Nagpur to the hills of Rajputana and from the Kaimur ranges down to the hills of Orissa and North Madras.

THE MUNDAS.

The Muṇḍa or Kol peoples form the least numerous of the linguistic families of India. They occupy the several districts of the two Chota-Nagpur plateaus, the adjoining districts of Madras and Central Provinces, and the Mahadeo hills; and they speak the allied dialects of Santalī Muṇḍari, Bhumij, Birhōr, Koda, Ho, Turi, Asuri and Korwa which form the Austro-Asiatic division of the Austric family.* The general name by which these languages are known is Kherwāri from the Santhal tradition and from the fact that it is spoken by 88% of the Muṇḍas. Kherwāri, it may be pointed out, is most closely related to the Kurku language of the Mahadeo hills in the Central Provinces. Kurku, in its turn, agrees in important points with Karia and Juang, and Karia leads over to Savara and Gadaba in North Madras, which are considerably influenced

* Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 1 ff. (1927).

by the Dravidian languages. The peoples speaking this linguistic group are the Muṇḍas, Birbors of Hazaribagh, the Hos of Singbhum, the Santhals of the Santhal Parganas, West Bengal and Northern Orissa, the Kodas, the Korwas of Surguja state, the Karias of South-West Ranchi and the adjoining states of Jashpur and Gangpur, the Juangs of the Orissa hills also known as the Patuas from their leaf garments, the Turis, the Bhumiyas (or Bhuiyas) of Bihar and Utkala, the Sabaras, the Asuras of Chota Nagpur, the Kurkus of the Mahadeo Hills, Jabbalpur, and Satpuras, and the Gadabas of Madras close to the Orissa border.

THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE DRAVIDIANS.

The term Muṇḍa, generally applied to these peoples and languages, reminds one of the Sanskrit Muruṇḍas. But the latter are referred to in connection with the north-west and as allied to the Sakas and Lampakas of that region. It may be, however, that the term is general and vague in character and applied by the Āryan writers to aboriginal peoples in different parts of the country. As has been already said, all the Mundas or Kols speak a language akin to the Monkhmer languages of Malaya, Indo-China and the Indo-Pacific Islands. Some believe that their ancestors should have migrated to India. Sir Edward Gait says that the negotiation must have taken place in the Paleolithic times when the land-connection existed. The suggestion has been made that, as the Munda languages are not traceable in South India, the Mundas came from the east, not through South India but by way of Assam and Bengal or by sea through Orissa. But the theory of emigration from India is also very commonly held. In any case, it is believed that, if we are to judge from the names of places and local traditions, the Mundas once spread over Bihar, parts of the Ganges valley, Central India, Gujarat (in the form of Kolis) and sections of the Western Ghats. The Dravidians, now represented by the Gonds, Khonds and Oraons were Mediterraneans who came

into contact with them, and ousted them from the more open and fertile country. Tradition is clear on this point. The practice of the Gonds and other Dravidian tribes to employ Munda tribesmen for village priests is plausibly believed to indicate this, and it has been attributed to the fact that, as earlier residents, the latter could appeal more appropriately to the deities for protection. This is all the more clear when the fact is remembered that the deities were often the ancestors of the earliest residents or the local animals and plants with which they connected themselves. The Dravidian languages of which Gondi, Kurukh and Kondh are primitive types, and Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese are more advanced types, have their home in South India. Occasionally they extend north to Central Provinces and Chota Nagpur where they die out. It is apparent that, before the Aryans came to these parts, the Kols and the Dravidian Gonds and Oraons must have fought with one another and divided the country among themselves. Many Mundas fled to the hills and woods, but others remained in the plains. The occupation of the same country led to the inter-mixture of the Munda and Dravidian tribes in race and language in many cases, but in others they remained separate. "A large section of the Gonds of the Central Provinces are known as Rawanvangi or of the race of Rawan, the demon king of Ceylon, who was conquered by Rāma. The Oraons also claim to be descended from Rāwan. This name and story must clearly have been given to the tribes by the Hindus, and the explanation appears to be that the Hindus considered the Dravidian Gonds and Oraons to have been the enemy encountered in the Āryan expedition to Southern India and Ceylon, which is dimly recorded in the legend of Rāma. On the other hand the Bhuiyas, a Munda tribe, call themselves *Pawan ka put* or Children of the Wind, that is, of the race of Hanuman, who was the son of the Wind; and this name would appear to show as suggested by Colonel Dalton that the Munda tribes gave assistance to

the Āryan expedition and accompanied it, an alliance which has been preserved in the tale of the exploits of Hanuman and his army of apes. Similarly the name of the Ramosi caste of Berar is a corruption of Ramvansi or of the race of Rama ; and the Ramosis appear to be an off-shoot of the Bhils or Kolis, both of whom are not improbably Munda tribes. A Hindu writer compared the Bhil auxiliaries in the camp of the famous Chalukya Rajput king Sidhraj of Gujarat to Hanuman and his apes, on account of their agility. These instances seem to be in favour of the idea that the Munda tribes assisted the Aryans," in their onward march against the Dravidians.

It is very difficult to say how far we can accept the theory that the Mundas represent the monkeys of the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Dravidians the Rākshasas headed by Rāvaṇa. Some are disposed, certainly not without reason, to believe that different sections of the aboriginal tribes, whether Munda or Dravidian, represented the opposing Vānaras and the Rākshasas. It is difficult to say on which side lies the greater probability. In any case, there can be no doubt that, when the Āryans came into contact with the Kols, they naturally vanquished them and drove them mostly, though not wholly, to secluded mountains and woods. And there they have continued in possession of many of their primitive customs and habits. Clinging to their totems in the form of animals and plants, professing a religion of ghost-worship, devil-worship and ancestral worship, accustomed to human sacrifices and the rearing of memorial stones, devoted to hunting and agriculture, though not pasture, organising themselves into clan-villages with some definite notions of organisation and government, they have kept up their individuality throughout the long centuries of history. Tradition (as recorded in the Harivamsa) made them later on the descendants of Turvasu, cursed by his father Yayāti, who settled in the south, and the tenth generation from whom consisted of the four brothers Pāṇḍya,

Kēraḷa, Chōḷa, and Kōḷa who divided the lands amongst themselves, Kola having the northern parts for his share. This tradition is valuable only as an expression of the later Āryan notions regarding the Kols and Dravidians. Colonel Dalton notes some traditions connecting them with 'the Cheros' who, prior to the Āryan occupation of the Ganges valley, were dominant there. The resemblance in the funeral customs between the Hos and the Khasias of Assam as well as linguistic connections, is believed also to indicate the Kolarian supremacy across the Gangetic valley as far as Assam. Some people connect the Kols with the Kikaṭas of the Vedas, and some with the Nāgas. Whatever might be the case, they easily succumbed to the onward march of the Āryans.

THE HOS.

Ethnologists generally use the terms Muṇḍa and Kol as synonymous with the Hos. The Hos are physically finer than other Kolarians and show great ethnological mixture. Dalton saw in many families of them considerable admixture of Āryan blood, as a result of which many have high noses and oval faces, and many young girls have delicate and regular features, finely chiselled straight noses, and perfectly-formed mouths and chins. Dalton also observed strongly-marked Mongolian features among them, besides the dark and coarse physiognomy of the Santhals. A committee of anthropologists belonging to the University of Calcutta who recently enquired into the anthropology of this people observe: "A closer examination of our data reveals that 40 per cent. of the Hos are of short, 51·51 per cent. of medium, and 8·49 per cent., of tall stature; 28·18 per cent. are dolicocephalic; 12·12 per cent. are leptorrhine, 46·06 per cent. are messorrhine and 41·81 per cent. platyrrhine; while 81·38 per cent. are hypsicephalic and 18·62 per cent. are orthocephalic. Thus our data indicate that the Hos are not a homogeneous stock." The Hos are distributed "all over Chota Nagpur, whence they have spread to the United Provinces, Central Provinces and Central India. It seems probable also that the Koli tribe of

Gujarat may be an off-shoot of the Kols, who migrated there by way of Central India. If the total of the Kols, Mundas or Larka Kols be taken together, they number about a million persons in India. The real strength of the tribe is, however, much greater than this." The Santhals, as will be described presently, were a branch of them who broke off from the parent stock and came to have a separate name from the surrounding Hindus. The latter number two millions. Then again there are the Bhumiyas who nearly number half a million and who are believed to be allied to, if not identical with, the Mundas. They in fact inter-marry with them and are known as the Bhumij Mundas. If the Kolis are included as an off-shoot of the Mundas and if the allied Kharias, Kharwars, Korwas and Korkus are put together, it will seem that they form a considerable fraction of the population, and they have all risen from one original stock and become divided in course of time in consequence of settlement in different parts of the country. The word Kol is probably the same as *Santali har*, meaning a *man*. It occurs in other forms like *Hara*, *Ho*, and *Koro* among other Munda tribes. The word *Korku* is a corruption of *Kodaku* or young man. An alternative derivation of the Kol from the Sanskrit *kōla* or pig is not plausible. The word Munda came later on to be employed by the Kols for the headman of their villages. The *Manjhi* of the Santhals, the *Bhoi* of the Gonds, and the *Mehtar* of the Bhangis are corresponding terms. In a number of places the Kols have partly adopted Hinduism. "From their jealous isolation for so many years, their independence, their long occupation of one territory, and their contempt for all other classes that come in contact with them, especially the Hindus, probably furnish the best illustration not of the Mundaris in their present state, but of what if left to themselves and permanently located, they were likely to become. Even at the present day the exclusiveness of the old Hos is remarkable. They will not allow aliens to hold land near their villages; and indeed if it were left to them no strangers would be permitted to settle in the Kolhan." (Dalton). The most famous of the Hos are the Larka or fighting Kols of Bengal.

THE ASURAS.

It is believed by some that the Kols were the Asuras of the Vedic literature. The existence of a section of them known as Asura seems to prove this. But on the other hand the opinion has also been expressed that the powerful Asura race (which had a high knowledge of art and architecture) was in no way connected with the Kols. Indeed it has been held that the Asuras and Mundas fought with each other in the region of Chota Nagpur for supremacy, and that, in the race for dominance they similarly fought with the Kandhs or Kuis in the neighbouring territory of Kalahandi (Ganjam District), as is indicated by the existence of the names Mundagarh and Asurgarh in the Zamindari of Khasipur in the Kui country. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to the Asuravidyā (XIII. 4. 3, 11) which the Śāṅkhāyana (X. 61. 2, 21) and the Aśvalāyana (X. 7) Śrauta Sūtras interpret as māya or magic. This is not surprising, as the Asuras had a considerable element of magic in their religions and superstitions. Some scholars* believe that the

* Jayaswal, D.R. Bhandarkar and Ray Chaudhiri. See *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p 145. "That most of the allusions to the Asuras in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refer to a foreign tribe has been clearly established by Mr. Jayaswal in a note which he contributed to the ZDMG. immediately before the war and the rough copy of which he was kind enough to show me. This emboldens me in identifying the Asuras with the Assyrians and consequently the Parsus with the Persis." Mr. Ray Chaudhiri observes, in dealing with the campaigns of Samudragupta, that his dig-vijaya in the north was of the Asura-vijaya type in contrast to the Dharmavijaya type in the south, and he explains the former (which is referred to in the Arthaśāstra) as a name which "may have been derived from the Assyrians, the ruthlessness of whose conquests is well-known. Conquest of this type is first met with in India in the sixth century B.C. (*Cf.* Ājātaśatru's conquest of the Lichchhavis and Vindudabha's conquest of the Sākyas) when Persia served as a link between Assyria and India." (*Political History*, p. 337, foot note). The view of Prof. Keith that the only conclusion to be drawn in the case of the Parsus is a possible connection of the Indians and Iranians, which was of course the case, and there is no probability of an actual historical contact, is a more reasonable view.

Asuras were Assyrians, but the evidences cited by them are hardly convincing, and all that can be stated is that they were an aboriginal race who were regarded by the Āryans as a cruel people given to the practice of magic both in war and peace.

THE SABARAS.

Another branch of the Kols was the one known as the Śabaras. These also are mentioned, like the Asuras, in Sanskrit* literature. Known also as the Savar, Sawara, Sonr, Sawra, etc., they form a primitive tribe, principally found in the Saagor, Damoh, and Chhatisgar districts of the Central Provinces. An eastern branch of the tribe is found in the Uriya country, and off-shoots are found in the Madras Districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, while a distant branch is in the United Provinces. The total number of the race in 1901 was 600,000, of which Bundelkhand District contained a lakh. It is obvious that the branches of the tribe are separated by a wide expanse of territory. General Cunningham explained the cause of this in these words: "Indeed there seems good reason to believe that the Śabaras were formerly the dominant branch of the great Kolarian family, and that their power lasted down to a comparatively late period, when they were pushed aside by other Kolarian tribes in the north and east, and by the Gonds in the south." According to one view the Śabaras were so called by the Āryans in consequence of their being regarded as *Śavas* or corpses; but this derivation is uncertain, and might have arisen when the Śabaras came under Āryan influence and when legends were coined in accordance with Āryan social ideas about their origin and occupations. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 17-18) gives the theory that Sage Viśvāmitra cursed his fifty sons who were jealous of his adopted son, Sunakshēpa Devarāta, to live on the borders of the Āryan land, and that the descendants of these formed the Dasyu peoples

* Russell and Hira Lal, IV, pp. 506 ff.

of the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Puliṇdas and Mūṭibas. The Mahābhārata regards them as created by Vasiṣṭha from his divine cow against Viśvāmitra. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-śūtra (XV. 26. 6) also indicates the same tendency to regard the Śabaras as a degenerate people. There is again the temptation to regard Śambara, the great enemy of Indra, who is frequently referred to in the Rg-vēda,* as a Śabara chief. "He is mentioned along with Susna, Pipru and Varchin, being in one passage called a Dāsa, son of Kulitara. In another passage (VII. 18, 20) he is said to have deemed himself a god-ling (dēvaka). His forts, ninety, ninety-nine or a hundred in number, are alluded to.....His great foe was Divodāsa Atithigva, who won victories over him by Indra's aid." (*Vedic Index*, II, p. 355). There is every reason to interpret these evidences as proofs of the aboriginal character of Śambara and of his identity† with the Śabara, who lived in the mountains and who had a hundred forts. An argument in favour of the identity is that Śambara is a tribal name‡ even now in the land of the Śabaras and Muṇḍas. Several places in Western Orissa, Kanker State, etc., indicate this connection. Then again there is an area called Boro Sambar belonging to the Zamindar of the Śabara tribe of the Binjhals. "It was at Sambargarh in this Zemindary that the ancestor of the Chohan Rajas of Sambalpur was first enthroned. The goddess of this tribe goes by the name Samlai to-day and is worshipped in the temples of the Hindus in the Sambalpur

* See *Vedic Index* for all references.

† Hillebrandt's view that the Śabaras were originally known as enemies to the Āryans in Arachosia and that they were made demons in India is distinctly speculative.

‡ B. C. Mazumdar's 'The Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India,' pp. 24—6. In the State of Kanker (in the Chhattisgarh area of Central Provinces) which adjoins the State of Bastar (in which a river called Śabarī flows) there is a place called Sambalpur.

area. The goddess does not possess a human form in her temple at Sambalpur and the time-honoured worshippers or priests of Samlai are the Thanapatis who, despite their priestly position, are regarded as Sudras and are strongly suspected to be of non-Āryan origin. It is beyond any doubt that once human sacrifice was customary at the altar of the goddess; now when human sacrifice is prohibited a person is dressed up as a *bali* or sacrifice in the States of Sonepur and Patna and is led to the altar in night time during the Durga Pujah days where the sharp edge of the sacrificing knife is gently put upon the neck of the man and perhaps taking a drop of blood from his neck, the man is released. This reminds us strongly of the story of the Śabaras offering human sacrifices as described by poet Vakpati in the *Gauda Vāho* Kavya." The Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the works of later writers like Daṇḍin, Bāṇa and Vākpati, are full of references to the evil customs and barbarous practices of these 'Vindhyamaulikas.' Vakpati says that they did not only worship their deity at Vindhyāchala, but that they, men and women, wore leaves as garments, and offered human sacrifices. The Rāmāyaṇa refers to Rāma's entertainment by a Śabari woman near the lake Panchapsaras, later on Dakshiṇa Kośala and Bastar now identified with Chhatisgarh, in the upper course of the Mahānadi. Rāma is said to have spent a space of ten years here, and even to-day the Śabari dialect is current here mixed with the Dravidian Halvi or Gondi. It has been inferred by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar from these facts "that even though the name Sabara is retained by some aboriginal people who do not identify themselves with the Kols, Sabara was the general name of all the tribes under consideration."

THE BHUIYAS.

The Bhuiyas (also called the Bhuinhars, Bhumiyas) are a very important tribe found in Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Chota Nagpur. They number more than half a million people. Some of the castes like the Mūsahar and the

Khandait are derived from them, and if these are added they would number more than a million. The case title means the lord of the soil, and a late one given by the immigrant Āryans; but a large number of land holders in these parts even now call themselves Bhuiyas. Many Rajput landlord families are believed to have originally belonged to the Bhuiya tribe. "The varying status of the Bhuiyas in Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa," say Messrs. Russell and Hira Lal, "is a good instance of the different ways in which the primitive tribes have fared in contact with the immigrant Āryans. Where the country has been completely colonised and populated by Hindus, as in Bihār, the aboriginal residents have commonly become transformed into village drudges, relegated to the meanest occupations, and despised as impure by the Hindu cultivators, like the Chamārs of Northern India and the Mahārs of the Marātha Districts. Where the Hindu immigration has only been partial and the forests have not been cleared, as in Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces, they may keep their old villages and tribal organisation and be admitted a body into the hierarchy of caste, ranking above the impure castes, but below the Hindu cultivators. This is the position of the Gonds, Baigas and other tribes in these tracts. While, if the Hindus come only as colonists and not as rulers, the indigenous residents may retain the overlordship of the soil and the landed proprietors among them may be formed into a caste ranking with the good cultivating castes of the Āryans. Instances of such are the Khandaits of Orissa, the Binjhwars of Chhattisgarh and the Bhilalas of Nimār and Indore" (pp. 307-8). Col. Dalton includes the Bhuiyas* amongst the Dravidians, but as they are closely connected with the Śabaras, and as Savara is closely related to the most primitive Munda dialects of Kharia and Juang, the Bhuiyas must be regarded as Kolarian. Their physical appearance, their customs and habits also indicate this.

* Ethnology of Bengal, p. 140.

They are the earliest residents of Chota Nagpur and so officiate as priests in certain temples even to the exclusion of Brahmans. The Baigas of the Central Provinces and the neighbouring parts of Mandla and Balaghat might have been a branch of them. The latter have in their turn given rise to the Binjhwar, Binjhals, Bhaina and other tribes. The Bhuiyas call themselves the sons of Wind, and so the monkeys who helped Rāma. The Gonds on the other hand claim to be the descendants of Rāvaṇa. Fraternal polyandry, allowing younger brothers to have access to an elder brother's wife during his life-time, was a custom which prevailed at Kishkindha in the Rāmāyaṇa, and which even now exists among the Śabaras.

THE SANTHALS.

The Santhals, whose language (Santhali) bears a close resemblance to Mundari except in minor particulars, are another Kolarian people. From the common name *Harako* for man both in Santhali and Mundari, from a large number of words common to both, from the worship of the same chief deity, from the occurrence of similar sept names, and from the possession of the same law of property, the Santhal relation to the Munda race has been traced. A branch of them known as the Saontas, are found in Sarguja State, Udaipur State, and Bilaspur district, but these were cut off from the original stock in an unknown period. It is a question of controversy as to whether the Saonta tribe gave rise to the district or the district to the tribe in that part of Bengal where the Saontas are found. The Santhals, though a Munda tribe, have their customs and traditions modified by Hindu influences, particularly for the reason that they have been long separated from the Mundas proper of Chota Nagpur. Similarly, the Saontas of Sarguja and Bilaspur have assimilated some of the Gond customs in regard to the names of the household gods, marriage ceremonies, etc. Primarily jungle-dwellers and huntsmen, the Santhal Mundas have, owing to their partial Hinduisation, become skilful ploughmen and coal-miners.

THE BHILS.

Another Kolarian tribe is that of the Bhils of the hills of Khandesh, Central India, and Rajputana, westward from the Satpuras to the sea. They number more than a million and a half, a small fraction living in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces. The word Bhil is regarded as Dravidian for a bow, but the Bhils were the oldest people of South Rajputana and parts of Gujarat, and were connected with the Kolis. "The most probable hypothesis of the origin of the Kolis is that they are a western branch of the Kol or Munda tribe who have spread from Chota Nagpur, through Mandla and Jubbulpore, Central India and Rajputana to Gujarat and the sea. If this is correct the Kolis would be a Kolarian tribe. The Bhils have lost their own language, so that it cannot be ascertained whether it was Kolarian or Dravidian. But there is nothing against its being Kolarian in Sir G. Grierson's opinion and in view of the length of residence of the tribe, the fact that they have abandoned their own language and their association with the Kolis, this view may be taken as generally probable. The Dravidian tribes have not penetrated so far west as Central India and Gujarat in appreciable numbers." The Rajputs later on derived their title to the land from the Bhils. As the earliest residents of the country they came to be employed as village watchmen. The Ramosis of later times were probably derived from the Bhils and Kolis. They possess many animistic usages even now though they have come to worship Hindu deities and village gods. They still believe in witches, omens and other features of animism, and they take food from any caste except the impure ones. The typical Bhil is small, dark, broad-nosed and ugly, but well built and active. The average height is 5·6 ft. He is an excellent woodsman, on which account he was later on called *Vēnaputra* by the Āryans. He can skilfully track tigers and other wild beasts. The Bhils have now abandoned their own language and speak a dialect derived from

Gujarati and influenced by Marwari and Marathi. It contains a number of non-Āryan words, Mundari as well as Dravidian, making it difficult to classify it definitely as either.

THE TURIS.

The Turis of whom a few thousands exist in parts of Chota Nagpur are a Hinduised section of the Mundas, speaking a dialect derived from Mundāri, and engaged in basket and bamboo work and connected crafts. They are found mixed with the Doms and other low Uriya castes. "They must live outside the village and may not draw water from the common well; the village barber will not shave them nor the washerman wash their clothes. They will eat all kinds of food, including the flesh of rats and other vermin, but not beef. The rules regarding social impurity are more strictly observed in the Uriya country than elsewhere, owing to the predominant influence of the Brahmans, and this is probably the reason why the Turis are so severely ostracised. Their code of social morality is not strict, and a girl who is seduced by a man of the caste is simply made over to him as his wife, the ordinary bride-price being exacted from him. He must also feed the caste fellows, and any money which is received by the girl's father is expended in the same manner. Members of Hindu castes and Gonds may be admitted into the community, but not the Munda tribes, such as the Mundas themselves and the Kharias and Korwas; and this, though the Turis, as has been seen, are themselves an offshoot of the Munda tribe. The fact indicates that in Chota Nagpur the tribes of the Munda family occupy a lower social position than the Gonds and others belonging to the Dravidian family. When an offender of either sex is to be re-admitted into caste after having been temporarily expelled for some offence he or she is given water to drink and has a lock of hair cut off. Their women are tattooed on the arms, breast and feet, and say that this is the only ornament which they can carry to the grave." (Russell, Vol. IV, pp. 592-3).

THE KHARIAS.

The Kharias are a Kolarian community in Bilaspur, Jashpur and Raigarh. They are one of the most backward of the Kol tribes. They are allied to the Mundas and Savars. A section of them live in Assam, but these are later immigrants. They have got legends which indicate that they form an elder branch of the Mundas. They take daughters in marriage from the Kharias but will not give their girls to them. Their name has been traced to *Khar-khari* or palanquin, and they are professional *dholie*-bearers. The strict taboos practised by them regarding food even though they eat any kind of flesh, their wild nuptial dances in which they excel all other Kolarians (who are generally devoted to it), their dirty persons in consequence of the hatred of washing, their low features, and their dialect which is closely allied to Savara and similar to Korku and Juāng, entitle them to an important place amongst the Munda peoples.

THE BIRHORS.

The Birhors are a very small Kolarian tribe of whom only a few hundreds are available in the Chota Nagpur States, but they occupy a significant place. The name means a dweller in the forest. They live in tiny huts made of leaves of trees, and make a miserable living by snaring hares and monkeys, and collecting jungle products. They either sell or eat the animals which they ensnare with skill. They are a small, dirty and miserable-looking people suspected of devouring their parents or at least blood-relatives. It has also been recorded of the Bhunjiyas that they ate the flesh of their dead parents. The Birhors are a branch of the Khariya tribe, and their dialect is, as Dr. Grierson points out, really Kharia or Mundari.

THE KHERWAR, KHAIRWAR, KHARWĀR.

This primitive people, found in Sarguja State and the neighbouring districts, as well as the Damoh district in Bundelkhand, are a Kol tribe closely connected with the

Cheros and the Santhals. It is believed that their name has been derived from the *Khaira* or *Catechu* tree, and that they were so called because they made *Catechu*. They have also been identified with the Katkharis of Bombay who have the same occupation. In the Kaimur hills they connect themselves closely with the Gonds and Savars. In many respects they have been subject to later influences, but their animism, their buffalo-sacrifice, their employment of the Korwā and the Bhuiya as village priests, and other features indicate their original place among the Munda races.

THE KORWAS.

This Kolarian tribe, which is found in Sarguja, Jashpur and Bilaspur in the Central Provinces in thousands, is one of the wildest tribes. Mixed up with the Asuras, they do not differ from them except in resorting more largely to cultivation than to smelting. They are the most savage-looking of the Kol tribes, and they have a curious legend explaining their ugly and uncouth appearance. Short of stature, dark-brown in complexion, and active, they are better-looking, however, than the Gonds and Oraons. Utterly ungroomed, they allow their hair to grow in matted tails. The women are stunted, black, ugly, unclean and clad in rags. The Korwas have a sub-tribe called Korāku, and like the Korkus of the Satpuras they are called *Muāsi* or robber. The Korwas and Korkus are believed by Crooke to be branches of the same tribe, but Grierson points out that their dialect is more closely related to Asuri and resembles Mundāri and Santhāli. Their shifting cultivation, their blood-thirsty sacrifices to their animistic goddess, their untidy and uncut hair, their peculiar dance, their thieving habits and low morals indicate their place among the primitive sections of the Mundas.

THE KORKUS.

The Korkus are a Kolarian tribe akin to the Korwas, who belong to the Central Provinces, Berar and West Satpura plateau. The term *Korku* means *man* or *tribesman*.

They have a language like that of the Kols of Chota Nagpur. They have come much further west th n their kinsmen, separated by the Mahadeo or Western Satpura hills, and by the Gonds and other Dravidian tribes. The Kolis of Bombay may be a similar offshoot of the Kols who came west in very early times. The Korkus connect themselves with Rāvaṇa, and say that he prayed to Mahādēva to populate their country, and they claim to be descended from the original settlers. They have curious legends regarding creation and floods, and they are more Hinduised than most other forest tribes in religion and social rank. Well-built and muscular, round-faced, with a wide but not flat nose, with prominent cheek-bones, taller than the Gonds but darker and dirtier, though their villages are clean, the Korkus, who are expert distillers and great drunkards, are remarkably honest and truthful, and are now engaged in cultivation and the chase. Their language has undergone much decay, and has got a number of Hindi, Marathi and Gondi words.

MAL, MALE OR MAL PAHARIA.

A tribe of the Rājmahāl hills, having low stature, dark complexion, and sturdy figure, and numbering a few thousands, is that of the Māls of the Rājmahāl hills and the Chota Nagpur Feudatory States now belonging to the Central Provinces. They are believed to be an isolated branch of the Savars, and have a loose custom of romantic attachment between the lads and lasses, and the chief pastime of hunting, about which they have curious game laws. Their taboo theories are extensive, and they are given to the drink of a fermented liquor prepared by them, and, like the other Kols, indulge in a curious dance, and they have other significant customs as well.

THE NIHĀLS OR NAHĀLS.

A forest tribe of the Hoshangabad, Nimār, and Betul districts, as well as Berār, generally believed to be a mixture of the Bhīls and Korkus, and numbering many thousands,

is the Nahāl or Nihāl tribe. It is also believed that the Nihāls are either the drudge of the Korkus, or a tribe powerful and glorious before the latter arose. The Nihāls are fast dying out. They have got very curious totems, one of which is the Nāg or cobra. Their curious objects of worship like the tortoise and bell-metal, their system of adult marriage with sexual licence before wedlock, their gamble with tamarind seeds in regard to marital luck, the custom of bride price, the marriage 'with the spear,' the occupation of robbery and the dangerous collection of the oil of the marking-nut tree, their low status, dirty habits and promiscuous food indicate their place in the ethnological history of the Mundas. The Nahāls are coupled with the Bhīls and Kolis in old Hindu accounts.

THE BAIGAS.

The Baigas who occupy the Eastern Satpura hills in the Mandla, Bālāghāt and Bilāspur districts are a tribe sometimes included among the Kolarians and sometimes among the Dravidians. The Binjhāls or Binjhwārs of Chhattisgārh and Sāmbalpur are regarded by some scholars as originally Baigas, who cut themselves off from the parent tribe. The Bhainas are another tribe of Bilāspur who were connected with them. All these branches have forgotten their original tongue, and speak Āryan vernaculars. The Bhārs or Bhārias of Jubbulpore, who are village priests, also consider themselves Baigas. "There seems reason to suppose that the Baigas are really a branch of the primitive Bhuiya tribe of Chota Nagpur, and that they have taken or been given the name of Baiga, the designation of a village priest, on migration into the Central Provinces. There is reason to believe that the Baigas were once dominant in the Chhattisgārh plain and the hills surrounding it which adjoin Chota Nagpur, the home of the Bhuiyas." (Russell, Vol. II, p. 79). The Baigas have got curious legends and marriage customs. They have the flat nose of the Gonds, their foreheads, and general shape of the head but of a better mould. They

have wiry limbs and are born hunters, capable of reaching places inaccessible to ordinary men. They are honest and shy, always living apart from others, scantily dressed, fond of tattooing and drink, addicted to shifting cultivation, and having all other features of a forest tribe. They have forgotten their own language, and speak a broken form of Hindi.

THE BHAINAS.

A primitive tribe found in Bilāspur district and the neighbourhood, particularly the wild tract between the Satpura hills and South Chota Nagpur, is that of the Bhainas who are believed to be derived from the mixture of the Baigas and Kawārs. They have a name like the Baigas for sorcery, and they are village priests, indicating their being older than the Kawārs and Gonds in the areas occupied by them. Their totemism is elaborate, and has much influence on the internal structure of their society. They have got the very curious worship of 'the noseless goddess,' and they have an elaborate code of caste offences and peculiar social rules which have been to some extent modified by the influence of Hinduism. The peculiar superstition that tattooing enables them to climb mountains leading to heaven indicates their original place among the forest tribes.

THE BHUNJIAS.

The Bhunjias who occupy the Raipur district and the hills as far as Jeypore in Vizagapatam are regarded by some as connected with the Kolarian Bhuiyas, Baigas, Bhainas and Binjhwārs, but regarded by others as a Dravidian tribe. They are surrounded by the Gonds on all sides, and yet speak a dialect of Hindi. The term *Bhunjia* signifies one who lives on the soil, while *Binjhwār* has been interpreted to be *Bewarjia*, meaning one dependent on patch-cultivation. The Bhunjias are closely connected with the Binjhwārs and Baigas, and some of them have mixed with the Gonds and Halbas. The peculiar 'arrow-marriage' which they have got, their loose marriage customs, the special

respect to sister's children, the reverence to the tortoise as supporting the earth, the distrust of strangers, and the universal prescription of branding for bodily ills, are some of their primitive characteristics.

THE BINJHWĀRS OR BINJHĀLS.

This community which is sometimes included under the Kolarians and sometimes under the Dravidians is found in the Raipūr and Bilāspur districts and the neighbouring Uriya country. Their connection with other tribes has been already indicated. Their name has been derived from the Vindhya hills, and they still worship the goddess Vindhya-vāsini as their deity, and they trace their descent to twelve brother archers who were her sons. The arrow plays an important part as the symbol of the tribe and indicates their original occupation. They practise the *Bewar* or shifting cultivation in the forest. They have got totems of their own, and septs based on them. They have been very much influenced by civilisation in their marriage and other customs, but their primitive character is clear from the remnants of several customs not associated with advanced Hinduism. Their indiscriminate diet, their meagre dress, their unkempt custom of wearing long beards and moustaches when not influenced by the civilised neighbourhood, the enormous extent to which tattooing is carried on, and their common office as Jhānkar or priest of the village-god, show their original place amongst the early Kolarians.

MISCELLANEOUS MUNDAS.

Besides the above divisions of the Mundas, there are, like the Cheros, others either of less prominence or found mixed with other communities, Munda as well as Dravidian. They pursue different occupations and have different social status based upon them. It is unnecessary to go into further details about them. Many of them have changed their original names, territorial or occupational, on account of Hindu influence, and some have given up their original

tongue in favour of Dravidian or Āryan vernaculars. It is the opinion of Sarat Chandra Roy that the Mundas had their original home in the Aravalli mountains, then spread eastwards along the Vindhyan and Kaimur ranges to as far as the Surguja State and the South-Eastern districts of Chota Nagpur, in the Stone Age. In his monumental work, *The Mundas and their Country*(1912), he traces the probable ethnographical history of the different tribes, and correlates them with the Dravidians on the one hand and the Āryans on the other. From the references in the Vēdic literature he lays down the theory that the Mundas extended even as far as the Panjāb at one time and the United Provinces as well, and he believes that a number of the Dasyus whom we have identified as the tribes of the extreme north-west and west were the same as the Mundas. The Asuras of the Vēdas are also identified by him with the Kols, and the general result of his investigations is that the Āryan conquest and colonisation encountered great opposition from them throughout North India, and that the result of this opposition was their eventual exile to the lands where they are found in the present day.

THE DRAVIDIAN IMMIGRATION.

The Dravidian family of people inhabit the southern part of the Central Provinces and the major portion of the Dakkan and South India. It is now generally acknowledged that, though large sections of them were Āryanized in North India, the majority had to trek to the south, while a considerable proportion took refuge in the Central Indian plateaus and woods. Such remnants are found in the Mal and Sauri Paharias of the Rājmahāl Hills (who are however according to some, Mundas), the Oraons of Chota Nagpur, the Bhuiyas (?) of the Santhal Parganas, the Gonds of the Jabbalpur and Bastar hills on the banks of the Indravati in the Central Provinces and in Jeypore State in Madras, the Kandhs of Orissa and its tributary States, and others. Dr. Caldwell placed the southward push of the Dravidians in the second millennium B.C.

Though it is quite possible and probable that a mass movement of the Dravidians took place as the result of the Āryan impact, it ought not to be believed that *all* the Dravidians of the Dakkan and South India settled there subsequent to this period. As has been already mentioned, they were a section of the Mediterranean race which had migrated into the country millenniums earlier, driven the pre-Dravidians to the hills and woods, settled in the plains, and developed a composite cult of their own. But it can hardly be doubted that the Āryanization of Hindusthan gave rise to the immigration of fresh swarms to the south. Nor can it be doubted that their advent to the south, which must have been a slow process of centuries and not a sharp or sudden affair, was followed by the crystallisation of the different dialectical groups into the Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Tulu, Gondi, Kui and other allied tongues in accordance with the different degrees to which they borrowed Sanskrit (and to a less extent Austric) elements and the different extent to which they were influenced by the variety of climatic and other environments. Without endorsing what Caldwell says regarding the Central Asian home of the Dravidians and the exact chronology of the supposed Dravidian migration, we can quite agree with the following statement of his: "Supposing their final settlement in their present abodes in Southern India to have taken place shortly after the Āryan eruption (though I think it probably took place before), every grammatical form and root which the various dialects possess in common may be regarded as at least co-eval with the century subsequent to the arrival of the Āryans. Every form and root which the Brāhmi possesses in common with the Dravidian tongues may be regarded as many centuries older still. The Brāhmi enables us to ascend to a period anterior to the arrival in India of the Āryans (which cannot be placed later than 1600 B.C.), and they furnish us with the means of ascertaining in some degree the condition of the Dravidian languages before the

Dravidians finally abandoned their original abodes in the central tracts of Asia" (*Comp. Gram.*, p. 107). Caldwell assigns the separation of Tamil from the other tongues to before B.C. 1000.

THE ORAONS.

A very important Dravidian tribe belonging to Chota Nagpur is that known as the Oraons, called also Kurukhs and Dhāngars or hillmen.* It is believed that their language belongs to the Kanarese group; but the tribe has also been connected with the Telugu Kaikāris and Tamil *Kurugu* (eagle). The suggestion has been made that their original habitation was Konkan, and that they migrated to the area of Chota Nagpur, and mixed with the Kol and Munda tribes already settled there. The primitive character of the Oraons, who number about 750,000, is seen in their small size, ill-favoured appearance, dark complexion, jet-black hair, broad, flat nose, projecting jaws, thick lips, long and narrow forehead, vacant eyes, and hair worn long and gathered into a knot behind. Like many primitive communities they are fond of ornaments, and wear a red or white turban on *gala* days. Though civilisation has made some of them wear a narrow strip of cloth round the loins, the wilder sections of them are not in need of the encumberance. The bead ornaments, the copper rings, the tattooing and false hair, the superstition regarding the use of *names* by friends, the existence of separate dormitories for unmarried boys and girls, the freedom between the sexes prior to marriage, the preparation for marriage after a sham-fight between the parties, the simplicity of the marriage ceremonial, the love of drink and dance by bachelors and maids in front of their common accommodations, indicate their aboriginal character, though in some respects they have become more civilised. The Oraon worship of the Sun as

* Russell and Hira Lal, IV, pp. 299 ff. The Oraons were also known as the Kūdas, Kisāns, and, as has been already said, Kurukhs or Kuruṅkhs.

the supreme god shows the religious connection with the Kols and Santhals, and their prayers to the gods only during days of evil as well as the allegiance to malignant spirits or ghosts through sorcery and witchcraft, indicate the same. The Oraons claim to be the Vānaras who helped Rāma. Even now many of them live in caves and fight with stick and stone, and it has been suggested that their forefathers had the monkey for the tribal totem and formed part of Rāma's army.

THE BHARIAS

Another Dravidian tribe of Jabbalpur, Chhindwara and Bilāspur, that is, the area covered by the northern part of the Central Provinces and to the west and south-west of Chota Nagpur, is the Bharia who often assumes the title of Bhuiya or landlord. The Bharias connect themselves with the Pāṇḍavas, but probably they belong to the great Bhar tribe* once dominant in the eastern part of the United Provinces and now at the bottom of the social scale there. Crooke observes† that they were Dravidian but closely allied to the Kols, Cheros and Seoris who at an early date succumbed to the invading Āryans. Their appearance and physique, he points out, resemble those of the undoubted non-Āryan aborigines of the Vindhya-Kaimur plateau. In some parts they are connected with the Gonds. They have forgotten their Munda language, and speak only Hindi. They have been much influenced by other communities. They have adopted Hindu gods, but their magical religion, their thievish habits, scanty clothing, tattooing, and other things indicate their original position, though they are not considered so impure as some other castes.

* For the Bhars see Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes* (1872), pp. 358-75. Sherring also reviews the positions of the Cherus (Cheros), Seoris, Kharwārs, Bawāryas, etc., and shows their connection with the Kols, etc.

† Tribes and Castes of the N. W. P., article on Bhar.

THE KHONDS OR KANDHS

A primitive Dravidian tribe is the Khond of Bengal, Central Provinces, and the hill-tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, that is, the area extending from East Gondwana to the sea coast. Dalton describes the tribe as follows: "The meridional limit of their western extension passes through Bamra, and, except as wanderers from their father-land they are not found further north than the 22nd degree of latitude. They extend south as far as Bastar, whence their position as aboriginal people is taken up by the Savaras or Sauras." (*Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 285). They are believed to be the basic elements of the people of Orissa, and they have been influenced by the mixture with the Kols, Gonds, and Āryans in places. The curious custom of killing female children among them, the purchase of girls of alien communities for wives, and the bloody custom of the Mariah or human sacrifice which existed among them till its prohibition by the British as late as the forties of the nineteenth century, are a few of the features which indicate their original barbarism. They call themselves Kui, a name identical with the Kōyas of the Godavari Agency and Jeypore Zamindari immediately to their east and south. The Telugus interpret the term 'Kōyas' as mountaineers. Their language, known as Kui, Kandhi, or Khond, is very closely allied to Telugu, but has been much influenced in the north by Āryan forms. In 1891 there were more than six lakhs of Khonds. Large sections of the Khonds have ceased to be aboriginal. In their primitive conditions they are unsophisticated, honest, and fond of colours. In their not eating pork, their hatred of intensive cultivation in consequence of which they only devastate hill-tops and upper slopes, their primitive grass dress, their love of simple ornaments, their skill in climbing for honey and other forest produce, their elaborate war-dress, their tattooing, their primitive weapons, their low huts, and in their loose marriage system, we have clear evidences of the aboriginal forest life.

Their belief in one God Paramushela might indicate the influence of civilisation, as their belief in malignant evil spirits shows their original animism. The legend of the flood which is known to them and which is different from the other current versions, might or might not have been original; but the story that humanity could be traced to a single man and woman who hid themselves in a tree from the floods, that this pair had five children, and that their quarrels made God create five languages so that they could not understand one another, seem to be peculiar to them. On the other hand, their village organization with its hereditary office of headman, its Panchayat including priest, musician and astrologer exercising jurisdiction in moral and social matters and enforcing it by the fire or water ordeal, seems to be a comparatively advanced institution. The water ordeal, which is formal and elaborate, might be a survival of pre-historic beliefs, but apparently subject to late influence. Another aboriginal characteristic is the clinging to the occupation of hunting even when agriculture is introduced or taught. Clearing a small portion of the forest, they till the soil, and remain there only till the harvest is reaped, and then go elsewhere to live by the chase which they undertake with their national weapon of the *tangi* (a small axe) and their bows and arrows. The stone-worship, the offer of the buffalo to Durgā, the cult of the goddess of cholera and small-pox, the customs of burying a human being in different parts of the agricultural field for the sake of fertilisation and of burying a child alive on account of supposed ill-luck, the part played by omens, and the idea of auspicious week-days, seem to indicate the influence of different times and environments on their original institutions.

THE GONDS

The most important of the Dravidian and indeed of the non-Āryan forest tribes is that known as the Gonds, about

whom there has consequently arisen a very voluminous literature*. They number more than three millions, and, though the Kolis of Western India and the four related tribes of the Kols, Mundas, Hos, and Santhāls are equally numerous, the Gonds occupy a position of even greater historical importance. A few thousands of the Gonds are late immigrant labourers to Assam; but the indigenous Gonds are found in Central India, Bihār and Orissa, and to a small extent in Madras and Hyderabad. Gondwana is their main area, comprising the Satpūra plateau, a section of the Nāgpur plain, and the Narmadā valley to the south and west. "In the Central Provinces the Gonds occupy two main tracts. The first is the wide belt of broken hill and forest country in the centre of the Province, which "forms the Satpūra plateau, and is mainly comprised in the Chhindwārā, Betūl, Seoni and Mandla Districts, with portions of several others adjoining them. And the second is the still wider and more inaccessible mass of hill ranges extending south of the Chhattīsgarh plain, and south-west down to the Godāvari, which includes portions of the three Chhatīsgarh Districts, the Bastar and Kanker States, and a great part of Chānda. In Mandla the Gonds form nearly half the population, and in Bastar about two-thirds. There is, however, no District or State of the Province which does not contain some Gonds, and it is both on account of their numbers and the fact that Gond dynasties possessed a great part of its area that the territory of the Central Provinces was formerly known as Gondwānā, or the country of the Gond." (Russell, III, p. 41). The term *Gond* has been often traced from Gauda, but this is rightly questioned. More plausibly it has been connected with the Telugu *Kond* or *Khond*, and the Uriya *Kandh*, all being traced to *Koi*. The Gonds speak a Dravidian language, and it has been suggested that they must have come from the south into the

* For the full bibliography see Russell and Hira Lal, Vol. III, p. 39.

Central Provinces. The Khond or Kui and Gondi are closely connected, though in some respects they differ, and the difference is due to the fact that Khond is more nearly related to Telugu, and Gondi to Tamil, Kanarese, and Malayāḷam. The Kolāms,* who are an off-shoot of the Gond in Wardha and Berār, speak a tongue which is intermediate, and approaches Telugu. The word for God, *pen*, is common again to the Gonds and Khonds. It has been inferred from all this that the Gonds and Khonds were originally one tribe in South India, and obtained separate names and dialects after they migrated to their northern homes. The Gonds have got traditions connecting them with the north, and maintain that they originated in a cave in which they had been shut up by Śiva and from which they were rescued by a divine hero, Lings; but the tradition is obviously Hindu. The match between brothers' son and sister's daughter, as well as the more matriarchal system of the marriage of the sister's son with the brother's daughter, is common among the Gonds. Marriage between grand-parents and grand-children is not prohibited. Irregular marriages are also common as well as the marriage by capture, the rendering of service by the bride-groom as bride price, free permission of widow-marriage and easy divorce. The birth ceremonies, the views and superstitions regarding naming, the funeral rites, the absence of the idea of Heaven or Hell, the identity of the chief Gond gods with implements of the chase or animals and deified human beings, the part played by the serpent lore, charms and magic, the prevalence of

* See Russell and Hira Lal, Vol. III, pp. 520 ff. The *Kolami* is described by Grierson as a minor dialect occupying a position, like Gondi, between Kanarese, Tamil and Telugu. "There are also some interesting points of analogy with the Toda dialect of the Nilgiris, and the Kolams must, from a philological point of view, be considered as the remnants of an old Dravidian tribe who have not been involved in the development of the principal Dravidian languages, or of a tribe who have not originally spoken a Dravidian form of speech." (*Ling. Surv.*, IV, p. 561.)

human sacrifice and even limited cannibalism till recent times, the adhesion to cruel customs like the Mēghnath swinging—all these indicate the place of the Gonds in the ethnographical history of the country. Their uglv features, roundish head, distended nostrils, wide mouth, thickish lips, straight black hair, and scanty beard and moustache are believed to indicate the same fact. The long matted hair of the uncivilised men (particularly the priests or Pandas), the satisfaction which the Gonds have with the limited washing of arms and legs instead of a full bath, their tattooing, their custom of branding for the supposed acquisition of suppleness in dancing, their excessive love of drink, their common sleeping houses for boys and girls, the part played by feasts for the expiation of marital and other offences, the patch cultivation, and the skill in hunting and tracking animals, are also significant of the place of the Gonds in the history of the country. The physical appearance of Gond women has been occasionally altered for the better by intercourse with more civilised neighbours. Those who are in the interior and unaffected have been, owing to their coarse features, compared to monkeys rather than human beings. Timid, docile, addicted to drink, very light-hearted, fond of jokes, honest and truthful in their way, the uncivilised Gonds live in bamboo huts in the forests in practically naked savagery. They are fond of roots and fruits, and innocent of dress. They have a love of cheap ornaments, on account of which ear-piercing is very common. The Gonds believe that they are descended from Rāvaṇa of Ceylon, thus indicating perhaps their Dravidian origin. The Mēghanāth-swinging is connected with this belief. The Gonds are considered to have been the source of several sub-castes like the pastoral Gowāris of the Mahratta country; the iron-smelting Agarias of the Central Provinces; the large pastoral community of the Ahīrs or Abhīrs who might be connected with their namesake in Rajputana (see p. 289); the agricultural Andhs; the musical

Bhīmas; the serviceable Bhatras; the palanquin-carrying Bhois; the primitive Binds; the tortoise-worshipping Chardeves; the drummer caste of Dholins; the Gadhas whose priest originally rode on an ass in crossing a river; the basket-making Kandras; the straw-stealing Karpachors; the Kurpachis whose priest offered hen's intestines to the gods; the Lonchatiyas who lick salt on the death of their relatives or make their cattle do so; the Mastras whose women have a partiality for brass bangles; the earth-digging Matkudas or Mathoras; the drum-beating Nagārchis; the Nāgbans who are descended from Nāga; and others.

THE HALBAS

The Halbas or Halbis who are found in south Raipur, Kanker, and Bastar States are another Dravidian people connected by some with the Telugus and by others with the Kanarese. They are good cultivators, and are more advanced than their neighbours. They derive themselves from Balarāma, the name *Halba* being connected in fact with *Hal*, Balarāma's plough; but they are so much mixed up with others as to have a multiplicity of sept names and totemistic divisions. "Linguistic evidence also points to the fact that the Halbas are an aboriginal tribe, who have adopted Hinduism and an Aryan language. Their dialect is a curious mixture of Uriya, Chhatīsgarh and Marathi, the proportions varying according to the locality. In Bhandara it is nearly all Marathi, but in Bastar it is much more mixed and has some forms which look like Telugu." (Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*, VII, p. 331). Their original habitation has been placed on the banks of the Mahānadi between Chhatīsgarh and the Uriya country. The match between a brother's daughter and a sister's son is very common. A man in fact pays almost worship to his nephew, and in this the Halba resembles the Gond. Like many castes of low social status, the Halbas have two forms of wedding, one in the bridegroom's house and the other in the bride's.

The curious customs of washing the feet of the bride's party, the symbolical shaving of the bride's male friends with a piece of straw by a friend of the bridegroom, the simple marriage ceremony in which many non-Aryan elements are patent, the peculiar system of long journeys by the bride to her home, the scanty dress, the remnants of hunting and shifting cultivation, the worship of the spirits of those who have died violent deaths, and the superstitions regarding names, dress and ornaments, invest this community with peculiar importance in the evolution of the synthetic civilisation in this part of the country.

Perhaps the Kotadis of Western Indian hills represent another aboriginal people. The tradition that they are the descendants of Rāvaṇa might indicate this. They are a very black race having for their occupation the chase, and for their food every type of bird, beast and reptile in the jungle, the only taboo in regard to it being the brown-faced monkey, which they explain on the ground that it has a human soul. The black-faced money, on the other hand, is a common prey to their bows and arrows. Next to hunting, their occupation is the manufacture of *Kat* from the Khair tree, from which fact their name *Katodi* is said to be derived. When they go out in bands to fell these trees, one of them is selected for worship. Cocoanuts and burning frankincense are offered to it, and it is plentifully besmeared with red paint. It is entreated to grant them success in their undertaking, and it is spared when all the other trees of the same kind are cut down. The juice is extracted, and then made into *kat* which resembles *catechu*, and is largely eaten along with *pan*. The simplicity of the marriage customs, the primitive character of their residences in the hill sides, the system of bride price, the scanty garment of the men and women, and the superstition against the removal of the top-knot of the hair are interesting characteristics of their primitive ethnical character.

THE ARYAN ADVENT

It is unnecessary to give further details of the primitive communities who have survived the ages of progress and who lived in pre-historic times. It is enough to state that the Epics tell us that the Dakkan was full of forests generally known as Daṇḍakāraṇya generally tenanted here and there by the various sections of the Dravidians and Muṇḍas or other pre-Dravidians enumerated above. They are undoubtedly the Asuras, Rākshasas and Vānaras referred to in the Epics. It is clear from the later Vēdic literature that the Āryan pioneers who came into this savage land for the first time were the sages. They settled on the banks of holy streams, in the thick of the forests, and engaged themselves, in their love of solitude and penance, in austere pursuits which endowed them with miraculous powers. The aboriginal 'Asuras and Rākshasas' committed forays against their settlements, destroyed their sacrifices, and violated their penance or peace. "The superior attainments, however, of the Āryan Brahmans enabled them in various ways to defeat opposition of the tribes with whom they were thus brought into contact, and to introduce the elements of civilization among the ruder races of the south." (Rice). Then followed the adventure of the Kshatriya princes as the result of the strifes in their own kingdoms or their love of enterprise. Allying themselves with the Brahmanical pioneers, they succeeded in overthrowing the chiefs of the country and imposing their civilisation on the land, by a policy of alliances and wars. Some of the aboriginal tribes "placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brahmanical institutions." Others allied themselves with the Āryan Kshatriya prince adventurers. We cannot say how far the story that the Rākshasas had their headquarters in Ceylon and the Vānaras had theirs at Kishkindhā, the site of later Vijayanagar, is true. Some doubt the historical genuineness of the invasion of Ceylon, as of the story of Kishkindhā. But while there is no doubt of the Epic

exaggeration and myth, there can hardly be a doubt as to the historical substratum underlying the whole. The Rāmāyaṇa describes the Vānaras as monkeys in every sense of the word, and attributes their powers to the fact that they were gods born as primates in order to enable Vishṇu to fulfil His mission of establishing righteousness in the world. The Jain version of the Rāmāyaṇa, on the other hand, tells us that the Vānaras were only tribes with the figure of the monkey in their colours. The Jain legends also indicate the existence of the Vidyādharas, who are equally legendary in Brahmanical traditions, as a people who lived in the neighbourhood of the Vānaras to the north. We cannot say how far the Jain version, which is a much later one in date, indicates more genuine historical traditions of earlier times but many critical scholars regard it as more genuine and credit-worthy.

TRADITIONAL EVIDENCES OF ĀRYANISATION

A clue to the Āryan knowledge of the south is available in a passage in the Ṛg-vēda (X. 61. 8). It uses the expression *Dakshiṇāpadā* in connection with a man who was expelled to the south, beyond the Āryan pale. The Rāmāyaṇa attributes the honour of the southward progress, as we have already seen, to the sage Agastya and the Kōsala prince Rāma. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 13. 18) says that Viśvāmitra adopted Śunakshēpa as his son, and cursed his other fifty sons to become out-casts and live on the borders of the Āryan country, and that the descendants of these became the Dasyus, and the communities known as the Āndhras, the Puṇḍras, the Śabaras, the Puḷindas and the Mūṭibas. The Sāṅkhāyana śrauta Sūtra (XV. 20) also refers to this, though in a different manner. The Mahābhārata, we have seen, traced the Āryan expansion into the Dakkan to the Yādava enterprise. The Berār (Vidarbha) region was, as has been already seen, under the Bhōja section of the Yādavas, and there were southern branches of the same clan known by the obvious name of Daṇḍaka-Bhōjas. Pāṇini uses the

expression Dakshiṇātya (IV. 2. 98), and also refers to Kōsala (Dakshiṇa Kōsala in the Central Provinces), Kalinga and Aśmaka. The province of Aśmaka was in the interior of the Dakkan, and comprised the Gōdāvari valley south of the Māhishmati. It seems to have had for its capital Pratishṭhāna, later on corrupted into Potaṇa and Paithan, and it was apparently named after the celebrated Pratishṭhāna of the Kurus. It is clear that Pāṇini was aware of the southern portion of the Dakkan. It might be that Kōsala, Kalinga and Asmaka alone were prominent in the Dakkan in the seventh century B.C., to which he must be attributed. But we understand from Kātyāyana a little later that the Āryan advance had progressed much farther.

The Purāṇas also give a clue to the Āryanization of the area. The Āryans came to give a semi-mythical and semi-Āryan origin to the communities they subdued and Āryanised. The traditions make the pre-Āryan Mlēchchhas descended from the eponymous ancestor Turvasu, the younger brother of Yadu. Turvasu is said to have been sentenced to rule over the savages and barbarians of the south-east while Yadu was made the ruler of the south. This is only an elaboration or later explanation of the Yādava share in the colonization of the south. The great Kārtavīryārjuna, for example, who founded Māhishmati, was a Haihaya Yādava. But as a matter of fact it was not the Yādavas alone that were responsible for the Āryan progress, though they perhaps had the lion's share in it.

THE MŪLAKA REGION

An account of the origin of the Aśmaka kingdom has been already given in p. 390. It has been also shown there that Aśmaka's son was known as Mūlaka, and that he was so called because he was the root of future generations on account of his ingenious protection of himself from Paraśurāma. It is obvious from this that Aśmaka and Mūlaka (or rather the variant form Mulaka) are synonymous terms.

The Mahābhārata, however, uses the term Aśmaka and Aśvaka as apparently identical, while the later Pāli literature uses the name Assaka which may represent either. From the fact that the Aśmaka country is mentioned together with Avanti, as Aṅga is with Magadha, in the Buddhistic list of sixteen States, it has been inferred by Rhys Davids* that it must have been situated immediately to the north-west of Avanti and on this side of Śūrasēna. Mr. B. C. Law suggests† that, if this were true, the settlement on the Gōdāvari was a later colony; but the Epic version seems to indicate a sufficiently early age for the settlement. Further, the *Sutta Nipāta* (verse 977) distinguishes Assaka or Aśmaka from Mulaka (which, it says, had its capital at Patittana), and seems to locate the former immediately south of the latter. At the same time, Asmaka is sometimes used in a larger sense so as to include the Mulaka kingdom. The Aśmakas or Aśvakas were, we may conclude, an Āryan tribe, probably related to the Ikshvākus, who were responsible for the Āryan settlement on the banks of the Gōdāvari. Potana or Potali has been identified by some with Pratishṭhāna, but regarded by others as a different place. Pratishṭhāna has figured much under the name of Paiṭhān in the history of the Dakkan.

THE ROUTE OF THE ĀRYAN MIGRATION

As regards the likely route taken by the Āryans from Āryāvarta to the Dakkan, Dr. Bhandarkar‡ makes an interesting suggestion. The Sutta Nipāṭa tells us that a Brāhman teacher of the name of Bāvarin, who had settled in the Aśmaka territory in Dakkiṇāpatha, sent sixteen pupils to the Buddha, then in Vaisalī, by way of Muḷaka, Māhishmati, Ujjēni, Gōnaddha, Vedisa, Kośāmbi, Sākēta, Sāvatthi, Kapilavatthu, Kusināra, and Pāvā. Bhandarkar infers from this description of the route that Bāvarin's settlement was to the south of Patiṭṭhāna (the Muḷaka

* *Buddhistic India*, pp. 27-8.

† *Anct. Ind. Tribes*, 1926, p. 88.

‡ *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 5.

capital), and at the same time suggests the probable original route of the Āryan progress into this part of the country. It is worthy of note " that Bāvarin's disciples went to North India straight through the Vindhyas. This disproves the theory of some scholars who hold that the Āryans were afraid of crossing the Vindhyas and went southwards to the Dakkan by an easterly detour round the mountain range. After leaving Patiṭṭhāna or Paiṭhaṇ we find the party reaching Māhissatī, *i.e*, Māhishmati, which has been correctly identified with Mandhāta on the Narmadā (see *ante*, p. 379) on the borders of the Indore State. Evidently, Bāvarin's pupils must have passed to Māhishmati, that is, to the other side of the Vindhyas through the Vidarbha country." (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 5.) From the Aśmaka country, Bhandarkar observes, they must have progressed southwards through what is now the Rāichūr district of Hyderabad and the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. That is why, says he, Aśōka's edicts were afterwards issued from these areas. Bhandarkar also suggests that the Āryan progress to the Dakkan probably took place by the sea too, " from the Indus to Kachchha, and from there by sea coast to Surāshṭra or Kāṭhiawār, from Kāthiāwār to Bharukachchha or modern Broach, and from Bhārukachchha to Suppāraka or Sopārā in the Thāṇā District of the Bombay Presidency. Baudhāyana, the author of a *Dharmaśāstra*, quotes a verse from the Bhāllavin School of Law, which tells us that the inhabitants of Sindhu, Sauvira and Surāshṭra like those of the Dekkan were of mixed origin...they must have gone by the sea route, because it is quite clear that no mention is traceable of any inland countries or towns between the sea coast and the Dekkan."

THE PIONEERS AND CIVILIZERS

The Bhṛgus seem to have taken a prominent part in the Āryanisation of the Western coast from Sauvīra onwards to Cape Comorin. Paraśurāma was the greatest of the Bhṛgus. Tradition says that, involved in a quarrel with the Haihaya Yādavas, he tried to create a Brāhmanical world for himself and so created the West coast. There is

not a single place, therefore, in this coastal region which is not connected with him. One of the early colonies, Śūrpāraka, the later Sopāra, 37 miles to the north of Bombay, has been, for instance, traced to a winnow created by him in a sacrifice and used by him as an instrument for making the ocean recede. Another and more general myth is to the effect that Paraśurāma wrested the whole of the west coast from the ocean and then divided it into the provinces of (1) Saurāshṭra ; (2) Koṅkana (named after Renuka); (3) Karhāṭa, south of Goa and north of Kondapur in South Kanara ; (4) Tuluva from Kondapur to the Chandragiri river in the same district ; (5) Kēraḷa further south of the above ; (6) Barbara which has not been identified. He is also said to have planted in all these areas the ten Brāhmaṇa families of the Bharadvāja, Kauśika, Vatsa, Kauṇḍinya, Kāśyapa, Vasishṭha, Jamadagni, Viśvāmitra, Gautama and Atri from Trihōtrapura (Tirhut). Tradition further says that these Brāhmaṇa colonists, generally called the Gauḍas, were in the five divisions of Sarasvat, Kanyakubja, Utkala, Maithila and Gauḍa (proper). The tradition also says that the various deities worshipped by them (Mangirasa, Mahādēva, Mahālakshmi, Malasa, Nāgēśa, etc.) were also brought and accommodated in local shrines. There is obviously much of anachronism in the tradition, but it is possible that the leading part in the colonisation of the West Dakkan was taken by the Bhṛgus and the clans they brought with them. But we know from the Āndhra traditions that the Kaṇvas were the chief pioneers in the settlement of the Āndhra country, and we know from the Tamil legends that the Agastyas were responsible for the Āryanization of the Tamil country further south. The importance of the Agastya legend has been already dwelt upon in p. 124.

THE ASMAKA KINGDOM

The Aśmakas figure in various places in the Mahābhārata. They were conquered by Karṇa and took the side of the Kauravas in the battle of Kurukshētra, though there seems to be some inconsistency in this respect. "In the Jayadratha-vadha-parvādhyāya the Aśmakas are found

ranged on the Pāṇḍava side (VII. 85. 3049); on the other hand, an Aśmakadāyāda, or a son of the Aśmaka monarch, is said to have been killed in battle by Abhimanyu (VII. 37. 1605), and the same person is also referred to as *Aśmakasya suta* in the verse immediately following (VII. 37. 1606). An Aśmakēśvara is also spoken of here (VII. 1608)." But from the close relation which existed between the Aśmakas and Kaliṅgas, it is perhaps more justifiable to conclude that the Aśmakas were on the side of the Kauravas. Buddhistic literature is clear on the point that it was one of the sixteen States in the beginning of the seventh century B. C. The Jātakas further give a number of traditions about Assaka, some of which might indicate episodes in its early history. One of these is to the effect that the Buddha in a previous birth disillusioned an Assaka king and removed his blind infatuation for his dead wife by pointing out her fresh birth as a dung-worm and her love to a worm in the new birth! Another tale is to the effect that the Assaka king of Potali wedded the four daughters of a contemporary king of Kalinga after defeating the latter in a battle to which he was invited by him. This seems to show that the two neighbouring States had close political relations. The *Vimānavatthu* refers to the elder son of an Assaka king, Sujāta by name, who became first an exile on account of his step-mother's jealousy, and then a convert to the religion of the Dhamma at the instance of a teacher named Mahākachchāyana. The Matsya Purāṇa gives a list of twenty-five kings who belonged to the Buddhistic period, and they do not concern us at present. The Aśmaka kingdom is said to have been rich in food and gems, and this is not surprising as South Dakkan is even now famous for diamonds. Aśōka's Maski, identified with Suvarṇagiri, seems to have been situated in what was the old Aśmaka kingdom.

THE KALINGA KINGDOM

As regards the Kalinga kingdom, we have already seen in p. 449 how the Kalinga dynasty was a branch of the Āṇavas like Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, born out of the Niyōga-connection of Sage Dīrghatamas with the Aṅga

Queen Sudēshṇā. We have also seen that to the west and south of the Vaṅgas were the Puṇḍras, Suhmas, Utkalas and Mēkhalas. It was from Utkala that the Aryans apparently proceeded towards Kalinga and colonised it. Bhandarkar on the other hand suggests, on linguistic grounds, that the migration must have been from the west and not the east. He points out that inscriptions show the linguistic resemblance between the Mahārāshṭra and Kalinga dialects of Pāli, and he believes that this tongue must have been introduced by the Aryan colonists into their new homes south of the Vindhyas. It is worthy of note, he says, "that while the Pali Buddhist canon knows Aṅga and Magadha and Assaka (Aśmaka) and Kalinga, it does not know Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma,—exactly the countries intervening between Aṅga and Kalinga through which they would certainly have passed and where they certainly would have been settled if they had gone to Kalinga by the eastern route. There is, therefore, nothing strange in the dialect of Kalinga being the same as that of Mahārāshṭra or the Pāli." (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 40, footnote).

The Mahābhārata gives considerable details of early Kalinga history. The Kalinga king was conquered by Jamadagni, as all other contemporary kings were. The Kalinga king was present, like the Vaṅga and Puṇḍra monarchs, in the *Svayamvara* of Draupadi. Arjuna later on visited its sacred *tīrthas* after visiting those of Aṅga and Vaṅga. Sahādēva vanquished the Kalinga king and made him pay tribute to Yudhishṭhira before the performance of the *Rājasūya*. Later on, Karṇa and Kṛshṇa are said to have been victorious over the Kalingas. In the Kurukshētra battle Śrutāyu, the Kalinga king, was on the side of Duryōdhana like the other kings of the south-east, and commanded one *akshauhiṇi* of troops. He is said to have been in charge of the right wing of Drōṇa's army. He helped Jayadratha just like Bhagadatta, Kṛtavarman and the kings of the Araṭṭas, Bāhlikas and Avantīs, and engaged seriously the different Pāṇḍava heroes in battle. He was eventually killed by Bhīma; and his son, Śakra, had the same

fate. One point worthy of note is that, like the other kings of the East, the Kalingas were on the same side as the half-Aryan tribes of the West including the Bāhlikas, 'Sivayas' and Nishādas. This shows the kinship between the Āryan colonists of Kalinga with those of the west. It also explains why the Kalingas are sometimes described as degraded Kshatriyas and irreligious, and sometimes as men versed in the eternal religion. That the Kalingas had relations with the orthodox dynasties is obvious from the tradition of Arjuna's marriage with the daughter of Chitrāṅgada, and the marriage of the kings Akrōdhana and Tamsu with Kalinga princesses.

THE KARNĀṬA REGION

Passing on to the region now covered by Mysore or the Karnāṭa plateau we have got interesting traditions regarding the Āryan settlement. We have already seen that Mysore was tenanted by the Neolithians, and that these were a composite of the *Homo-Dravido* and the Alpine sections of the Mediterraneans. It was these Dravido-Alpines and the pre-Dravidians that have left the large number of cists, cromlechs, and dolmens with their polished and decorated cinerary urns of red, black and well-burnt clay The Āryanisation of the Kanarese country is generally attributed to Sages Gautama, Kaṇva, Vibhāndaka, Mārkaṇḍēya and Dattātrēya. According to one tradition Karnāṭa can be traced to an eponymous ancestor just like the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa, from Dushyanta, the adopted son of Turvasu, the younger brother of Yadu, made by his father the ruler of the Mlēchchhas of the south-east, the Drāviḍas and Yavanas, while Yadu was appointed to rule over the south. In place of Karnāṭa, the name *Kola* is sometimes found; and Rice suggests that the people of Karnāṭa, must be allied to the *Kols*, a proof of which he sees in the existence of Kolar and Kolala (Tumkur district) in Mysore. It has also been suggested by Rice that Turvasu's descendants came to be called Bharatas, that these were the same as the Bhars who were derived from the sacred *Bar* or banyan tree

(*ficus indica*) and the aboriginal Dravidians of the Central Provinces, Oudh, and Bihar. The same scholar connects them with the *Barrhai* of Ptolemy and the Purāṇic *Barbaras* or barbarians. He further suggests that these Bharatas, together with the descendants of Druhyu, Anu and Puru, formed collectively the race known as the Dravidian Bharatas who, under the lead of Viśvāmitra, resisted the Aryan advance under Vasishṭha.

It is obvious that Rice's theory is in some respects as speculative as that of J. F. Hewitt who suggested that the Turvasus were star-worshippers, who had the meridian pole *tur* (Akkadian Vasu) as their god, besides the *linga* or *phallus*; and who, being Zend Turanians and maritime traders called *Tour She Tur sene* or Tyrrhenians mentioned in Egyptian and Greek records, made Dvāraka, Surpāraka, and 'Baragyza' their trading marts, just as they settled at various places in the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates region. Hewitt also suggests that another non-Aryan race who reverenced the Moon (*sin*) and had the year of thirteen months, who were yellow in complexion and known as the *Hus* and *Shus* in Mesopotamia, settled in the delta of the Indus, and gave rise to the names Sindhu, Suvarṇa, Karna-suvara and Saurāshṭra. He identifies these with the *Sabari* of Ptolemy, the *Suari* of Pliny, and the Sauvīras of Baudhāyana. "They were the great Sumerian and Vaiśya traders of Western Asia and India (if not China), the progenitors of the modern Saukārs. Their capital was Patala (Haidarabad in Sindh), then a seaport, though now 150 miles from the sea. They gave to the river its name Sindhu or Hindhu, which has come to designate the whole of India and its inhabitants. They are referred to as Yonas by Aśōka and as Yavanas in the Mahābhārata." (*Mysore Gazr.*, I, pp. 209-10).

THE TODAS

It is believed that the Todas (or Tudas) who now occupy the Nilgiris are the representatives of the primæval tribes which had once occupied Mysore. They speak, according to this school, a type of old Kanarese, to some extent modified

by their present environment. Dr. Pope* compares the sounds of their speech to old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind, and he suggests that they were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country, though he places them at the rather late date of about 800 years ago. The Todas, again, have the buffalo for their sacred animal, and this is intimately connected with Mysore. "It might even be supposed that the legend of the conquest of Mahishāsura by Chāmuṇḍi is based on an historical fact,—a victory gained over the minotaur ruler of the Mahisha-maṇḍala, or buffalo kingdom, by adherents of one of the Śaktis of Śiva, in consequence of which the Tudas and other tribes were driven to take refuge in the mountains, but that its frequent occurrence as a subject of sculpture in other parts seems to indicate that the triumph was an event of wider and more national importance" (Rice)†. Rice, it may be pointed out, identifies the Māhishmati which figures in the legends of Sagara§ with Mysore, and suggests that the native race, compelled by that conqueror to have their heads shaved as a mark of subjection, was the Toda race. He makes this surmise on two grounds. The Todas wear their hair unshorn. They are further acknowledged as lords of the soil by the Kōṭas, Baḍagas and other tribes‡ on the hills who were also later immigrants from Karnāṭa and who have been paying *gudu* or *kutu* (tribute) to the former. The Kanarese origin of the Baḍaga is believed to be indicated by the very meaning of their name, *Baḍaga* being Kanarese for north.

* Outlines of Tuda Grammar, in W. E. Marshall's 'A Phrenologist among the Todas' (1873).

† *Mys. Gazr.* I, p. 211. Marshall linked them with the Turanian race in its very primitive stage. He believes that they were the contemporaries, neighbours, and even ancestors of the historical races of S. W. Asia. He saw "much of the 'blameless Ethiopian' about them: something of the Jew and Chaldean in their appearance." The Dravidian Toda and the Ethiop were, in short, connected.

‡ Thurston and Rangachari, I, pp. 62-124; IV, pp. 3-31.

§ See *ante*, p. 385.

The Kōṭas, says Caldwell*, may be considered as a very old and very rude dialect of the Kanarese which was carried to the Nilgiri Hills by a persecuted low-caste tribe at some very remote period. (*Comp. Gram.*, 2nd Edn., 1875, pp. 555 ff.)

This Kanarese theory is disputed by W. H. R. Rivers, the great authority on this singularly interesting people. He points out that the Todas, according to one account, trace their descent from Rāvaṇa and, according to another, from the Pāṇḍavas, and rejects both these as recent additions to their mythology. He sees a larger resemblance between Toda language and *Tamil* rather than *Kanarese**. "Though the names and customs of the Todas are in many ways unique, or very exceptional, there is a general resemblance between them and those comprised under the general title of Hinduism, and especially with such more popular customs as are described by Mr. Crooke (*Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, London, 1896). The great development of the ritual aspect of religion, the importance of ceremonies connected with birth and death, the sacredness of the milk-giving animal, the nature of the system of kinship, the marriage regulations and many other features bear a general, and in some cases a close, resemblance to institutions found in India generally, or in certain parts of India." (*The Todas*, p. 696). On the social side the resemblances are even closer. "The system of kinship is very similar to that of other parts of Southern India, and, so far as my knowledge goes, to that of India generally. The marriage regulation that the children of brother and sister should marry is found throughout Southern India and probably throughout the Dravidian

* The older theories regarding the Toda origin were very conjectural. Different writers have traced them to the Scythians, the Druids, the Romans, the Jews, and the Aryans of Caucasic origin. De Quatrefages (in his *Histoire generale des Races Humanies*, Paris, 1889, Introdn., p. 469) grouped the Todas with the Ainas of Northern Japan. Keane agreed with him and connected both with the Caucasic races of Asia. See his *Ethnology*, (1896), p. 418. Daniker took them to be 'Indo-Afghans' with an Assyroid admixture. The Toda bibliography is fully given in Rivers' *The Todas*, (1906, pp. 731-3).

population of India. The practice of polyandry probably exists scattered here and there throughout India, and has undoubtedly existed in recent times in Malabar. The practice of the *Mokhthodźti* union between man and woman has also close analogies in Malabar." On the religious side, the development of the dairy ritual is unique among the Todas, but there is general resemblance between their customs connected with birth and death and those of other people of India, though with singularly interesting variations. The funeral ceremonies, again, show the largest number of resemblances. The slaughter of animals at funerals, the breaking of pot, the retirement of the kindred with averted faces from the place where the corpse is left, are common features. Dr. Rivers goes on to point out that, while the Todas can be compared to the rest of the Indian population in these respects, they resemble the peoples of Malabar—the Nambūdris and Nāyars—even in details. He cites the examples of polyandry (particularly fraternal polyandry), the sanction of marital alliances between different castes, the custom of giving cloth as the essential marriage ceremony, the laying of a cloth on the body of a deceased, the belief in the necessity to go through certain ceremonies after death in case they are not performed during life, the custom of *puḷikuḍi* (drinking tamarind juice) by women in certain conditions, show special connection between the Todas and the two chief communities of Malabar. With regard to language he observes: "I think there is little doubt that the Toda language is much more nearly allied to Tamil than to Canarese, and believe that the contrary opinion of Dr. Pope was due to the inclusion in his material of many words borrowed by the Todas from their Canarese-speaking neighbours, the Badagas. Malayalam is closely allied to Tamil, differing from it chiefly in its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and in the large number of Sanscrit derivatives, and I should like to make the suggestion, for the consideration of Dravidian Philologists, that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives." He adds: "The Todas claim that their diviners,

who, when in their frenzy are believed to be inspired by the Gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the Gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the Gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened." (*The Todas*, p. 705). The Toda belief that the dead travel towards the west, the use of the tall pole (*todri*) got from Malabar in the Toda funeral ceremonies, the isolated settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad on the way to Malabar, are, in Rivers' opinion, other evidences to show the link with Malabar. He notes the alternative views connecting the Todas with Mysore and Coorg, but he believes that, though there are some points in favour of these, the connection with Malabar is more strongly evidenced. The Coorg theory is more plausible than the Mysore theory, but the former perhaps, he believes, goes only to strengthen the Malabar theory. The anthropological data, again, in his opinion go to indicate the same. He gives a comparative table, containing, with other things, these data:

	Toda (25 or 82).	186 Nairs.	25 Nambudris.
Stature ...	169·8	165·6	162·3
Cephalic index ...	73·3	73·1	76·3
Nasai index ...	76·6	76·8	75·5

Rivers infers from these that there must have been a racial affinity between the Todas and the two castes of Malabar. The former differ from the latter in respect of hairiness, their robust physique and general bearing; but this is explained on the grounds of different physical environment and the separation of the branch from the main stem in very early times. Rivers suggests that there might have been some Christian and Jewish influences if

the migration had taken place later than the settlement of these in Malabar.

Dr. Rivers sees in the archæological finds of the Nilgiri hills described by Breeks* evidences of the Malabar connection. The cairns and barrows in the Nilgiris have indeed the Toda buffalo figurines; but they have other things utterly unlike anything now possessed by the Todas. They include different kinds of pottery with lids adorned with the figures of animals; animals like the horse, sheep, camel, elephant, the low-country humped bull and possibly the leopard and the pig. They have also revealed metal works in the form of bronze vases, basins and saucers; iron razors, styles, daggers and spearheads, chisels, knives, etc. Above all they have revealed agricultural implements like the spear and the sickle, and the figures of women with the top-knot and chatty headload characteristic of the plains and differing from the curly-haired Toda women. All these characteristics of the low country go to indicate the Toda indebtedness to their original home. They also, suggests Rivers, indicate their degeneracy from the original culture in consequence of their isolated environment. The religious cult of the Nilgiri finds was much higher than that of the modern Toda; and Dr. Rivers sees in it the evidence of cultural degeneration on account of long isolation. This alone can explain why the monuments reveal so many things not familiar to the modern Toda. The monuments are not even held sacred—so radical has been the difference between the original settlers and the later descendants. They seem to have lost the old art of pottery, the old aesthetic taste, and the old dependence on self-effort,—they now depend on the Baḍagas, Kōṭas, etc., for these. Even the bow and arrow is remembered only on certain ceremonial occasions and has gone out of daily use,—a circumstance due to the absence of enemies in their hill.

"If we reject the view that the Todas are representatives of one or more of the castes of Malabar whose institu-

* 'An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris,' 1873. The finds are now in the Madras Museum.

tions have in some ways degenerated during a long period of isolation, the most likely alternative view is that the Todas are one of the hill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher culture than the rest in the very favourable environment provided by the Nilgiri plateau. I have already referred to the resemblance between certain Toda customs and those of one such tribe, the Hill Arrians, who live in the hills in Travancore and on the Travancore-Cochin boundary. These people are fair, about five feet six inches in height, and frequently have aquiline noses. They inherit in the male line, and have an early marriage ceremony, followed by another in which clothes are presented to the bridegroom. After child-birth the woman lives in a shed for sixteen days. They bury their dead, the earth being dug with the ceremony to which I have already alluded, and though we are not told that a cloth is laid on the corpse at the funeral ceremonies, Fawcett records the fact that a cloth is placed on the grave. There are thus general points of resemblance between their customs and those of the Todas, and this resemblance extends in some measure to the physical appearance and suggests not only that they and the Todas have been influenced by the same culture, but even that they are people of the same race. We are here, however, plunged almost entirely in the region of conjecture, and we must wait for further information before we consider whether such tribes as the Hill Arrians are representatives of the same race as the Todas, both having been driven from the plains of Malabar into their mountain fortresses, or whether the Todas and Arrians are two hill tribes of similar descent who have each been influenced by Malabar, of whom the Todas have advanced more in culture, owing to their exceptionally favourable environment on the Nilgiri plateau." (*The Todas*, pp. 716-7).

It can be seen from what has been said above that it is difficult to say whether the Todas were remnants of the ancient Dravidians or not. Their physical characteristics defy such a classification, but their culture seems to prove

the contrary. They must have been an earlier type of the Mediterranean race who, after being subject to troubles from their neighbours, emigrated to the Nilgiris. The Baḍagas and Koṭas joined them much later and acknowledged their supremacy and rendered various services to them. In their isolated life they developed those peculiar institutions for which they are so well-known.

THE HALE PAIKAS.

It is believed that the community known as the Hale Paika or Paiki of the Nagar Malnad, who have some customs like those of the Todas, were another closely connected aboriginal tribe of Mysore. Their name is derived from *hale* and *pāyika*, meaning *old foot*, from the fact that they furnished foot-soldiers to former rulers; but Rice would trace the name to *hale-pāyaka*, meaning *old drinker*, and observes that the occupation of toddy-drawing may have suggested that name. "And if the peculiarity which Colonel Marshall has remarked in the Todas, that they always keep step in walking—said to be very unusual even among trained Sepoys when off duty—be common to the *hale-paika*, it may have suggested the other." It is also surmised that, from the locality which they chiefly inhabit, they may be portions of the so-called monkey army which assisted Rāma in his expedition against Ceylon. A tribe corresponding to the Hale Paika of Malnad is the Kumāra Paika, or the Junior Foot, on the coast north of Honavar. Similar militant tribes of aboriginal character of the name of *Paik* are found in Vizagapatam and in Orissa, in the latter of which they call themselves sons of the squirrels. The principal occupation of the Hale Paikas is the extraction of toddy from the Bhagni palm (*Caryota eurens*) as well as the cultivation of rice and rearing of woods containing pepper. They are also good sportsmen known in the Tuluva country as the *Bilvar* or bowmen, and elsewhere as Devara Makkalu, god's children, and they are also the *mande* and *grama patels*. From the fact that *paiki* is the name of the highest clan of the Todas and known by the

* *Gram. Drav. Lang.*, Intro., p. 37.

name of god's children and that the Toda *mand* corresponds with the *Hale Paika Mand*, it has been inferred that they must have been connected with each other. It may therefore be taken with Grigg that the Todas were 'a race of drovers of semi-amphibious buffaloes" who "gradually pushed forward its herds through the rich moist flats of Wainad to the grassy downs of the Nilgiris"

THE KURUBAS.

Another aboriginal community in Mysore is the Kuruba of the south-western forests. "The Kurubas, or Kurumbas, as they are there called," says Rice, "extend to the Nilgiri hills, where the Badagas, who attribute to them great powers of sorcery, always at the time of ploughing employ a Kuruba to turn the first furrow, which may be emblematic of an ancient ownership in the soil, and a sort of acknowledgment that the Kuruba permits it to be cultivated. It is significant too that the Kurubas do not pay *gudu* or tribute to the Todas as the other tribes do" The forest habitation, the occupation of the collection of honey and bees' wax, the living in *hadis* or clusters of huts, the maintenance of separate dormitories for the unmarried males and females, the taboo of strangers, the remarkable skill in tracking wild animals, and the worship of sylvan deities indicate their primitive character. The Kurumbas of Wainad and Coorg are a typical people of woods and hills, who have emerged from their wild homes into civilised regions only during recent years. Short in stature, with a platyrrhine nose, scanty-bearded, with small narrow eyes and with matted straight hair, they seem to be pre-Dravidian in origin. Living in bamboo huts on the slopes of hills after the clearing of the woods, they group themselves in *padis* or villages of ten or fifteen families, headed by a headman who enquires into offences, officiates as priest, and conducts the worship of God Masti who is generally a small figure in wood or stone stored away in a basket in the hut. The Kurumba lives by collecting *tēn* (honey) corrupted in Kanarese, the language spoken by them, into *Jan*. They have the flesh of wild animals for their food. They know

the art of cooking, and do this in the verandah of the hut by suspending a triangular bamboo frame-work from the roof and placing on it the meat or other things to be cooked by a slow fire. The meat is preserved on strings and dried and stored in pots. The hunting is done not with bows and arrows but with specially trained dogs. These spot the game, and the latter is then maimed with stout sticks and killed with a bill-hook, the Kurumba weapon. Marriages are contracted by the mutual arrangements of lovers or the consent of parents, and often follow elopements. The system of polygamy is prevalent. The marriage tie is very loose as separation takes place when a man brings another girl to the hut. It is then settled by the elders, the daughters going with the mother and the sons with the father. Polyandry does not prevail. The Forest Department has brought them to settled cultivation in many cases, and they are largely employed in plantations and forests and as elephant mahouts.

The Kuṟumbas are found in other parts of the peninsula—in Malabar, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Bellary, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and the Pudukkōṭṭa State, though as a compact body they are found only in the Nilgiris. The Kuṟumba-bhūmi is the country down the sea-coast from the Pennar to the Pālār and had twenty-four forts in historical times. This extensive habitat seems to show that the Kuṟumbas are the descendants of a tribe which spread over a considerable area of the Kanarese, Tamil and Telugu regions.

The ethnology of the Kuṟumbas and Kurabas is a perplexing problem. Some scholars like Grigg, Ritcher and Rice seem to distinguish them from each other. But Dr. Oppert believed that there was no difference whatever between them. "However separated from each other, and scattered among the Dravidian clans with whom they have dwelt, and however distant from one another they still live," he says, "there is hardly a province in the whole of Bharatavarsha which cannot produce, if not some living remnants of this race, at least some remains of past times which

prove their presence. Indeed, the Kurumbas must be regarded as very old inhabitants of this land, who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil. The terms Kuruba and Kurumba are originally identical, though the one form is, in different places, employed for the other, and has thus occasionally assumed a special local meaning, Mr. H. B. Grigg appears to contradict himself when, while speaking of the Kurumbas, he says that 'in the low country they are called Kurubas or Curubaru and are divided into such families as *Ane* or elephant, *Nāya* or dog, *Malē* or hill Kurumbas.' Such a distinction between mountain Kurumbas and plain Kurumbas cannot be established. The Rev. G. Ritcher will find it difficult to prove that the Kurubas of Mysore are only called so as shepherds, and that no connection exists between these Kurubas and the Kurumbas. Mr. Lewis Rice calls the wild tribes as well as the shepherds Kurubas, but seems to overlook the fact that both terms are identical, and refer to only the ethnological distinction."

Thurston on the contrary notes a radical difference between the hill and plain Kurumbas. He records the results of anthropometric observations on the jungle Kurumbas of the Nilgiris, the domesticated Kurubas of Mysore and Bellary, and the jungle Paṇiyans of Malabar and the Kāḍirs of the Ānaimalais in this table:

Tribes	Stature Average	Nasal Index Average	Nasal Index Maximum
	Cm.		
Kurubas, Bellary ...	162·7	74·9	92
Kurubas, Mysore ...	163·9	73·2	86
Kurumbas, Nilgiris ...	157·5	88·8	111
Paniyans ...	157·4	95·1	108
Kāḍirs ...	151·7	89	115

He infers from this that there is a " closer affinity between the three dark-skinned, short, platyrrhine jungle tribes, than between the jungle Kurumbas and the lighter-

skinned, taller, and more leptorhine Kurubas. (*Castes and Tribes*, IV, p. 159). Elsewhere he connects the hill Kuṟumbas of the north with the Kāḍirs, Paṇiyans and Malavēḍas of the south rather than with the domesticated Kurubas of the north. It is worth while to reproduce the following table also from his *Castes and Tribes* (IV. p. 138) :—

Tribes	Stature Average	Stature maximum	Stature Minimum	Nasal Index Average	Nasal Index Maximum	Nasal Index Minimum
	cm.	cm.	cm.			
Kurubas, Mysore ...	163·9	176·4	155	73·2	85·9	62·3
Kurubas, Bellary ...	162·7	175·4	153·4	74·9	92·2	63·3
Kurumbas, Nilgiris ...	167 5	163·6	149·6	88·8	111·1	79·1
Kadirs ...	157·7	169·4	148·6	89·8	115·4	72·9
Mala Vedars ...	154·2	163·8	140·8	84·9	102·6	71·1

Thurston infers from the above table that a " wide gap which separates the domesticated Kurubas of the Mysore Province and the adjacent Bellary district from the conspicuously platyrrhine and short-statured Kurumbas and other jungle tribes, stands out prominently before any one who is accustomed to deal on a large scale with bodies and poses. And I confess that I like to regard the Kurumbas, Mala Vēḍars, Kāḍirs, Paṇiyans, and other allied tribes of short stature with broad noses as the most archaic existing inhabitants of the south of the Indian peninsula, and as having dwelt in the jungles, unclothed, and living on roots, long before the seventh century."

In spite of the high authority of Thurston it seems to be plausible to hold that the Kurubas, the plain Kuṟumbas, and the hill Kuṟumbas of the Kanarese and adjoining Tamil areas are the descendants of a single race who came, on account of different environments, to have different degrees of culture. It should be remembered that some of the later dynasties of South India like the Pallavas are traced by tradition to the domesticated Kuṟumbas. Though it is not possible to endorse the theory held by some

that the modern hill Kuṟumbas are representatives of the Pallava clans who fled to the hills after their overthrow by the Chōḷas, there seems to be sufficient plausibility in what the author of the Census Report of 1901 says about the lack of *satisfactory* evidences in favour of the ethnic differentiation of the Kuṟumbas and Kurubas. "I have no new information," he says, "which will clearly decide the matter, but the fact seems to be that Kuṟumban is the Tamil form of the Telugu or Canarese Kuruba, and that the two terms are applied to the same caste according to the language in which it is referred to. There was no confusion in the abstraction offices between the two names, and it will be seen that Kuruba is returned where Canarese and Telugu are spoken, and Kurumban where the Vernacular is Tamil. There are two sharply-defined bodies of Kurumbans,—those who live on the Nilgiri plateau, speak the Kuruba dialect, and are wild jungle-men; and those who live on the plains, speak Canarese, and are civilized." The place of the Kuṟumbas in the industrial history of the country is referred to in the second part of this treatise; but it may be mentioned here that they were probably the earliest discoverers of the weaving of coarse blankets from sheep's wool. Several curious customs indicate this.

THE IRULAS

Another representative community of pre-historic times in Mysore and the adjoining regions is the Iruḷa or Iruḷiga. More primitive than even the Kuṟumbas, the Iruḷas speak a rude form of Tamil. Their villages consist of a few huts made of split bamboo plastered with mud and built round a square. *Ragi* and *Tinai* are their chief products of cultivation, and they also barter the forest produce of wood, honey, and bees' wax. They eat only with the Baḍagas, and their temples are only circles of rough stones each enclosing an upright one, and with iron tridents fixed to the ground. "The neighbours below the ghats declare that they possess the power of taming tigers, and the Irula women, when they go into the woods, leave their children to the care of a tiger." (*Madras Manual*, III, p. 373). From the fact that

they are found in the Nilgiris, North Arcot, Chingleput, Salem and Coimbatore, and from their peculiar connections with the Baḍagas, in which respect they resemble the Kuṟumbas, it is obvious that, like the latter, they played a very important part in the early ethnological history of the country. The well-known fact that some of the Iruḷas are so dark that charocal itself would leave a white mark is a proof of their sojourn in the hot regions from the earliest times. The nomadic feature of some of their families, the dependance of those not engaged in cultivation on yam, the bargain in the forest products like myrabolans, bees' wax, honey, *vembadam* bark, *āvāram* bark, deer's horns, tamarind, gum, soapnuts, and *sheekoy*, the taboo of the animals of forests in food, and the absence of marriage contracts, show their primitivity. Their scanty dress, their rat-catching occupation, their feasting on winged white ants, their reputation to cure the poisons of snakes and rats and insects, their low palmyra huts and scanty domestic utensils and pottery, indicate the same. In many respects they resemble the Yānāḍis of Malabar, though they hate them. The following table of anthropological data can be constructed to show the kinship of the Iruḷas with other hill tribes.

Tribes	Stature average	Nasal index average	Nasal index maximum	Nasal Index minimum
Sholagas ...	159·3	85·1	107·7	72·8
Uralis ...	159·5	80·1	97·7	65·3
Kanikars, domesticated ...	,,	81·2	90·5	70·8
Kanikars, jungle ...	,,	84·6	105	72·3
Irulas, Nilgiris ...	159·8	84·9	100	72·3
Irulas, Chingleput ...	159·9	80·3	90·5	70
Irulas. jungle ...	,,	84·9	100	72·3
Irulas, domesticated.	,,	80·3	90·5	70

It is clear from the above table, in which a comparison is made between the Sholagas, Iruḷas, Ūrālis, and Kānikars

of the hills and plains, that "while all the four tribes are of short and uniform starure, the nasal index, both as regards average, maximum and minimum, is higher in the Sholagas and Iruḷas of the Nilgiri jungles than in the more domesticated Iruḷas of Chingleput and Ūrālis. In brief, the two former, who have mingled less with the outside world, retain the archaic type of platyrrhine nose to a greater extent than the two latter." The reduction of platyrrhiny, as the result of civilization and emergence from the jungle to the vicinity of towns, is clear from the "figures relating to the two classes of Iruḷas, and the Kānikars of Travancore, who still live a jungle life, and those who have removed to the outskirts of a populous town." (Thurston, II. pp. 386-387). The Iruḷas of Chingleput, North and South Arcot, who are also known as Villiyas or bowmen, show their primitivity in having had no dress till recent times, in their having skin and leaf coverings even in the present day, their preference of roots, fruits and honey to cooked rice in dietary, their paddy-husking and rat-catching occupations, their thievish habits, and their reputation for curing snake poison and the effects of the bites of rats and insects. As compared with the Nilgiri branch, they are more civilised in their marriage notions and they seem to indicate a change even in physiognomy; but these variations are easily explicable. In any case it is obvious that they are a people with platyrrhine nose (with an index of above 85) and an average stature of 159·8 c.m. Their singular dance festivals, their love of ornamentation in the form of wreaths of plaited straw, their cultivation of some ancient grains and trees, their part in the agricultural festivals of the Badagas, their profit in forest products, their ignorance of marriage contracts, and that quaint burial custom which includes construction of cromlechs, go to make this community one of the most primitive in the land; and there can hardly be a doubt that they represent an aboriginal race which refused to be subdued by the Āryan civilization and obstinately clung to its semi-barbarous customs throughout the course of the centuries of history.

OTHER COMMUNITIES.

It is unnecessary to go into the position of other primitive communities in Mysore. It is enough to say that, besides the hill tribes, there are a number of semi-civilised communities of the plains which can be traced to early times. The Lambānis (or Lambādis, Sukālis and Brinjāris), famous for their gipsy life and trade in bullocks, were probably immigrants from the north as their Hindi-Mahratti dialect indicates; but the Korachas and Koramas who wander about with droves of cattle and asses, conveying salt and grain from one market to another, seem to have been a gipsy race of Tamil-Telugu origin. A number of communities who supply the menials in villages like the Agasas (washermen), Gollas (cowherds), Gānigas (oil-pressers), Kumbāras (potters), Uppāras (salt-makers), Bestas (fishermen, boatmen, and palanquin-bearers), Īḍigas (toddy-drawers), the Holayas and Mādigas (out-castes), and other unclean castes are descended from the aborigines or their mixtures with more civilised communities in different degrees. Similarly, the vagrant artisans and performers like the earth-digging Woddas, the mat-making and basket-making Mēḍas, the acrobatic Dombas and Jeṭṭis, the snake-charming Garaḍigas, are other examples of primitive communities. The Dombas are sometimes traced to an aboriginal tribe of North India called the Doms. The Holayas are even now slaves of the soil, and the Mādigas are scavengers and workers in leather. It is from these communities that the unapproachables have been derived.

THE TAMIL LAND.

Further south, the land forming the area of the Tamil and Malayāḷam tongues was colonised by the Āryans under the lead of pioneers the greatest of whom were the Agastyas. As the patron saint of the Āryan civilisation in the south, Agastya is the centre of numerous legends, and he is believed to have his permanent abode in the Podiyil

hills in the extreme south even to-day. The Tamil language itself has been ascribed to his learning it from Śiva, and he is regarded as the father of its grammar and its vocabulary. Agastya also introduced the Āryan polity, and adapted the Āryan worship of Śiva to the South Indian environment.

As in the further north, the pre-Dravidians* generally took refuge in the mountains and forests, while the Dravidians were subdued and Āryanised. The higher ranks of the latter became the agriculturists, merchants, and rulers of petty States under the lordship of the Āryans, and swelled the different ranks of the social order; but most of the lower ranks and such of the pre-Dravidians as settled in the plains became the so-called depressed classes or the Panchamas.

The hill-tribes of the Tamil land who may be regarded as the descendants of the pre-Dravidian aborigines have been to a certain extent already described on account of their ethnical connection with similar peoples further north. They include the Irulas of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot; the Kurumbas who have been already dealt with; the Kāḍirs of Wynaad, Nilgiris and Malabar; the Kāṇikars of South Travancore; the Mala Vāḍans of the same State; the Chenchus of the Kurnool and Nellore districts; the

* A number of publications have recently appeared on the ethnology and anthropology of Pre-Historic India. They necessitate a re-statement of the views expressed in my *Pre-Historic India*, which I hope to do in the second edition of the work which is under preparation. The most valuable references are: *The Census of India*, Report, Vol. I, Part I, by Dr. J. H. Hutton, published in 1933; *Ibid*, Part III, Ethnographical, containing (*a*) the *Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India*, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Anthropologist, Zoological Survey of India, and (*b*) *Ethnographic Notes by various Authors*, edited by Dr. Hutton, published in 1935; the *Mysore Tribes and Castes* (Vols. I—III, 1928-33), edited by Mr. L. K. Anantakrishna Aiyar; the Introduction to Vol. I of the last, by Dr. Baron von Eickstedt, Professor of Anthropology and Ethnology in the University of Breslau and Director of the Anthropological and Ethnological Institutes of the same place, whose numerous contributions on ethnological subjects in the *Man in India* and Continental journals (which are unfortunately not easily available to students of Indian history) are listed in pp. 77-79 of the Intro-

Urāḷis of Coimbatore who are closely connected with the Shōlagas who live near them; the Eravallas of Coimbatore, Malabar and Cochin who have some very interesting customs; the Palians of Madura and Tinnevelly; the Pulayas of Malabar who are associated in a somewhat inferior position to the Cherumans; the Malaśars of Coimbatore and Cochin; and the Paniyans of Wynaad, Malabar and Nilgiris. The anthropological features of these can be seen from this table which has been constructed from the data given by Thurston and others.

Tribe	Cephalic Index in cm.			Stature in cm.			Nasal Index.		
	Max.	Min.	Aver.	Max.	Min.	Aver	Max.	Min.	Aver.
Chenchus ...	80·5	64·3	74·3	175	149·6	162·5	95·7	68·1	81·9
Urāḷis ...	81·9	69·8	74·6	171·6	147·8	159·5	97·7	66·7	80·1
Shōḷagas ...	79·3	67·8	74·9	170·4	151·2	159·3	107·7	72·8	85·1
Malaśars ... (Hill and plain)	80	70	74·5	170·5	152·8	161·2	102·4	75·4	87·2
Paniyans ...	...	...	...	171·6	152	157·4	108·6	72·9	95·1
Irulas ...	80·9	70·8	75·8	168	152	159·8	100	72·3	84·9
Kurumbas ...	83·3	71·8	76·4	167	149·6	158	111·1	70·8	86·1
Kāḍirs ...	80	69	72·9	169·4	148·6	157·7	115·4	72·9	89·8
Kānikar ...	78·9	69·1	73·4	170·3	150·2	155·2	105	72·3	84·6
Mala Vēḍars...	80·9	68·8	73·4	163·8	140·8	154·2	102·6	71·1	85·0
Pulayas ... (Hill and plain)	83	76·3	72·3	158·4	143·1	150·5	100·7	70·8	82·9

It will be seen that they are all dolico-cephalic, short-statured, and broad-nosed. They are also dark in complexion,

duction; N. K. Pillai's Travancore Census Report (Vol. 28 of *Census of India*), Travandram, 1932, where Mr. L K.. A. Aiyar contributes a chapter on the primitive tribes of the State. The writings of several European scholars like Forbenius (author of the *Indische Reise*, Berlin, 1931), H. Goetz (author of the *Epochen der indischen Kultur*, Leipzig, 1929), O. Menghin (Wien) and P. W. Schmidt (Heidelberg), are indispensable; but those ignorant of the foreign languages have to be satisfied with meagre reviews or short notices in English journals. Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (3 Vols, 1931) is, of course, an indispensable volume. All these references can be regarded as supplementary to those given in my *Pre-Historic India*,

thick-lipped, and curly-haired. Some of them live both in the hills and plains and then show variation as the result of mixture with the plain communities; but when genuine and unaffected by others they show their individuality in an unmistakable manner. The genuine Chenchus, for example, "still exhibit the primitive short stature and high nasal index, which are characteristic of other jungle tribes such as the Kādirs, Paniyans and Kurumbas. But there is a very conspicuous want of uniformity in their physical characters and many individuals are to be met with, above middle height or tall, with long narrow noses" (Thurston, II, p. 43), on account of intermixture with other communities. Thurston shows the dolicocephalic head persisting among them, as among other jungle tribes, in contrast to the mesaticephalic head of the dwellers in the plains, from this comparative table:—

Tribes	Cephalic Index	No. of cases in which index exceeded 80
40 Chenchus ...	74·3	1
60 Gollas ...	77·5	9
50 Boyas ...	77·9	14
39 Tota Balijas ...	78	10
49 Motāti Kāpus ...	78	16
19 Upparas ...	78·8	4
16 Mangalas ...	78·8	7
17 Yerukulas ...	78·6	6
12 Mēdaras ...	80·7	8

The Urālis* show the same variety. Some of them have settled in Madura and Tinnevelly as agricultural labourers.

* See Census Rep., 1931, Pt. I, p. 442 for the theory that the Urālis, Kadirs, etc., are Negritos and the opposite theory denying it. Preuss, Keane, Sergi, Haddon and Guha are for it, but Buxton and Eickstedt deny it. The contribution of the Negrito, Proto-Australoid, the Melanid and the Indonesian, the Armenoid, the Alpine, the Mediterranean, and Mongoloid races has been dwelt on in larger details by writers like Hutton and Guha. Of these, "The early culture of the Mediterraneans and Armenoids in India may perhaps be most conveniently described as pre-Vēdic Hinduism." (Hutton, Cens. Rep., I, p. 457).

In Trichinopoly, on the other hand, they show the primitive love for the chase. Those of Travancore possess all the characteristic occupations of hill-tribes, with many singular features of primitivity. Those of Coimbatore show affinities with the Shōlagas and other tribes of the Mysore border. Similarly, the Malasars, who are found from Coimbatore to Cochin, are found in the three grades of hill-men, the dwellers on slopes, and the dwellers on the plains; and the last have adopted some customs of the cultural classes like the celebration of the Kāma mystery play. The Paliyans of Madura and Tinnevelly are a very abject specimen of nomadic humanity who are good trackers, who speak Tamil with a peculiar intonation, and who have been made prœdial slaves by the Kunnavans and others. They have only 150·9 cm. for their stature; and they are dolicocephalic and broad-nosed (the nasal index rising to 100 at times), thick-lipped and curly-haired. The Paniyans are believed to indicate African affinities. "A common belief based on their general appearance, prevails among the European planting community that the Paniyans are of African origin, and descended from ancestors who were wrecked on the Malabar coast. This theory, however, breaks down on investigation. Of their origin nothing definite is known. The Nāyar Janmis (land-lords) say that, when surprised in the act of some mischief or alarmed, the Paniyan calls out *Ippi, Ippi*, as he runs away, and they believe this to have been the name of the country whence they came originally; but they are ignorant as to where Ippimala, as they call it, is situated. Kapiri (Africa or the Cape?) is also sometimes suggested as their original habitat, but only by those who have had the remarks of Europeans communicated to them. The Paniyan himself, though he occasionally puts forward one or other of the above places as the home of his forefathers, has no fixed tradition bearing on their arrival in Malabar, beyond one to the effect

Guha's volume is a forest of anthropometric figures, but he ignores cultural anthropology altogether, and his conclusions based solely on Somatic grounds are deceptive in regard to the play of the different communities on culture.

that they were brought from a far country, where they were found living, by a Rājā, who captured them and carried them off in such a miserable condition that a man and his wife only possessed one cloth between them, and were so timid that it was only by means of hunting nets that they were captured" (Thurston, VI, pp. 57-8). The Kaniyans who retain still many customs of forest life have an average height of 167·4 cm. and a nasal index of 95, occasionally rising to 108·6 Further, "The average distance from the tip of the middle finger to the top of the patella was 4·6 cm. relative to stature = 100, which approximates very closely to the recorded results of measurement of long-limbed African Negroes." (*Ibid*, p. 71). The Iruḷas of Nilgiris who have an average stature of 159·8 cm. and a nasal index of 85, reaching occasionally 100, are taller and less broad-nosed when domiciled in the plains, as in Chingleput, North and South Arcot. The latter have 159·9 cm. for their stature average and 80·3 only for their nasal index average, the maximum going only to 90·5. "The reduction of platyrhiny, as the result of civilization and emergence from the jungle to the vicinity of towns," is clearly brought out by the figures relating to the two classes of Iruḷas, and the Kāṇikars of Travancore, given in p. 518. The same thing is proved in the case of the hill Kurumbas and the plain Kurubas by the figures given in p. 516. The Kādirs who have been described as the best examples of primitively happy tribes are shorter, more platyrhine and more dolicocephalic than the Iruḷas and possess some of the most interesting customs of aboriginal life. They indicate in their modes of tree-climbing and in their use of bamboo combs resemblances to the Dyaks of Borneo and the 'Negritos' of Malacca, and afford a proof of the cultural touch of India with the further east. The Kāṇikars of South Travancore who, till recently, were so afraid of cultured people as to send their women into the seclusion of the jungles at their sight, are now more domesticated. "The primitive short, dark-skinned and platyrhine type, though surviving, has become changed as the result of contact metamorphosis, and many leptorhine or mesorhine individuals above middle height are to be met

with." The influence of civilization on anthropometry is obvious from this table :—

Kānikars	Stature			Nasal Index		
	Aver.	Max.	Min.	Aver.	Max.	Min.
Jungle ...	155·2	170·3	150·2	84·6	105	72·3
Domesticated ...	158·7	170·4	148	81·2	90·5	70·8

With regard to the Mala Vēdans whose anthropometrical measurements have been given in p. 516 it is obvious that they are, like the other jungle tribes of South India, short-statured, dolicocephalic and platyrhine. The Pulayans* of Cochin and South Malabar, called *Thanda* from their females' wearing dress made of *thanda* leaves, show in their slavery, their marriage customs, their theories of magic and disease, their worship of devils and demons, their non-approachability, and their anthropological features, an interesting survival of the pre-Dravidians though in several respects—traditions and customs—they show the influence of environment on them. The Pulayas of South Malabar, who form a section of the Cherumas and are mainly agrestic serfs, have got an average stature of 157·5 cm. for males and 147·8 for females, an average nasal index of 78·1 and 77, and an average cephalic index of 73·9 and 74·8.

It is unnecessary to refer in detail to the other tribes of the south. Beginning from the northernmost parts of the Dravidian area and proceeding southward, we find the Rona and Paroja hill-cultivators of Ganjam ; the curious Mattiyas

* They are the most numerous of the Cochin aboriginals and number 82000 out of the total 125000 (in round numbers). The Kanakkans come next (13000); then the Śambavans and Veṭṭuvans, about 11000 each. The Kādirs number only 267. The chief authority for the Cochin tribes and castes is in Mr. (now Diwan Bahadur) L. K. Anantakrishna Aiyar's volume (1909), together with the valuable introduction by A. H. Keane.

of Vizagapatam; the Yanādis of Nellore; the *Mavila* hunters and herbalists of the Tulu country; the Malakkars of Calicut and Ernād hills; the Ernādans with a maximum stature of 156·6 cm., a cephalic index of 81 and a nasal index rising at times to 108·8; the devil-exorcising Malayans of North Malabar who have given up their original [illegible] abodes and so "have by no means the dark complexion, debased physiognomy characteristic of the classes which still occupy that position;" the Mannāns of Travancore who build the best huts among the hill-men and who are reputed for their knowledge of medicine; the Mūduvars or Mūdugars who are found as hill-cultivators and hunters in Coimbatore, Madura, Malabar and Travancore, who speak a dialect closely allied to Tamil (with an admixture of Malayālam words) and who, on account of racial mixture, contain aquiline-nosed and thin-lipped men side by side with the flat-nosed, wide-nostrilled, thick-lipped section consisting mainly of women; and the Nāyādis who live in isolated hills and eke out their livelihood by the chase and who have an average height of 155 cm. and a nasal index of 86; the Hill Pantārans; the Vishavans; the Mala Kuravans; and others. All of them indicate the *same* anthropological features with *slight* variations in stature, cephalic index and nasal index caused by variations in climate, environment, food-supply, liability to malaria and other diseases, etc. The Āryan influence over them was indeed not lacking; but this was small, and even less than the influence of the Dravidians; but after allowing for both, they have retained all the main pre-Dravidian features.

It may be pointed out that the pre-Dravidans* have been correlated with the Vedas (Veddahs) of Ceylon who

* In his introduction to the *Mysore Castes and Tribes*, Vol. I, Dr. Baron von Eickstedt has given his own view of the racial history of India. He calls the jungle peoples the *ancient Indians* and puts them under the *Weddid* racial group. He sub-divides this race into (1) the Gondid race and (2) Malid sub-type. Next to this primitive group he places the *Black Indians* or Melanids under the two sections of (1) South Melanids and (2) Northern Kolids. Lastly he

have a cephalic index of 73·7, a nasal index of 79·2 and stature of 156·1 cm. They are a little, coffee-coloured, tangle-haired infantile specimen of humanity with "the smooth, round, child-like face with the steep forehead, the child-like snub-nose with the wide nostrils, the soft, full and bent child-mouth, the small-retreating chin and delicate child-like, somewhat stocky (thickset) body, with small hands and feet." They are given to the occupation of the chase, and living in temporary huts of leaves and boughs which overlook lonely water-holes. From their primitive huts they could observe and shoot game even on moonlit nights with their long bows and steel-tipped arrows. Avoiding the open people and dealings with them, they get the

gives the third group of *Indids* or new Indians consisting of (1) the gracile-brown Indid race and (2) the light-brown North Indid type. Dr. Eickstedt places the Kols, Wynaad Paniyas and Ceylon 'Weddas' in the Weddid or Gondid race; the Pallas and Parayas in the South Melanid group; the Santals in the Kolid North Melanid group. He places the Kurmis of Benares, the Kapus of Vizag, the Tiyas of Malabar in the Gracil-Indid group, and the Sikhs and Todas in the North Indid group. Guha criticises this scheme. He points out that the racial types do not indicate the potency of geographical control which Dr. Eickstedt supposes; that his *Gondid* type is the same as the *Nishada* which Dr. Guha prefers to terms like *pre-Dravidian*, *pre-Australoid* and *Veddoid*; that Dr. Eickstedt's very primitive *Malide* group is really the Nigrito which he denies; that there is no real distinction between the Central Indian *Kolide* type and the non-Negritoid South Indian aborigines; that the two *Indid* types are really the Mediterranean and Proto-Nordic North Indian types; and that Dr. Eickstedt ignores the Armenoid brachycephalic element which is so predominant in Bengal or Western India as far as Kannada and south-western Tamil land. *Census Report*, Vol. I, Part III, p. lxxi. While Dr. Guha blames Dr. Eickstedt he, it seems to me, makes an undue fetish of anthropometric measurements, blaming almost every other anthropologist for inaccuracy. He seems to be obsessed or prepossessed by the theory that the Brāhmans are not quite different from the others. While it cannot be denied that there were intermixtures between the Brāhmans and others it is inconsistent with history to club them uncompromisingly with others. *Cultural* history shows the divergence sufficiently great.

things they want by placing honey and venison to the branch of a tree in a place which can be observed by the plain people. To ignore the demand for barter might bring death from a dangerous missile. The belief in the spirits of the tree, the river, the mountain, and a Supreme Being who must be worshipped in times of bad weather and disease with blood-sacrifices in the midst of the beat of the drums of monkey-skin and bamboo-flutes, indicates their aboriginal character.

While the Āryan contact with the pre-Dravidians of the hills was meagre, the Āryan influence on the pre-Dravidians* who had settled in the plains and who had become Dravidianised was a little more powerfully felt. Such Dravidianised pre-Dravidians became merged among the lowest classes of the Dravidians themselves so that the transition from the one to the other is exceedingly difficult to demarcate. The borderland of the aboriginal and Dravidian contact is too wide to be defined. On the whole, the communities which came in later days to be called depressed or 'unapproachable' can be placed under such a category. The nomadic classes like the Koravas and Yerukalas, and the Telugu-Uriya Oddas who are found everywhere as tank-diggers and manual labourers, and the acrobatic Dommaras can be regarded as belonging to communities in the borderland. The depressed and polluting castes like the Uriya Haddis, the Vizagapatam Dombs (who have been connected with the Bengal Doms and who have a stature of 161·9 cm., cephalic index of 75·6 and nasal index of 86·5), the Telugu Mālas, Mādigas, Khondras and Jaggalis,

* The impression gained from Mr. Guha's contribution to the Census Report is that there is no perceptible difference in Somatic character between the Brāhman and the others; but the conclusions of Keane, Thurston and others are on the whole more consistent with facts. Whatever might have been the earlier race-affinities it is impossible to ignore cultural facts; and the elaborate 'coefficients' which Guha gives only go to show the extraordinary racial mixture in pre-historic India which nobody denies. They do not disprove the individuality of the Vēdic Āryans so far as culture is concerned.

the Kanarese Holeyas, the Mahratti-speaking Samagaras of South Kanara, the Tamil Parayas, Chakkiliyas, Valayans, Vallambans, Vēdas, and Veṭṭuvans, the Vālans of Cochin and similar people who form the 'Panchamas' belong to this ethnological grouping. They form either agrestic serfs or employees in dirty occupations like tanning and leather-work. They retain the broad nose, the short stature, the dark complexion and the curly hair of the pre-Dravidians to a large extent. Their social customs, economic pursuits, superstitions and institutions indicate the same. The Āryans had to recognize them in the social structure of Hinduism, but had to keep them out of danger to their culture by the theory of pollution and other restrictions. The Dravidians were by no means antagonistic to such an arrangement.

Amongst the agrestic serfs of the plains who are on the same level, more or less, are the Kootans of Malabar; the Kudiyas of South Kanara, who, in spite of their having become occasionally light-coloured, mesorhine and even leptorhine on account of intermixture with other races, still show their primitivity by jungle life, residence under rocks or in low huts, shifting from place to place, stature and the institution of the mother-wife; the Kudubas of S. Kanara the Kuravas of Travancore who were till recently bought and sold along with the lands they occupied; the Kuruchiyans of the west coast who still practise punam cultivation with the occupation of the chase; the Pallas or agricultural labourers of the Tamil parts who, like the Uralis of Madura and Tinnevelly, have been connected with the Kurumbas and later Pallavas.

To the lowest classes of the Dravidian society must be assigned the various toddy-drawing communities. They include the Uriya Sondis, the Kanarese Halapaiks, the Malayali Tīyas and Īḷavas who have been connected with Īḷam or Ceylon, the Tamil, Shānāns* who have shown a

* The Tamil Shānāns, the Paravas and Parayas are a little brachycephalic. Hornell attributes this to the Polynesian immigration in pre-Dravidian times which was also responsible for the canoe and the

remarkable enterprise in social elevation, the Telugu Yātas, Gāmundlas or Gamallas, Sēgadis and Iḍigas (who can be plausibly connected with the Īḷavas), the Billavaıs and Pambadas of Kanara. The Shānāns have shown, almost alone amorg these, an obstinate refusal to accept their original status.

To the same category must be assigned the various basket-making communities, like the Telugu Godagulas and Gūdalas; the Koragars of South Kanara who, with their mysterious dialect, rank even below the Holeyas; the widespread Mēdaras who are found throughout the Dravidian world; the Tulu Nalkes and Kanarese Pānāras who are regarded as inferior even by the Koragas; the Malayali Pānans who might be kins with the Kanarese Pānaros, Tamil Pānans and Telugu Panos; and the Velānsof Travancore. All these communities which are engaged in the making of mats, baskets, umbrellas and similar things show a general characteristic in the love of devil-dancing.

The fishing communities form another set of low castes who are not far removed from the unapproachables. They are found throughout South India divided into those who fish in the sea and those who fish in inland waters. The Tulu Billavars; the Kabberas, Karias, Kolis and Mogērs of the Kanarese coast; the Kondras Kevitos and Mīnavāndḷus of Ganjām, the Vādas, Jālāris and Neyyālas of the Telugu parts; the the Mukkuvans of the Malabar coast who rank below the Tiyans; the Paravas of Travancore and south-east coast; the Paṭṭaṇavans or Karaiyāns who abound in the coast from the Kṛishṇa to Tanjore districts; and the S'embadavans who fish in inland waters; the Toreya migrants from the

cocoanut. Guha concedes that the canoe and the cocoanut might be Polynesian, but traces the brachycephaly in the Tamil country to greater contact with the Kanarese as against the Telugus and Malayalis. Guha's theory is in favour of the greater racial kinship between the Malayalis and Telugus on account of the racial drift of a brachycephalic people from the Kanarese country to the Tamil land. The table given by Thurston in pp. lxi—lxxiii of Vol. I of his *Castes and Tribes of S. India* is invaluable for purposes of comparative study.

Kanarese country into Salem,—all these carry on the traditions of a stage of civilization but slightly touched by the Āryan.

Passing on to the Dravidian communities which are above the untouchables and other depressed classes, they from an endless gradation of occupational communities* from the simple and pastoral Gaudos (of Ganjām), the Gollas (of the Telugu parts) and the Iḍayans (of the Tamil land) to the highly advanced Vellāḷas who were practically Āryanised in habits and customs and from amongst whom the Āryanised Dravidian chiefs were recruited. In between these lay the numerous industrial and trading communities some of whom at least connected themselves with the Āryan Vaiśyas, and began to wear the Yagñopavīta, though socially they do not seem to have risen beyond some of the genuine Āryanised Dravidians like the Vellāḷas who did not take to the wearing of the sacred thread. Taking the great farming communities, which have of course stereotyped themselves into castes, we have the Kanarese Vakkaḷigas and Kavuṇḍas or Kāppiliyas; the Telugu Kāpus, Telagas, Reḍḍis, Rāzus and Velamas; the Vellālas and Paḷḷis (who call themselves Agnikula Kshatriyas) of the Tamil land; and others like the Kaḷḷas, Maṟavas and Agamuḍayāns who pass on imperceptibly into the Vellāḷa community by social elevation. The artisan, industrial and trading communities form a complex gradation. The five occupational peoples—the Taṭṭāns (goldsmiths), the Kannāns (bronziers), the Tachchans (carpenters), the Kaltachchans (masons) and the Kollans (blacksmiths) are found universally classified as the *Panchalars* throughout South India. Outside them are the other occupational or trading communities like the oil-millers,—the Telugu Gānigas, the Tamil Vāṇiyas, the Uriya Teḷḷis (from *tila*) and the Malayālam Chakkāns. The potters who are called Kumbaras (from the Sanskrit *Kumbha*), Kummaras, Kuśavans, Odāris,

* Later Tamil literature divided them geographically into the five well-known classes. See *Pre-Historic India*, pp. 137-38.

etc., form another set of occupationists. Among the industrial castes the weavers naturally have played an important part. The Tamil Kaikolans, amongst whom Thurston noted "every gradation of colour and type from leptorhine men with fair skin and chiselled features to men very dark and platyrrhine with nasal index exceeding 90," are apparently a mixed community. The Telugu Padma Sales who are found all over the south, differ from the Devangas of the Telugu-Kanarese area, who have also migrated extensively, in having a smaller cephalic index, both being short; and this is not surprising when we know that there was the mixture of the broad-headed Alpine race in Western India. The Telugu Togatas of Cadapah and the Tamil-speaking Sāliyans of Tanjore are probably local Dravidians who have taken to the weaving occupation. Of great interest are the trading castes. The Telugu Bālijas who have settled also in the Tamil country, the Kōmaṭis who have had a similar history, the Kanarese Khatris or silk-weavers, the Mūttāns of Malabar, the Taragans of the same area, the Nagarattārs of the Tamil country, have a very interesting history. Proud of the Paurāṇic traditions with which they associate themselves, they do not indicate integral relationship with the Āryan Vaiśyas. Interesting problems, again, are suggested by the artistic communities like the Malabar Mārans, and the Tamil-Telugu Mēḷakkārans, and the minor business communities like the Raṅgāri dyers from the Mahratta country, the Perike Bālija salt-carriers from the Telugu parts, and the adaptive Upparas or salt-workers speaking all the local languages.

All these classes or 'castes' claim to be Āryan Vaiśyas or Kshatriyas.* Bu we have got no evidence as to how far the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas who came to the south in the first Āryan migrations have survived. It is quite probable

* See Census Report, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, Report, p. 431, for examples of old castes claiming new ranks and of castes following same professions consolidating themselves. Thus the Ahirs, Goalas, Gopis and Iḍayans and other milkmen of the different parts of the country call themselves Yādavas. The term *Śūdras* has now become repugnant,

that they were submerged in the preponderant Dravidian element; for most of the communities which claim to be Kshatriyas or Vaiśyas and which give Paurāṇic associations to prove the connection have no ethnological or historical support for their contentions, and are culturally Dravidian. Subject to Āryanization in different degrees, they have remained Dravidian in the main. The Arasus of Mysore, the Coorgs, the royal families of Malabar, the communities calling themselves Bhūvaiśyas, Gō-vaiśyas, Śrēshṭhins or Chetṭis, Vaṇiks, etc.,—all these have the Kshatriya or Vaiśya pretensions; but there is no more tangible proof for the claim than the exhibition of considerable Āryan cultural influences side by side with the Dravidian.

Considerably different has been the case of the Brāhmans. They have retained, in spite of occasional mixtures, their original features. It is quite probable that they were in earlier times more exclusive and sacerdotal than in later times, and exactly in the position of the Nambūdris in Malabar except in regard to the claim for the ownership of the soil. They came to be called the Pañcha Drāviḍas in the south in contrast to the Pañcha Gauḍas of the north; but these terms are misnomers and were coined by the speculative Paurāṇic race-theorists. The terms *Drāviḍa* and *Gauḍa* came to be used by the latter in the pure geographical sense, and further applied to the Brāhmans alone in whose activities and fortunes only they were interested.

The nature of the relations between the Brāhmanical emigrants and the Dravidian communities can be best understood from the relation of the Nambūdris* of Malabār

* Mr. Guha connects the Nambūdris anthropometrically with the U. P. Brāhmans, the Rajputs of Central India, the Telugu Brāhman and to some extent with the Brāhman of Malwa. The Nairs closely approach the Nambūdris, he says, on account of the connection between them. The Tamil Brāhmans, according to Thurston, have a maximum cephalic index of 80·4, minimum of 67·8 and average 74·2. The Paṭṭar Brāhman has 81·4, 69·1, and 74·5 respectively. He is therefore a little more brachycephalic. *Cf.* the Mahratta Desastha

with the different communites of that area. The Nan Būdri, says Thurston, "is perhaps, and his measurements seem to prove, the truest Āryan in Southern India, and not only physically but in his customs, habits and ceremonies, which are so wedded to him that forsake them he cannot if he would." Exclusive and devoted to knowledge, he has been regarded as a being whose position is holy, whose directions are commands, whose movements are a procession, whose meal is nectar, and who is, in short, the holiest of human beings, the representative of God on earth. The Nambūdris "are probably more familiar with Sanskrit than any other Brahmans, even though their scholarship may not be of a high order, and certainly none other is to the same extent governed by the letter of the law handed down in Sanskrit." The Brāhmans of the plains did not keep up this exclusiveness. They mixed with the Dravidian classes in different degrees, though the ideal of keeping their heritage of birth and culture was always kept in view. The contrast between the exclusiveness and adaptiveness to environment cannot be better understood than by a comparison of the Nambūdris with the Paṭṭar Brāhmans who have settled in Malabar.

The process of the racial and cultural synthesis in ancient India can in a sense be explained on the basis of what has been taking place in Malabār. Here we find a purely Brāhmanical class, jealous in guarding the Vēdic institutions, keeping its individuality in tact while Āryanising the pre-Āryans in different degrees. The semi-Brāhmanical communities like the Mussads or Mūttatus, the Poduvāḷs, the Ambalavāsis who owe their position to their services in the religious institutions of the Brāhmans, the Nampidis, who are found both with and without sacred threads, the Nambīsans, Pishārati or Pishārōdi and Vāriār divisions of the Ambalavāsis, and similar communities indicate to what

Brāhman with his 83·4, 71·0, and 77·0 who is of course much more brachycephalic. The Mādhva Brāhman has 88·5, 68·0 and 78. He shows more variety than the Desastha, but on the whole is more brachycephalic. The Kanarese Smārta, the Mandya, Hebbar and Shivelli Brāhmans show the same feature.

extent Āryanization has taken place. The Sāmantas and Uṇṇis occupy a superior status among the Nāyars; but the vast majority of the latter are, even though these form a heterogeneous community owing to the claim of foreign settlers to belong to them, genuine Dravidians who, "were amongst the first invaders of Malabar and as conquerors assumed the position of the governing and landowning class," but who had a large admixture of Āryan blood. This fact, together with the physical peculiarites of Malabār, has been sufficient to differentiate them from the Dravidian races further east. The close connection of the Nāyars with the serpent cult (on account of which some have derived them from the Nāgas), the caste title of *Piḷḷai*, the complexity of the clans, the matriarchal system, and the place assigned to them in the general social classification, all indicate them to be Dravidian in their main stem. Malabār does not only show how far the Āryan influenced the Dravidian but also how far he influenced and did not influence the pre-Dravidian. The influence of the Āryan civilization on the life and morals of the non-Āryans, their political and social organization, their matriarchal system, their animistic beliefs and superstitions, their marriage and death ceremonies, their occupations and pursuits, show how the fourfold division of society was ingeniously adapted to give rise to social gradations based on the theories of approachability, pollution, convivialism, connubialism, and cultural give and take.

THE NĀGAS.

It may be pointed out that the late Kanakasabhai Pillai* called the pre-Dravidians Nāgas, and distinguished them from the later Tamilians who developed the Tamil civilization. He held that the earliest people in the south were the Villavar (bowmen) and Mīnavar (fishermen); that they corresponded to the Bhils and Meenas of Rājputana and Gujarāt; that they were conquered by the Nāgas who, to judge from the evidences of the epics, ruled over the whole of India down to the sixth century B.C.; that these Nāgas ruled over Ceylon

* *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, 1900.

also in consequence of which it was called Nāgadvīpa; that the Nāga king of Kalyāṇi in Ceylon had connection with the Nāga chief of Gandamādana (near Rāmēśvaram opposite to Kalyāṇi); and that the large number of Nāga sculptures in later South India indicate this early Nāga domination. Kanakasabhai further points out that a part of the Chōḷa country was later on called Nāganāḍu; that Kāveripaṭṭaṇam was traced to that age; and that in later days of Tamil glory the kings had dealings with the Nāgas. He concludes from all these that the Nāgas were the people who occupied South India before 'the Dravidians.' From the opposition which certain tribes gave to 'the Tamil kings' and from the prevalence of the name *Nāga* among them, he infers that the Maṟavas, the Ōviyas and the Paradavars were the descendants of these Nāga and pre-Tamilian tribes.

The late Mr. M. Srinivasa Iyengar* tried to reconcile these conclusions of Kanakasabhai with the teachings of anthropology. Dr. A. H. Keane and other ethnologists, he points out, recognized three distinct peoples in South India, namely, the Dravidian Tamils, the Āryan Brāhmans, and the aboriginal Nāgas. Tamil literature and traditions mention the Makkaḷ, the Dēvar and the Narakar. "*Nāga* is a word loosely applied to all the foreigners who used to inhabit the forests, the low regions, and other unknown realms (*narakam*). Even so late as the eleventh century, when the process of the capture and absorption of aboriginal peoples by the superior Dravidians was going on, the more powerful of the Nāga tribes seem to have struggled hard to maintain their sturdy independence and to preserve their racial integrity. For, we find in the early Tamil works that the *Nāgas are described as a race of dark people with curly matted hair*. The ancient Tamils were also acquainted with a tribe of *naked nomads* (*nakkaṟāraṇar*), probably a *section of the Nāgas* living in an eastern island. They were cannibals, and spoke an unknown language." Srinivasa Iyengar surmised that the Pāṇans, from whom he traced the Paṟayas, the Maṟavas,

* *Tamil Studies* (1913).

the Vēḍas and Veṭṭuvas of the forests, and the Kaḷḷas, Ambalakārans, Muttarayas, Kurumbas, and Palḷis or Vaṇṇiyans of the plains, and the Veddahs of Ceylon, must have originally belonged to the Nāga race. He notes the reluctance of the Parayas to call themselves Tamils. The Nāgas, he points out, were half-civilised, practically naked, nomads, and cannibals. They spoke a language not understood by the Tamil people. The terms *Nīlan* and *Nāgan* are common among the Kaḷḷas and Vēḍas or Veṭṭuvas. Srinivasa Iyengar further opines that the Palḷis, from whom the later Pallavas rose, were also probably Nāgas, as a section of them was known as Nāgavaḍam or Nāgapāśam or Nāgavamśam, and as the names ending in Nāga were common among them.

It will be seen from this survey that the Nāgas were, according to these scholars, pre-Dravidians. But there are scholars who identify the Nāgas not with the pre-Dravidians but with the Dravidians. Mr. Parker, a recognised authority on Ceylon, for example, suggests that the Vēḍḍahs of that island were South Indian hill tribes who migrated to Ceylon some time about 1000 B.C. on account of 'the Nāga or Dravidian invasion and settlement'; that the Nāgas gave rise to the Nāyars of Malabar; that, in course of time, a branch of the Nāgas migrated from Malabar to the northern and western parts of Ceylon too, giving it thereby the name *Nāgadvīpa*. In the existence among the Sinhalese, of the system of polyandry, of the elasticity of the marriage tie, the remarriage of widows and of divorced women, and the absence of *Sati*, he sees evidences of the close connection of the Nāgas with the Nāyars.

It is profitless to devote much attention to this question of the exact ethnological significance of the term *Nāga*. Whatever might have been the original meaning, it is not denied that the name came to be very common amongst the non-Brāhmanical communities in historical times. Whether aboriginal or Dravidian in the beginning, it came to be a common caste title for both. Nor should it be for-

gotten that the Nāgas extended from the hills of the north-east to those of the north-west and were found in every part of Āryavarta and Dakshiṇāpatha. While it is impossible to connect the Nāgas of the north with those of the south, it can perhaps be concluded that the aborigines were originally called Nāgas by their civilized neighbours irrespective of their ethnical affinities, and that, except in areas like Assam and the extreme north-east, they mingled with the Muṇḍas and Dravidians and became different communities among them.

The great feature in the history of India throughout this period was the racial and ethnological synthesis. Naturally, the Āryan contact with the non-Āryans, the most formidable of whom were of course the Dravidians, gave rise to a number of problems, social, political, religious, and cultural, which required satisfactory solution. Had the new settlers been larger in numbers, they might have exterminated or absorbed the conquered; but the Āryans were much smaller in numbers, though they were superior in culture, in organization and in discipline. Indeed, they ran, on account of their microscopic minority, the danger of being swept away by the Dravidian masses. How to prevent this, how to make the non-Āryan a source of strength instead of danger, a servant instead of master, was the first problem that confronted the new-comers. The pre-Āryan civilization had to be assimilated to the Āryan in such a way that the latter remained supreme. The primitive and malevolent spirits or devils of the conquered had to be assimilated in a subordinate capacity to the Vēdic pantheon. The Āryan ideals of life and conduct had to be kept in tact. The social divisions, the conjugal and domestic systems, the marital and other relationships, had to be adapted to the Āryan model. At the same time, the necessity for a cultural synthesis was felt for the sake of harmony, contentment and continuity of life for all. Hence we find perhaps the most ingenious and comprehensive example in history of the amalgamation of two culturally different races in such a way that the individuality of each was maintained, ensuring at the same time the subordination of the less advanced

to the more advanced people. In society, in religion, in domestic life, in architecture and art, and every other field of activity we find this synthesis.

Politically, the Āryan settlement seems to have given rise to monarchical States of the Āryan type,—States governed by kings who were socially distinct from their subjects, who had gorgeous courts and impressive paraphernalia, and who governed according to Āryan ideals and principles. It is possible that a few at least of the chiefs were non-Āryans who, thanks to their valour and resources, compelled the conquerors to recognise their existence and power. Such indigenous chiefs naturally placed themselves under Āryan advisers, and became Āryan in spirit, outlook and policy. The idea of pure royal blood, safeguarded by inter-marriage among the ruling houses alone, must have naturally assimilated them, as in North India, with the Kshatriya order. Thus, in all cases, Āryan as well as non-Āryan kingship came to be of the Āryan type. It is difficult to say what kingdoms came into existence in the early ages of the Āryo-Dravidian contact and conflict. We must naturally suppose that, in the initial stages, many a kingdom was made and unmade; that many an adventurer and tribal chief founded and reared kingdoms which had success or failure as circumstances dictated. But out of these turmoils and troubles there eventually emerged certain strong, unified and consolidated monarchies known as the three sister Āryo-Dravidian states, a clue to which is afforded by Kātyāyana. In adding a *vārttika* to Pāṇini's Sūtra (IV. 1. 68), Kātyāyana says that the adjectival form of *añ* arises in the case of the Janapadas and Kshatriyas. Thus the usual form from Pāṇḍōḥ would be Pāṇḍava, but Kātyāyana would add Pāṇḍya as an additional derivation. He explains Pāṇḍya as either one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Paṇḍus or the king of the country occupied by such a tribe. Similarly, in Sūtra IV. 1. 175, Pāṇini says that Kambōja would mean the Kamboja tribe as well as the Kamboja king. Kātyāyana supplements the above by pointing out the examples of the words Chōḍa, Kaḍēra, and Kera.

It is quite obvious that these states had come into existence *before* Kātyāyana.

The Āryan origin of these states is reflected, though not always, in their very names. With regard to the name Chōḷa, Sanskritists have used the terms Chōra and Chōḍa as synonymous. It is easy to see that the term Chōra, which means *thief*, might have been applied, like Dāsa and Dasyu in North India, to an inimical tribe or clan conquered by the Āryans; and that the terms Chōḷa and Chōḍa might have been original Dravidian names accepted by the Āryans, though it is held by some that the Chuḷikas mentioned among the peoples of the north-west immigrated to the south and became the Chōḷas, thus giving them a North Indian origin. With regard to the term Pāṇḍya, Kātyāyana explains it as one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pāṇḍus, or king of that tribe. This seems to be entirely Āryan. Caldwell believed in the Āryan origin of the name. He sees in the Tamil traditions connecting the Pāṇḍyas with Arjuna, the son of Pāṇḍu, who came to the southern kingdom and married its princess, a Sanskrit origin. Magasthenes also gives a garbled Āryan version. He says that the country of the Pandaii was so called "after the name of the only daughter of the Indian Hercules," that is, of Kṛishṇa. This is evidently a misapprehension of the legend regarding Arjuna's wanderings and his marriage with the southern princess. But according to Tamil scholars the term Pāṇḍyan was not Āryan at all. They connect it with *paṇḍaya* or old, and believe that the Sanskrit derivation arose from verbal analogy. This derivation, however, is born of social and anti-Brāhmanical bias, and vitiated by crude ethnological and social speculations which have no scientific basis. On the other hand the name Pāṇḍya is possessed as a title only by non-Brāhmanical castes.

The names Chēra, Chērala seem to be derived from the Sanskrit Kēraḷa, literally, the region of Kēram, the cocoanut palm. Caldwell who notes the occurrence of the term Kēraḷamputra in Aśōka's Edicts observes: "*Keralam* is found in all Dravidian dialects in one shape or another. In Tamil,

through the softening *k* into *s'*, or *cha*, this word sometimes becomes Śēralam, more commonly Śēram. Where the initial K is retained unchanged, it is followed by the Dravidian *ḷ*, for example, Kēraḷam and this is the case in Telugu and Kanarese. In Malayalam we find Kēraḷam, Chēraḷam and Chēram as in Tamil, and Kēram. A man of Kēraḷam is called sometimes Kēḷan or Kēḷu, and though this is evidently a contraction of Kēraḷan, it must be one of great antiquity, for we find it in Pliny's name of the country *Celebōṭras*, a form of which is thus seen to be as accurate as Ptolemy's Kerabothras."

KERAḶA TRADITIONS.

The Āryan origin of the Kēraḷa kingdom is the theme of singularly elaborate traditions which are described in the *Kēraḷōtpatti* and the *Kēralamāhātmyam*, the former in Malayaḷam and the latter in Sanskrit. The first of these, popularly attributed to Śaṅkarāchārya, was really written at the close of the eighteenth century. The other chronicle too is not more ancient or authoritative. Historically worthless and imperfect, they give all that is traditionally believed by the people of Malabar themselves as to their origin and history. According to them, Kēraḷa was created by Paraśurāma, the famous *avatār* of Vishṇu. After his extermination of the Kshatriyas, we are told, Paraśurāma was seized with repentance for his *Brahatyadōsha*, and calling a council of the Rshis, begged of them to show the way in which he could

* In his *Travancore Manual*, Mr. Nagamaiya says that this is not the correct derivation "as the country had its name.....before the introduction of the cocoanut palm on this coast." Another fanciful derivation is from Chēramān Kēraḷan, the legendary hero of Malabar, but this is obviously absurd. Regarding the term Malabār, he notes a bewildering variety of interpretations. "Alberuni seems to have been the first to call the country Malabar." It is said to be an Arabic corruption of *Mala* (Tam. mountain) and *vāra* (Sans. slope). Dr. Robertson derives it from Mall, the "name of a port (mentioned by Cosmos Indicopleustes)" and says that the word means the country of pepper. Still others say that it is the corruption from malai-nāḍu. Among the Tamils it is known as Malāi-āḷām, laad of hills and (deep) valleys.

expiate his sin. Advised by them to hand over all his conquests to the Brāhmanical order and to confirm the gift by leaving the alienated lands, he proceeded to the forests of the Western Ghats and propitiated Varuṇa, the god of the waters, and Bhūmī-dēvi, the goddess of the earth, to give him, for his residence, as much land as could be covered by his axe thrown from Gōkarnam, which was then the land's end, into the southern sea. He hurled his axe, and it fell at Kanya-kumari. In this way came into existence the land of Kēraḷam from Gōkarnam to the Cape, 100 *yojanas* by ten, if we are to believe the Purāṇa. The tradition apparently expresses the vague notions current among the people about the geological changes which, as we have already seen, took place in the past ages. The geographical features of the coast of Kēraḷa, the lowlands and the backwaters, are sufficient indications of the upheaval of the coast under the eye of man.

Paraśurāma, we are told, was not only the creator of the Kēraḷa country but also of its peoples and kings. The chronicle becomes hopelessly anachronistic at this stage. Paraśurāma, for example, is said to have prayed to the Trimūrtis to shower their blessings on his new land, and to have obtained from Śiva the name *Kēraḷam* in consequence of the marriage of the sea-king's daughter with Kēraḷa, the son of Jayanta, who is rather suddenly introduced, and whom he is said to have raised to the dignity of king! Further, Paraśurāma is said to have got the discus from Vishṇu and the bull from Śiva, and consecrated these sacred objects at Śri-mūlasthānam in Trichūr. Vishṇu is then alleged to have crowned Jayanta as king, enjoining on him the duty of building 24,000 temples and governing according to the Dharmaśāstras. But while the kingship was thus instituted, there were no people at all! So Paraśurāma proceeded to people the land with men and women, with animals and plants! He enriched and strengthened the still unstable soil with gold dust and treasure! He brought Brāhmans from the banks of the Krishṇa, the Gōdāvari, the Narmadā and the Kāvēri as well as from

Mysore, Madhurā, Mahārāshṭra and Kurukshētra, classifying them into eight gōtras. He further brought the Kshatriyas, the eighteen Sāmanta clans, and the representatives of the different professions,—the carpenter, the blacksmith, the oil-monger, the goldsmith, the barber, the stone-mason, the washerman, and others. He assigned them separate homes and framed separate rules of conduct. He brought by sea all kinds of grains, seeds, plants and trees. The chronicle particularises the black peas, the green peas, the gingelly seeds, vegetable medicinal plants, the cocoanut, the plantain, and the jack which, it is well-known, are peculiar to Kēraḷa. Paraśurāma is further said to have settled the rules of conduct for the Brāhmanical colonists in such a way that they could have no inducement to return to their native land. Their dress, their education, their marriage system, their ceremonials, and the position of their women were made very singular. They were made to replace the tuft of hair on the back of the head by one at the front. They were ordained to celebrate the *samāvartana* of their boys at the ages of 16 and 12 as they were the students of the Rg and Yajur Vēdas. They were made to give up the traditional modes of reciting the Vēdas and adopt particular gestures and intonations when doing so. They were, after marriage, to continue to wear only one *yagñopavita*. Their eldest son alone was to marry, the younger sons having to find partners among other communities. Peculiarities were introduced in the particulars of ancestral ceremonials. Again, their women were prohibited from wearing jewels, or covering their breasts, or going out in public without an attendant or a cadjan umbrella. Lastly, no Brāhman woman should take a second husband—a regulation which seems to indicate elasticity in the original Āryan land.

The *Kēraḷōtpatti* further says that the newly-settled Brāhmans were driven away by the terrible Nāgas of the mountains and that Paraśurāma once again resettled the land with Brāhmans from 'Āryapuram'; but he is also said to have conciliated the Nāgas by giving some lands to them, and by making the Brāhmans take to their system

of serpent-worship. The *Kēraḷōtpatti* adds that the land was parcelled out into 64 villages under the sovereignty of the Brāhman colonists, and that the Śūdras and Nāyars were appointed to serve them. Paraśurāma is further said to have subsequently got a prince of the lunar line from the East, and crowned him king of the new 'Kēraḷa' at Śrīvardhanapura (identified with Padmanābhapuram in South Travancore), while crowning his brother Udayavarma as king of the 'Chēras' at Gōkarṇam (Goa). The whole land came in course of time to be divided into four *khaṇḍams*· namely,(1) Tulu,from Gōkarṇam to the Perumpuzha (Pālayanūr) river; (2) Kūpaka from the Perumpuzha to the Kottar river and Pudupaṇem near Nilēśvar; (3) Kērala, including Cochin and North Travancore from Nilēśvar to Quilon; and (4) Mūshika (*e. g.*, Muchiri) from Kannetti to Cape Comorin. Some time later, Paraśurāma crowned Ādityavarma, Bhānuvikrama's nephew, as king. He inaugurated a military service, founded temples, laid down rules of conduct, instituted schools of medicine, and established ceremonials like the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and the *Tulāpurusha*. A sect of Bharadvājas were made the teachers of the art of war and fencing. As many as 108 *kaḷaris* or parade-grounds were established for enforcing drill and military training among the people, and worship of several deities presiding over them was organised. Goddess Durgā was made the guardian of the seashore and provided with 108 shrines. God Śāstā was made the guardian of the eastern slopes. Snake gods and petty Dēvatas were provided with shrines. "Having thus ordained the temples and ceremonies, he ordered rain for six months," so that there could be abundance of corn, cows and fruits, and so that piety could flourish, and wealth grow. Iśvara came thereby to be served and honoured, and pūjas came to be performed in honour not only of the gods but also that of the ancestors. Paraśurāma then ordered the sunny season to last for six months, "so that all the ceremonies might be duly performed in honour of the gods of heaven and the secondary deities such as Śāsta, or Hariharaputra, Bhadrakāli and Gaṇapati." The Purāṇa enumerates these different

ceremonies, and adds to them certain special ones which the Brahmans had to perform in order to save mankind from sorrow and unhappiness.

CRITICISM.

These traditions are, it is obvious, most untrustworthy. They form an awful jumble of improbable and absurd events written by one who was absolutely ignorant of real history, but who desired to explain the institutions in the midst of which he lived by legends which reflected the notions of the priests of his time. Every line of the work shows hopeless anachronism. The very names of gods, men and places indicate late times. It is absurd to talk of an *avatār* of Vishṇu in the Vēdic period. The legends of the slaughter of 21 generations of the Kshatriyas, the mention of the Trimūrtis, the part alleged to be played by Jayanta, the reference to temple-building and other ceremonials, show that the work could have been composed only by one who was steeped in the later Purāṇic lore. Then, again, the very order in which Paraśurāma is said to have created the land and people is patently absurd. He reclaimed the land, he established a king with the help of Vishṇu and Śiva, and he then awoke to the fact that the country was without men and animals, and so he populated it with the different communities! The alleged strengthening of the soil with gold dust is an absurd explanation coined for the existence of mineral wealth in the country. The reference to the eighteen Sāmanta clans and the different professional castes is evidently an anachronism. The alleged importation of even the plants is incredible. The alleged introduction of the peculiarities in the conduct and religious life of the Brāhmans is a laboured and obviously late attempt to explain peculiarities which had already, owing to a number of circumstances, differentiated the Nambūdris from the Brāhmans of the east and other parts of India. The references to Udayavarma, Adityavarma, Bhānuvikrama, and other princes, clearly indicate the writer's living in late historical times. The ceremonies described are modern. Thus the *Kēraḷōtpatti* fails as an authority for the Āryan conquest or colonisation of the Malabar

country. It simply embodies the crude popular beliefs of very late or modern times.

In spite of these unreliable features, the *Kēraḷōtpatti* is not without value. It shows how the people of Kērala have always believed, though in a crude and uninformed manner, in the Āryan origin of their civilization, their idea of landed property, their kings, their leading peoples, and their institutions. The Chēras were as much Āryan or Āryo-Dravidian as the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas.

The boundaries of the Āryo-Dravidian states established in the Tamil land must have shifted frequently till they reached, by the beginning of the fourth or third century B.C. the traditional limits assigned to them by the later poets, namely, the Pāṇḍyan kingdom from the Veḷḷār to the Cape, the Chōḷa from the Peṇṇār to the Veḷḷār and from Kōṭṭakkarai to the sea, and the Chēra (Malabar) from Goa to the Cape. The Koṅgu country—Salem and Coimbatore—came later on to be included within the Chēra kingdom. We can surmise that, after centuries of war, these states approximated to these limits.

THE ĀRYANISATION OF CEYLON.

An important question which has to be considered at this stage is whether Ceylon was brought under the Āryan pale during this period. The Buddhistic chronicles say that the island was originally occupied by the Rākshasas; that these were followed by the Yakshas and Piśāchas; that these were displaced by the Nāgas in the north and driven to the south; that the displaced people, who could take any shape and oppressed men, captured the merchants of the ships which were wrecked on their coasts and tortured them to death; that the Buddha in a previous birth had rescued 250 or 500 of such merchants by assuming the guise of a big horse; and that they were eventually destroyed by the Buddha himself in person. Coming by air, we are told, he alighted on the eastern slopes of the Ceylon mountains, and sent down storms, rains, darkness, heat, and other horrors, compelling the Yakshas to leave for an island called Giridvīpa.

Five years later, the Buddha is said to have visited the land a second time; but this time he is alleged to have come to North Ceylon, and not to the south. He interfered, we are told, in a civil war which raged among the Nāgas and, by miraculously causing deep darkness, induced them to become at once friendly and Buddhistic. He stayed, it is said, only for three days during this visit. He returned once more to the island three years later, on Vaiśākha Paurṇami, at the head of 500 monks in response to the invitation of a Nāga king named Maṇiaka. The latter is said to have proceeded from his capital Kulaniya (near Colombo) to the mainland, and welcomed him and his followers with tributes and donations. The Buddha is then said to have condescended to leave the impression of his holy feet on the Suvana-kūṭa (Adam's Peak), and further founded the holiness of the later Dīghavāpi in East Ceylon as well as the celebrated monastery at Anurādhapura.

The Buddhistic chronicle continues to say that, while the Nāgas were converted to Buddhism in North Ceylon, the Yakshas of the south, who had founded a kingdom of their own in the region around 'Siravathi.' were brought under a single monarchy by an adventurer from Bengal named Vijaya. It says that a king of Vaṅga had by his queen, a Kalinga princess, a daughter named Suppadeir; that this princess fell, in the course of a solitary and disguised ramble, into the hands of a caravan chief who was proceeding to the Magadha country; that, while the travellers were in the wilderness of Lalla (between Magadha and Bengal), * a lion chased away the caravan chief, took the princess to its abode, and lived with her; that, in course of time, the lady gave birth to twins,—a boy named Sihabāhu and a girl named Sihasivali; that, when the boy grew up, he fled with his mother and sister to Vaṅga; that the

* This has been identified with Singbhum. The story *might* show that a certain family with the totemistic name of Singha or Sūra founded a dynasty between Vaṅga and Magadha about B. C. 600; but if so it is referred to in Ceylonese traditions alone, and not elsewhere in spite of the copiousness of such literature.

'deserted' lion gave vent to his displeasure by ravaging Vaṅga, and eventually met with death in the hands of the very prince whom he had brought up; that the valour of Sihabāhu was rewarded by the king of the Vaṅgas with the gift of his kingdom, to which the other half was added when the real relationship of the adventurer came to be known; and that Sihabāhu gave over the united kingdom of Vaṅga to Anura, his step-father, to whom his mother had now been united in wedlock, and took to his own native home forest farther west. Here, the story continues, he cleared the land, established numerous villages, and carved out a kingdom for himself with a city, named Sihapura after himself, for the capital. Vijaya Sūr, the progenitor of the Sinhalese dynasty, is said to have been the eldest son of this Sihabāhu. Though installed as Yuvarāj, Vijaya behaved like a reckless firebrand, and did not scruple to commit any atrocity. Repeated reprimand had no effect upon him, and popular clamour vociferously demanded his head. The king could not go against justice. He had his son, together with 700 of his followers, disgraced by having half their heads shaved, and then sent them adrift on a ship in the wide and open seas! Providence brought the strange vessel and its crew to "the division Tambapanni of this land Lanka on the day that the successor (of the former Buddha) reclined in the arbour of the two delightful *sāl* trees to attain Nibbāna."

The Mahāvaṁsa gives some interesting details as to the circumstances under which the Bengali settlement took place. "At the spot where the 700 men, with the king at their head, had landed out of the vessel, supporting themselves on the palm of their hands pressed on the ground, they sat themselves down. Hence to them the name of *Tambawanna-panaya* (copper-palmed, from the nature of the soil). From this circumstance that wilderness obtained the name of Tambapanni. From the same cause also that renowned land became celebrated under that name." And another name, the name *Sihalla* (Siṅgala), came also to be given to it. "Because, by whatever means the monarch

Sihalbāhu slew the Siha (lion), from that fact, his sons and descendants are called Sihalla (the lion-slayers). Thus Laṅkā, having been colonised by Sihalla, and from the circumstance also of its having been colonised by a Sihalla, obtained the name of Sihalla (Ceylon)."

The chronicle goes on to state that Vijaya married a Yaksha princess named Kuvēṇi who had been at loggerheads with her countrymen, and, with her assistance, made himself master of a large part of the island. According to another version, two Yakshiṇis tried to entrap Vijaya and his retinue, but thanks to a charm which Vishṇu (who is suddenly mentioned) had given them, they proved more than a match for their opponents, and, what was more, won them over to their cause. Vijaya married one of the Yakshiṇis and, with her aid, overthrew a large part of the island. One circumstance is said to have favoured his success. Kalasēna, the king of 'Siruvatha,' was indulging in a revelry of seven days in celebration of his marriage with the daughter of the king of Laṅkāpura. Vijaya, it is said, surprised him in the midst of his festivities, deprived him of his crown, put on the robes of a Yaksha ruler, and ruled over the Yakshas for a time. Subsequently, however, it continues, he founded a city called *Tambapanna* further north, and permanently settled there. His followers also carved out settlements for themselves throughout the island. It was in the course of this that, on the banks of the Kadamba river, the celebrated colony of Anirudra (one of Vijaya's followers) was founded.* The colonists entered into marital bonds with the native women. After a time they solicited Vijaya to assume the title of sovereign. He was, we are told, indifferent to their solicitations, as he was not satisfied with a Yakshiṇi for his queen. His followers, therefore, sent a deputation to king Pāṇḍava of Madura for a royal virgin. King Pāṇḍava sent his daughter Vijayā together with 669 daughters of his nobility for her retinue. The marriage and installation of Vijayā naturally roused the

* North of this, we are told, was a village settlement of the Brāhmaṇ Upatissa as well as the settlements of Uruvela and Vijita.

jealous ire of Kuvēṇi, and she withdrew to her own city. Regarded by her people, however, as the author of the miseries of their land, she was foully murdered. Her two children sought safety by flight to Samantakūṭa (Adam's Peak), and there they entered into an incestuous connection which resulted in the birth of the Pulindas! The chronicle thus suggests the Pulindas to be connected in blood with the Yakshas. As for Vijaya, he is said to have given up all his vicious habits, and held a perfectly just and righteous sway over the whole of Laṅkā from his city of Tambapanna during an uninterrupted period of 38 years. Being issueless, he sent word to Sunistra, his younger brother, who had succeeded his father Sihabāhu in Bengal. Sunistta had three sons, the youngest of whom, Pāṇḍu Vāsudēva, came to Ceylon, and succeeded his uncle. The dynasty founded by Vijaya is said to have had an unbroken succession of 174 kings till its overthrow by the English in 1798.

Such is the legendary history of Ceylon as given in the Buddhist chronicles. There are some obvious absurdities in it. We are abruptly introduced to Buddhism without any account of the previous advent of the Āryans and the establishment of their culture in the island. The Āryan advent, moreover, is said to have been in the south, and in the days of the Buddha. These traditions are inherently improbable. The Rāmāyaṇa, the Hindu version of the early history of Ceylon, seems to be more reliable in this respect. It also refers to the occupation of the island by the Yakshas and the Rākshasas, but it ascribes their overthrow to the Āryan prince-adventurer Rāma. The Rākshasas themselves are, it is true, described as semi-Āryan in origin. They are said to have been created by Brahmā to rule over the waters, and then settled at Laṅkāpura on the summit of the Trikūṭa in the southern seas, after which they became invincible owing to Rāvaṇa's expulsion of the Yaksha lord Kubēra and his conquest of the mainland. But this interpretation might be due to the

fact that the story was coined after the Āryanisation of the original aboriginal inhabitants amongst whom the pre-Dravidian Vēddahs and the Dravidian settlers must have lived The Āryan conquest must have been followed by the establishment of Āryan kingship and other institutions, and it can hardly be doubted that the Āryan advent into the country was much earlier than the existence or alleged arrival of the Buddha. The story of Vijaya is a later Buddhistic invention consequent on the Sinhalese reluctance to accept the indebtedness to the Āryans who came from the Tamil mainland; and the story of the direct visit of the Buddha is also a later invention. It is more probable that Buddhism came into the country only about the time of Aśōka. There is no tangible evidence to show that Ceylon got Buddhism earlier than South India, and the latter event took place only about B.C. 300.

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