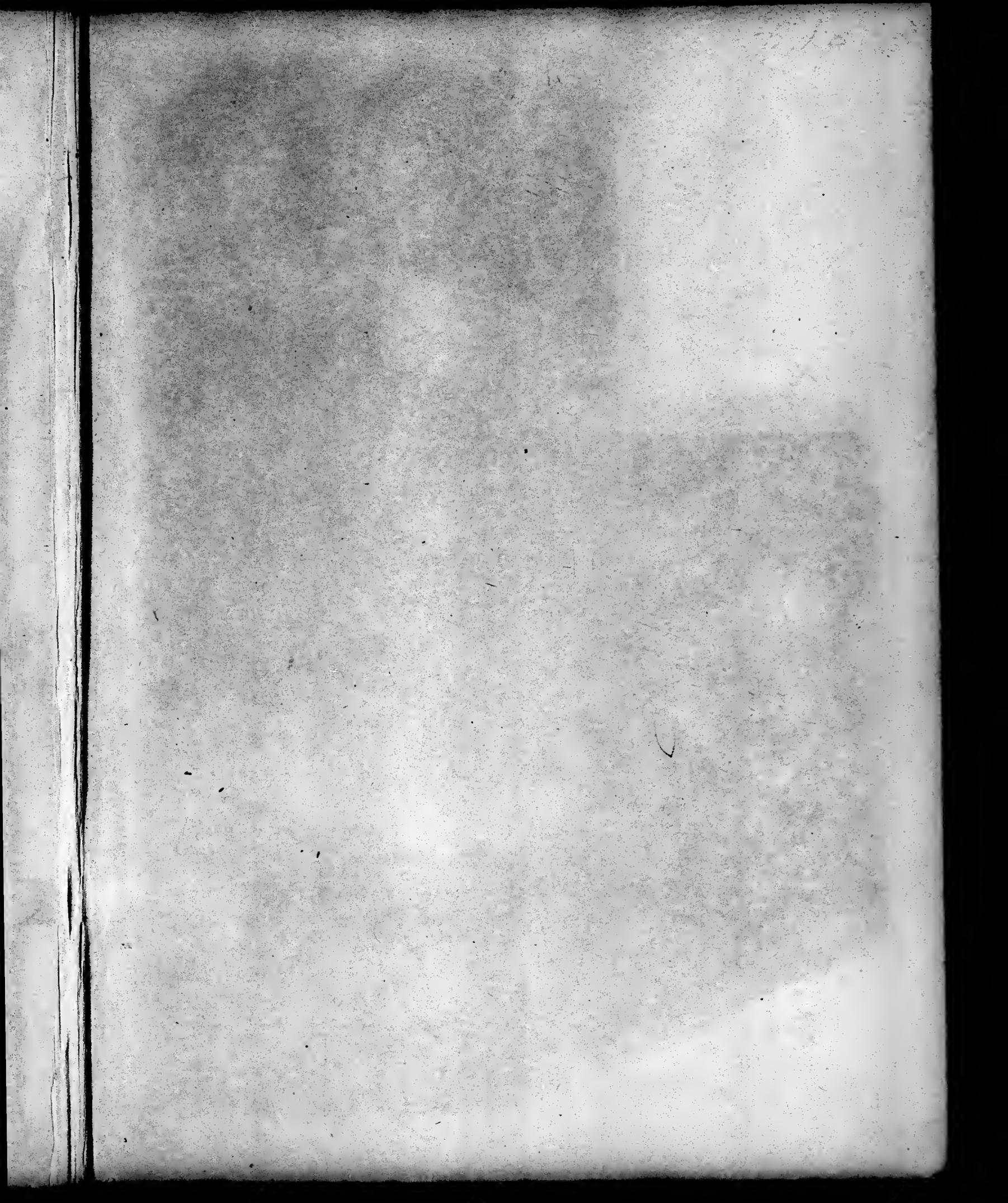




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THE PURĀNA TEXT
OF THE
DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

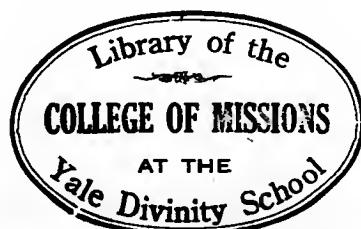
EDITED BY

F. E. PARGITER, M.A.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, RETIRED; LATE JUDGE, HIGH COURT, CALCUTTA

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INTRODUCTION

Authorities.

Accounts of the dynasties that reigned in India during the Kali age are found in the Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmānda, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, and Bhavisya Purāṇas. All these, except the Matsya and Bhāgavata, set out the ancient genealogies down to the time of the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, and immediately afterwards deal with the dynasties that reigned in North India after that time, of which the three earliest and chief were the Pauravas who reigned at first at Hastināpura and moved in king Nicakṣus' time to Kauśāmbī, the Aikṣvākus who reigned at Ayodhyā, and the Bārhadrathas who reigned in Magadha. But the Matsya and Bhāgavata break these up. The Matsya adds only these later Pauravas to the ancient Paurava line in connexion with the ancient genealogies, and introduces all the rest of the Kali age dynasties separately in some of its latest chapters. The Bhāgavata adds the later Aikṣvākus to the ancient line, and the later Pauravas and Bārhadrathas¹ immediately after the ancient Paurava line in its ninth skandha, and deals with all the subsequent dynasties separately in its twelfth skandha.

2. The editions cited in this Introduction are these :—

Matsya and Vāyu, Ānandāśrama editions of 1907 and 1905 (cited as *AMt* and *AVā*).

Brahmānda, Śrī-Venkatesvara edition of 1906 (cited as *Bd*).

Bhāgavata, Gaṇpat Krishṇaji edition of 1889 (cited as *GBh*)².

Viṣṇu and Garuḍa, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar's Calcutta editions of 1882 and 1890 (cited as *CVs* and *CGr*).

The only copy of the Bhavisya that I have seen, containing the dynastic matter, is the Śrī-Venkatesvara edition.

The passages containing this dynastic matter are these³ :—

AMatsya 50, 57–89, and 271, 1 to 273, 55.

AVāyu 99, 250–435.

Brahmānda iii, 74, 104–248.

¹ The Bārhadratha line was an offshoot from the Paurava line; see JRAS, 1910, pp. 11, 22, 29, 51.

² The edition begun by Burnouf cannot be adopted for reference, because it does not contain the Sanskrit text of skandha xii.

³ The first few kings of the future Pauravas are named in MBh i, 95, 3835–8 (which agrees with these authorities); and also in Brahma 13, 123–141, and Harivamśa 191, 11063–81 (which are wholly unlike these authorities and are obviously absurd).

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CViṣṇu iv, 20, 12 to 24, 44.

GBhāgavata ix, 12, 9–16; 22, 34–49; and xii, 1, 2 to 2, 36.

CGaruda 140, 40 and 141, 1–12.

Bhaviṣya III, i, 3 and 6.

The accounts are in verse in the śloka metre in all except the Viṣṇu, which is mainly in prose except in the final portion.

The Versions and their Characters.

3. The versions of the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda present a remarkable similarity. The two latter agree so closely that they resemble two recensions of the same text, and the Matsya, though not in such marked agreement, contains a text very similar. There can be no doubt that their versions are based upon one original compilation, and this appears from four facts: *first*, they all declare they are taken from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa¹; *secondly*, where the Vāyu and Brahmānda differ from each other, one of them not seldom agrees with the Matsya²; *thirdly*, single MSS of them sometimes vary so as to agree with the reading of the Matsya³; and *fourthly*, one Purāṇa occasionally omits a verse which appears in one or both of the two others, yet a single MS (or a very few MSS) of it has at times preserved that verse⁴ and so testifies to their original harmony. These three versions therefore grew out of one and the same original text. At the same time the Matsya version has a character of its own which is clearly different from those of the Vāyu and Brahmānda, and was prior to those two (see § 24). The similarity of the three is however such that, by collating all their MSS, copious material is available for estimating what the original compilation was. The verse is almost epic. One line is generally assigned to each king, and two or more are sometimes given to the more prominent kings; and it is rare that two kings are dealt with in the same line, except in the early portions of the Paurava, Aikṣvāku, and Bāhradratha dynasties for which the chroniclers' materials were necessarily scanty, and in the latest dynasties which are treated succinctly.

4. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata have very much in common and their versions are generally alike, with the differences that the latter is in verse and the former in prose, and that the latter by the exigencies of its metre has less freedom and is often cramped. Both are distinguished from the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda in being much condensed, so that their accounts are often little more than a string of names fitted in with connecting words and occasional terms of relationship; yet they vary at times in important names and particulars so far as to indicate some independence. The Viṣṇu has ślokas at the end of the Paurava and Aikṣvāku dynasties, and the

¹ See § 7.

² Thus the Vāyu agrees with the Matsya in p. 17, l. 32; and the Brahmānda with the Matsya in p. 22, l. 13. Other instances will be found in the notes.

³ Especially eVā; as to which see *List of Authorities: Vāyu*.

⁴ Thus p. 28, ll. 3, 4 of the Matsya version do not occur in any copy of the Vāyu or Brahmānda except eVā.

whole of its final chronological and astronomical portion is in verse ; and it cites all these as pre-existing ślokas. The Bhāgavata has at times fuller verses which resemble those of the three Purāṇas, and its final portion agrees largely with that of the Viṣṇu. Wherever the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata have the fuller form of verse, they agree with or approximate to the version of those three Purāṇas, and so testify that they have been derived from an original which was the same as or closely like the original of those Purāṇas. These peculiarities show that these two are condensed redactions. They are also later, for the Viṣṇu elaborates its prose at times in the ornate classical style especially when referring to Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu¹, and the age of the Bhāgavata will be considered further on².

5. The Garuda stands by itself, for it gives only the Paurava, Aikṣvāku, and Bāhradratha dynasties, and its account of them is merely a string of bare names put into ślokas, more condensed than the Bhāgavata. It is evidently a late version ; see Appendix I, § x.

6. The only copy of the Bhavisya which contains this dynastic matter is the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition, but its account is altogether vitiated and worthless. It says each Paurava king reigned at least 1000 years, and Kṣemaka's son was Pradyota (III, i, 3, 82–96) ; and it declares that Gautama founded Buddhism in Mahānanda's time, that Gautama reigned ten years, and that his successors were Śākyamuni, Śuddhodana, Śākyasimha, his son Buddhasimha, and his son Candragupta (ibid. 6, 35–43). It dilates, however, on more recent 'history' with elaborate details, and with a great quantity of new matter boldly fabricated brings its prophecies down to the nineteenth century³. In other copies the ancient matter has dropped out, and some very modern events have been particularized⁴.

The Bhavisya the Original Authority.

7. The Bhavisya is declared to have been the original authority for these dynasties. Both the Matsya and the Vāyu expressly state that their accounts are based upon it. Thus in the Preface the Sūta says he will declare all the future kings— tān sarvān kīrtayisyāmi Bhavisye kathitān nṛpān.

This is the Matsya version, and the Vāyu, agreeing, makes it more precise by reading *Bhavisye paṭhitān*⁵. Here *Bhavisye* cannot mean simply 'in the future', but must mean 'in the Bhavisya Purāṇa'. Again, when mentioning the Paurava kings after Adhisīmākṛṣṇa's reign, the Sūta introduces them with a verse, of which the second line runs thus according to the Matsya :—

tasyānvavāye vakṣyāmi Bhavisye kathitān nṛpān.

¹ It alludes to Kṛṣṇa thus :—Bhagavataḥ sakala-surāsura-vandita-carana-yugalasyāt-mēchā-karana-mānuṣa-rūpa-dhārino 'nubhāvāt (iv, 20, 12).

² See Appendix I, § viii, and Appendix II.

³ See ZDMG, lvii, 276.

⁴ See *List of Authorities: Bhavisya, infra.*

⁵ See p. 2, l. 7 and notes thereto. The Brahmānda no doubt had the same line, but it has a large lacuna (see p. 1) and the line has been lost. On the importance of these words see § 23.

The Vāyu agrees, except that it reads *Bhaviṣye tāvato*¹. The Matsya words can mean nothing but ‘in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa’, and this is the best rendering of the Vāyu’s words also, even if *tāvato* be not a misreading².

8. Again, when citing the genealogical śloka at the end of the Aikṣvāku dynasty, the Vāyu says it was *bhavisya-jñair udāhṛtaḥ*, and the Brahmānda *bhavisyaj-jñair udāhṛtaḥ*, but the Matsya says truthfully *viprair gītāḥ purātanaiḥ*. Here *bhavisya* and *bhavisyat* can hardly mean ‘future’ because the plural is used. Vyāsa alone was supposed to be gifted with foreknowledge, and those men could only repeat what they received from him; but, as the Sūta says he got his knowledge from Vyāsa directly (p. 2), it was futile for him to refer to them as authorities. The best interpretation therefore is that *bhavisya* means the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, and that *bhavisyat* is a perversion of it. Lastly, in the concluding portion of this account of the Kali age the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda have this line generally:—

Bhaviṣye te prasāṅkhyātāḥ purāṇa-jñaiḥ śrutarśibhiḥ.

Here also *Bhaviṣye* can only mean ‘in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa’; and that this was the meaning is testified to by two MSS of the Matsya which read the second half line, *purāṇe śruti-sarpibhiḥ*³. These passages therefore prove that the versions of the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda were borrowed from the Bhaviṣya or were at least based on it; and the accounts in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata must also have been derived therefrom, because they were later redactions as shown above.

9. The Bhaviṣya therefore as the source of all these accounts should be invaluable in elucidating them; but the copies of it, which I have seen or obtained information about, either do not contain this matter or present it in a wholly corrupted form. It is therefore, as it exists now, of no value for the present purpose and has been left out of consideration. An explanation, how it came to be tampered with, will be offered in connexion with the age of these versions (§ 28).

Prophetic Form of the Account.

10. All these accounts profess to be prophetic, yet the standpoints from which these Purāṇas view these genealogies differ somewhat. The Viṣṇu professes to have been narrated by Parāśara to Maitreya, and sets out the Paurava genealogy from the standpoint of the reign of Abhimanyu’s son Parīkṣit, and the Aikṣvāku and Bārhadratha genealogies from the time of the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas⁴. This is absurd, because Parāśara was Vyāsa’s father and was dead long before that battle and Parīkṣit’s birth. All the other Purāṇas profess to have been recited by the Sūta to the rishis in Naimiṣa forest and (except in the Garuda) at their twelve-year sacrifice⁵. The Vāyu fixes the time of that sacrifice as the

¹ Not cited in the Preface (see p. 1).

² See also p. 3, note ⁴.

³ See p. 59, l. 10, and note thereto.

⁴ CVs iv, 20, 12–13, and 21, 1: also 22,

1 and 23, 1.

⁵ AMt 1, 4; AVā 1, 13–15; Bd i, 1, 17,

18, 35, 36; GBh i, 1, 4–6; CGr 1, 3–11

They differ in the Sūta’s name.

reign of the Paurava king Asīmakṛṣṇa¹, who is more often called Adhisīmakṛṣṇa², and who was fourth in descent from Parīkṣit; and the Matsya and Vāyu say the same in nearly the same words when mentioning that king in this account of the Kali age³. These two Purāṇas thus deal with these genealogies from the standpoint of his reign, and the Brahmānda, Bhāgavata, and Garuḍa constructively profess to do the same.

11. The Matsya and Vāyu carry out that view. They bring the Paurava genealogy from Abhimanyu and his son Parīkṣit down to Adhisīmakṛṣṇa as already past, and name Adhisīmakṛṣṇa as the reigning king⁴; the rishis then inquire about the Kali age, and the Sūta, declaring his intention to set out all the future kings, begins the list of future Pauravas from that monarch. Similarly, in the contemporary Aikṣvāku and Bārhadratha genealogies, these two Purāṇas name Divākara as reigning then in Ayodhyā and Senājit in Magadha⁵, and mention their predecessors as past and their successors as future. Hence they virtually declare that these three kings were contemporary⁶. The position taken in the Brahmānda is the same, though it is obscured by a large lacuna in which all the Paurava and Aikṣvāku kings are lost, and its account begins with line 23 on page 12. Thenceforward it agrees with the Matsya and Vāyu and mentions Senājit as the reigning Bārhadratha king. The Bhāgavata and Garuḍa, though professing to have been recited in Adhisīmakṛṣṇa's reign, take the former the standpoint of Parīkṣit's reign⁷, and the latter that of his son Janamejaya⁸; and both treat all the successors and also all the Aikṣvāku and Bārhadratha kings after the great battle as future. The Viṣṇu agrees with the Bhāgavata in this attitude, as already mentioned.

12. Accordingly the texts are framed for the most part in prophetic shape, but this character is not maintained completely because past expressions occur here and there, such as *abharat*⁹, *smṛta*¹⁰, &c. Some MSS have tried to be more consistent by modifying such words¹¹. One line found in three MSS frankly states that the whole Aikṣvāku dynasty was ancient, and naturally does not appear in any of the other MSS¹². There can be no doubt therefore that the accounts have been steadily though slowly revised in details, so as to improve their prophetic character.

¹ In its verse, 1, 12—
Asīmakṛṣṇe vikrāntे rājany an-upama-
tviṣi
praśāsatimāṁ dharmena bhūmim bhūmipa-
sattame.

² See p. 4, note¹⁰.

³ AMt 50, 66, 67; AVa 99, 258, 259.

⁴ See p. 4, l. 6.

⁵ See p. 10, l. 5, and p. 15, l. 13.

⁶ In equating these kings some 20 years must be prefixed to the Paurava list on account of Yudhiṣṭhīra's reign after the

great battle, before Parīkṣit came to the throne, see § 14.

⁷ GBh ix, 1, 6.

⁸ CGr 140, 40.

⁹ E.g. p. 10, note²³; p. 11, l. 18.

¹⁰ E.g. p. 5, l. 11; p. 11, ll. 14, 21.

¹¹ E.g. *bhavet* for *abharat*, p. 10, note²³; p. 11, note⁵¹.

¹² P. 12, l. 26. It is no doubt genuine, for no one would be likely to fabricate and interpolate it to mar the prophecy.

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13. Though the account is said to have been narrated to Paurava kings or ṛishis in Naimiṣa forest, yet the ground from which the historic changes are viewed is Magadha. The Paurava and Aikṣvāku dynasties are dealt with briefly, with two kings generally to a line and with no mention of the lengths of the reigns, but the Bāhradratha dynasty of Magadha is set out with one line to each king and the length of his reign is stated¹. After those three ancient kingdoms disappeared, the dynasties treated of are those which reigned in or dominated Magadha. All other dynasties in North India are noticed only in the aggregate, with the exception of the dynasty of Vidiṣā, and even that is described but cursorily (p. 49).

14. The beginning of the Kali age has been discussed by Dr. Fleet, and he has pointed out that it began on the day on which Kṛṣṇa died, which the chronology of the Mahābhārata places, as he shows, some twenty years after the great battle, and that it was then that Yudhiṣṭhīra abdicated and Parīksit began to reign². But, as shown above, these Purāṇas virtually begin the Kali age dynasties immediately after the battle, and that position is the most convenient to adopt for the present purpose. The text of the Matsya and Vāyu³ can be brought into harmony therewith by merely altering the order of a few verses without tampering with them, namely, by transposing the four verses containing the ṛishis' questions and the prefatory verses of the Sūta's reply from their position in Adhisīmakaṛṣṇa's reign to the commencement of the account; and, so treated, those verses form a fitting preface to the whole: but it is unnecessary to print the questions here, and those prefatory verses are alone introduced as a sufficient preface (see p. 1).

Original Language of the Account.

15. There are clear indications that the Sanskrit account as it exists in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa was originally in Prakrit, or, more accurately, that it is a Sanskritized version of older Prakrit ślokas. The indications are these: *first*, certain passages as they stand now in Sanskrit violate the śloka metre, whereas in Prakrit form they would comply with the metre; *secondly*, certain Prakrit words actually occur, especially where they are required by the metre, which the corresponding Sanskrit forms would violate; *thirdly*, Sanskrit words occur at times in defiance of syntax, whereas the corresponding Prakrit forms would make the construction correct; *fourthly*, mistaken Sanskritizations of names; *fifthly*, the copious use of expletive particles; and *sixthly*, irregular sandhi.

16. A full examination of these peculiarities would overload this Introduction, and the proof of them has therefore been set out in Appendix I. The above conclusion holds good for the whole of the text of the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa;

¹ The *Early Contemporary Dynasties* summarize all except the Māgadhas (p. 23).

² JRAS, 1911, pp. 479, 675, 686; and p. 62, l. 37 *infra*. Hence in equating the Paurava kings with the Aikṣvāku and Bā-

hadraṭṭha kings, some 20 years must be prefixed to the former.

³ This portion in the Brahmāṇḍa is lost in the lacuna, as already mentioned.

their verses are older Prakrit ślokas Sanskritized. It also holds good for such portions of the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata as have preserved the old verses; but the main portions of these two Purāṇas are condensed redactions composed directly in Sanskrit. The Garuda version is a more concise condensation composed directly in Sanskrit apparently. These conclusions are explained in Appendix I.

17. Judging from such specimens of old ślokas and Prakritis as have survived, it would appear that the Prakrit used in the original ślokas was a literary language not far removed from Sanskrit¹. The art of writing was introduced into India some seven centuries B.C., and there can be no doubt that it must have been adopted early in the Courts because of its manifest administrative usefulness. 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 Prakrit 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 reciters² in the same kind of language, to entertain not only their royal and noble patrons but also all those who found an interest in hearing of former times³. As Magadha was a great, if not the chief, centre of political activity during those ages, we can perceive how it was that the account grew up with Magadha as its centre (§ 13). The Māgadhas were celebrated as minstrels, and since traditions are most easily remembered, are best handed down, and confer the greatest pleasure, when cast into poetical form, it is easy to understand how this metrical account of the dynasties in literary Prakrit could have developed among them. Hence we may infer that the original ślokas were composed in Māgadhi; or, since the account, much as we have it now, was compiled and edited apparently in North India⁴, and one verse that the Bhāgavata has preserved is in Pali⁵, they may have been in Pali, either originally or perhaps more probably by conversion.

¹ Pali is such a language, and other specimens are found in the early inscriptions.

² Sūtas, māgadhas, and vandins; and other professional singers.

³ Such men have existed in India from early times, and a graphic account of them, their methods, popularity, and influence, will be found in Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen's excellent 'History of Bengali Language and Literature', pp. 162-7, 584-5, 588-90. Since the brahmans could and did transmit the Vedic hymns with verbal accuracy for many hundreds of years, there is no improbability in supposing that bards and minstrels could hand down metrical accounts of dynasties with substantial though not

with verbal accuracy. As these bards and minstrels existed in all parts of North India, they were a check on one another in the transmission of tradition, and there are indications that the Purānic traditions of the dynastic genealogies were compiled with some attempt to ascertain the truth. Moreover there was no objection to the accounts being written down, as soon as writing came into general use; and that would have been also a check on variation.

⁴ See § 27.

⁵ See Appendix I, § ii. Certain other words mentioned in Appendix I appear to be Pali.

Age of the Compilation of the Account.

18. The account supplies two kinds of internal evidence to fix the time when it was compiled, namely, *first*, the subject matter, and *secondly*, textual peculiarities ; and both are important. The latter are dealt with in § 26, and the former is discussed first. The subject matter consists of two parts, the earlier setting out the dynastic details, and the later part describing the unhappy conditions that should prevail and stating certain chronological and astronomical particulars¹. These are treated here separately.

19. The dynastic portion shows two stages of termination. The earlier of these stages is the period following the downfall of the Andhras and the local kingdoms that survived them a while. The Matsya account ends here with the mere mention of the Kilakila kings², and no MS of the Matsya contains anything later. The Andhra kingdom fell about A.D. 236, and it may be said that the Matsya account brings the historical narrative down to about the middle of the third century A.D. and no further.

20. The Vāyu, Brahmānda, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata all carry the narrative on to the rise of the Guptas, which is the later stage. The Guptas are mentioned as reigning over the country comprised within Prayāga, Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Magadha, that is, exactly the territory which was possessed at his death by Candragupta I who founded the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 319-20 and reigned till 326 or 330 (or even till 335 perhaps), before it was extended by the conquests of his son and successor Samudragupta. With the Guptas are mentioned Nāgas, Maṇidhānyas, and others as reigning contemporaneously over the countries which surrounded the Gupta territory³ and which were subjugated afterwards by Samudragupta⁴. The account takes no notice of his conquests nor of the Gupta empire. These particulars show clearly that this account was closed during the interval which elapsed between the time when Candragupta I established his kingdom from Magadha over Tirhut, Bihar, and Oudh as far as Allahabad⁵, and the beginning of Samudragupta's reign, for he began his conquests immediately after his accession. That interval is approximately A.D. 320-330 or perhaps 335. It is hardly credible that, if this account was compiled later, it would have omitted to notice Samudragupta's conquests, or would have mentioned the foregoing kingdoms (which he subdued) in the same terms as his kingdom. The Gupta era was established in A.D. 320, and it may be concluded that this account was closed soon after the commencement of that era, or, if we allow some margin for delay, by the year A.D. 335.

21. Hence it appears that the versified chronicles were first collected about or

¹ The earlier part pp. 1-55, and the later pp. 55 ff.

² That is l. 15 on p. 48. The Vś says they were Yavanas, see note⁹² thereto.

³ See pp. 53-5.

⁴ V. Smith's *History*, 2nd edn. pp. 267-9; and JRAS, 1909, p. 342.

⁵ V. Smith's *History*, p. 266.

soon after the middle of the 3rd century¹ in the shape found in the Matsya, and that they were extended to the rise of the Gupta kingdom before the year 335, which augmented compilation is what the Vāyu and Brahmānda contain and the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata have condensed. It has been shown that the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda all obtained their accounts from the Bhavisya. Hence it would appear that the earlier compilation must have been incorporated in the Bhavisya about or soon after the middle of the 3rd century, and that its prophetic account was extended in the later compilation before the year 335. There is nothing improbable in this augmentation, because the Bhavisya account has been continually supplemented even up to the present time in order to keep its prophecies up to date, as shown above (§ 6). It follows then that the Bhavisya must have been in existence in the middle of the 3rd century²; and it would appear that the Matsya borrowed what the Bhavisya contained before the Gupta era, and that the Vāyu and Brahmānda borrowed the Bhavisya's augmented account about or soon after the year 330 or 335. Further remarks on these dates are offered in §§ 43 ff.

22. Further light is thrown on these points by the MS *eVāyu*, which contains the full account but holds a position intermediate between the general Vāyu version and the Matsya version. The facts to be explained are these. The Matsya has one version which contains only the shorter compilation, the Vāyu generally has a somewhat different version containing the full account, the Brahmānda has the full compilation in a version resembling the Vāyu closely, *eVāyu* has a version containing the full compilation in a text intermediate between the Matsya and all other copies of the Vāyu³, and yet all these Purāṇas declare they borrowed their accounts from the Bhavisya.

23. The only theory which appears to me to explain all these facts is this. The Matsya borrowed from the Bhavisya the shorter account about (say) the last quarter of the 3rd century. The Bhavisya account was then extended down to the time when the Gupta kingdom had acquired the territories assigned to it, and its language was revised⁴; that would be (say) about 320–325. The Vāyu copied that extended and revised account from the Bhavisya almost immediately, and that is the version found in *eVāyu*. Afterwards, the language of the Bhavisya version was revised again, and this must have been done very soon, (say) about 330–335, before the Gupta kingdom had developed into the Gupta empire by Samudragupta's conquests, because it could hardly have failed to notice that immense change if the revision had been later. This second revision was soon adopted by the Vāyu and is the version found now in Vāyu MSS generally. The fact that

¹ There is an apparent indication that a compilation was begun in the latter part of the 2nd century in the Andhra king Yajñaśrī's reign, for 5 MSS of the Matsya (of which three appear to be independent, namely, *b*, *c*, and *l*) speak of him as reigning in his ninth or tenth year; see p. 42, note⁵.

If so, the Bhavisya may perhaps have existed in that century.

² But not of course in its present condition.

³ The position of *eVā* is best shown in the account of the Mauryas, pp. 27–9.

⁴ This, as already pointed out, is what has been habitually done to it.

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eVāyu stands unique among all the Vāyu MSS suggests that no long interval could have separated the second revision from the first, and that the first revised version was quickly superseded by the second in the Vāyu. I cannot speak about the Brahmānda in any detail, because I have not been able to collate any MSS of it: yet two points may be noticed, *first*, it agrees closely with the general Vāyu version¹ and yet condenses the account sometimes²; and *secondly*, the probability is that it borrowed the second revised version from the Bhavisya not long after the Vāyu adopted that³. The Bhavisya existed in writing when the first revision appeared in it, because *eVāyu*, as well as all other Vāyu MSS, uses the word *pañchita* when acknowledging its indebtedness to the Bhavisya (see § 7). The Matsya uses the word *kathita* in the corresponding passage, which might imply that it borrowed the account orally at the earlier stage, but that is not probable because of the inferences brought out in Appendix II.

24. If this explanation be tenable, the Matsya version of these dynasties of the Kali age is older than those of the Vāyu and Brahmānda⁴, and *eVāyu* gives us the earliest text of the Vāyu. The styles of the versions appear to support this explanation, for the Matsya version is somewhat crude at times, and the Vāyu text has been revised more than the Matsya as shown by the story of king Janamejaya's dispute with the brahmans⁵. Though later than the Matsya, the Vāyu account may yet be more accurate at times by reason of the revision which it underwent⁶. The Vāyu has Prakritisms sometimes where the Matsya has correct Sanskrit⁷, but this fact is not incompatible with that conclusion, and for either or both of two reasons; (1) the Matsya may have emended such defects at the time of taking the account from the Bhavisya, while the Vāyu may have copied them as they stood; and (2) a process of silent emendation has been in continual operation in the MSS⁸. Further it would seem that the three accounts may have been compared at times, for this would explain certain small variations which appear occasionally between the Vāyu and Brahmānda in the direction of the Matsya⁹.

¹ The agreement is not only here, but large portions also of the Brahmānda are almost identical with the Vāyu.

² As in p. 22, note⁴⁶; p. 35, note⁴². In those passages the Bhāgavata partially resembles it, and may have copied from it.

³ Unless (what is possible) the Brahmānda copied its account from the Vāyu (see note¹); and its paraphrase of *Aśoka-vardhanaḥ* as *aśokānām ca tṛpti-dah*, if not a late attempted emendation of a text that was unintelligible, suggests that it could not have been composed until Aśoka was wholly forgotten.

⁴ I differ therefore from Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who estimated (without giving reasons) the Vāyu account to be older than the Matsya; but agree with him that the Viṣṇu

is later and the Bhāgavata the latest: *Early History of the Dekhan*, 1895, p. 162. In all this discussion I am dealing only with the time when these accounts of the dynasties of the Kali age were incorporated in these Purāṇas, and not with the age of these Purāṇas themselves such as they were in that early period; see § 28, note¹.

⁵ See Appendix III.

⁶ As in the arrangement of verses (see pp. 27, 44), and in many of the readings in the concluding portion (pp. 55 ff).

⁷ See Appendix I, § iii, first instance.

⁸ E. g. p. 18, note⁷; see Appendix I, § ii.

⁹ These conclusions do not imply that these Purāṇas existed then in their present

25. The second portion of the account referred to in § 18 consists of (1) an exposition of the evils of the Kali age, and (2) a chronological-astronomical summary of the age, and is found in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda. This second portion therefore existed in the earliest version compiled soon after the middle of the 3rd century, yet with a difference. While the Matsya has a good deal of the exposition, the Vāyu and Brahmānda version contains some 32 more lines and is nearly twice as long as the Matsya; so that a large addition was made at the revision, and it was made mostly at the first revision, because the account in eVāyu has the full description with the exception of a few verses which may have been omitted by oversight. As regards the chronological-astronomical summary however, all three Purāṇas practically agree, the Matsya wanting only two lines. These particulars therefore were complete in the first compilation and were not added to in the revisions; and this conclusion is corroborated by the fact that this summary in all three Purāṇas brings the reckoning down definitely only to the end of the Andhras, and uses the vague term *Andhr-ānt-ādyāś* in referring to future kings¹. No addition was therefore made to it at the revisions to bring it down to the Gupta era. It belongs then to the middle of the 3rd century and must be interpreted accordingly; and it shows that the *Saptarṣi* cycle of 2700 years was known and was in use in India at that time, that is, about three centuries earlier than has been supposed². The treatment of these two subjects, the evils of the Kali age and the chronological-astronomical particulars, affords an excellent illustration of what the revisers did and did not do. They had no knowledge with which to augment or alter those particulars and so left them unmodified; but the deterioration of the Kali age was a subject congenial to pessimistic brahmanic views and they freely availed themselves of the opportunity of dilating upon it.

26. I come now to the subject of textual peculiarities mentioned in § 18. Further information may be discovered by examining the divergent readings of the same passage and especially the corruptions in names. A study of the variations shows that ordinarily the copyists copied what they found in dull good faith to the best of their ability, often writing the same name differently in contiguous lines³. Moreover these dynasties of sūdras and foreigners offered little inducement to readers to alter the texts. Hence the variations that crept in were mostly due to clerical blunders or to misreadings of the MSS copied; and the mistake might be detected and corrected, or might not. If not detected, the erroneous letter remained; if detected, the correct letter was written or inserted, and the incorrect letter was sometimes cancelled but was not seldom left uncancelled. In that state

shape. They have no doubt been freely added to since, see § 28, note.

¹ P. 58, ll. 9, 12, and p. 61, l. 23.

² See Encycl. Brit., 'Hindu Chronology'.

³ Cf. the corruptions in the well-known names, *Kauśāmbī* (p. 5, note¹⁰) and *Kāñvāyana* (p. 34, note¹¹). Yet sometimes errors

were caused by a droll perversity or would-be cleverness, cf. p. 41, note⁶⁰; p. 42, note¹; and p. 47, note¹¹: and sometimes where the text had become corrupt, it was boldly paraphrased afresh, cf. p. 26, note⁴²; p. 33, note⁶²; but the latter was probably the effort of a reader and not of a copyist.

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the passage was repeated in subsequent copies, and misreadings are important chronologically if we can explain how they arose. If their divergent readings of the same name or passage be written in the ancient scripts, and resemble one another so closely in a particular script that an ordinary copyist might easily misread one for another, it may be inferred that the variation must have arisen out of a MS written in that script, and therefore that the text once existed in that script, that is, it had been written during the time when that script was in use. In this way it may be ascertained which are ancient and which are mediaeval or even modern corruptions. Most of the variations have arisen from misreadings of the Gupta and later scripts¹, but for the present purpose it is unnecessary to consider any that arose from misreading scripts that came into use after A.D. 330, the date when this account was finally compiled, and it is only essential to see whether any variations point to misreadings of Kharoṣṭhī or of Brāhmī.

27. It would overload this Introduction to examine such particulars here, and in Appendix II are noticed such cases as appear to throw light on this subject. It is shown there that errors are found in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Viṣṇu which point to misreadings of Kharoṣṭhī as their source. Hence it seems there is reasonable ground for inferring that this account of the dynasties was, in its earliest form, written in Sanskrit in Kharoṣṭhī, and, since Kharoṣṭhī was current only in Upper India, that the account was probably put together there : that is, since the earliest account was in the Bhaviṣya, that the Bhaviṣya account was written originally in Kharoṣṭhī and was put together in Upper India. If these conclusions are sound, it would follow that the account could not have been compiled later than about A.D. 330, because Kharoṣṭhī went out of use about that time. Further, judging from the point of view displayed in the portion which was added to the Bhaviṣya to bring it up to date about the year 320², it would seem that the composers of this portion were probably in Madhyadeśa, and more particularly perhaps in the country between Magadha and Mathurā. The Viṣṇu account was probably based on the same original for three reasons : (1) its dynastic matter agrees closely with that in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, and also the ślokas where it has preserved them ; (2) it closes its account where they close theirs ; and (3) it is not probable that its account was a new and independent compilation from early chronicles when the compilations in the Bhaviṣya, Matsya, and Vāyu were available. At the same time it was composed early enough for its account to be drawn from Kharoṣṭhī MSS. It seems probable then that the main part of the Viṣṇu which is in prose was composed from those Purāṇas directly in Sanskrit not very long after the Gupta era, (say) perhaps before the end of the 4th century. The Bhāgavata was, as shown in Appendix II, composed afresh in Sanskrit, except in so far as it has incorporated old ślokas ; and must have been based on the same materials for the same three reasons mentioned above, yet most probably on the Viṣṇu chiefly, to which it has

¹ Many such may be detected in the notes, | *n. r* and *v, c* and *v, &c.*
such as mistakes of *p* and *y*, *n* and *r*, *l* and | ² See §§ 19-21.

the closest resemblances¹; and it was probably not composed till the 8th century or even later. These conclusions strictly refer only to these dynastic accounts.

Sanskritization of the Account.

28. It has been shown that the account was first compiled for the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa about the middle of the 3rd century A.D., and there are reasons why that was appropriate. Since royal genealogies constituted one of the subjects which every Purāṇa should treat of, the Bhaviṣya, as a work professing to deal with the future, could hardly ignore the dynasties that reigned after his time; and the dynasties of the Kali age would hold the same position in it that the ancient genealogies held in the Purāṇas which dealt with ancient stories². The account of

¹ See p. 18, note⁷; p. 25, notes^{6, 16, 22}; p. 28, note²⁰; and in its description of the evils of the Kali age, where the Viṣṇu and it have matter peculiar to themselves. It has resemblances to the Brahmānda in p. 22, note⁴⁶; p. 35, note⁴²; p. 41, note⁸⁰.

² The title Purāṇa indicates that such works narrated ancient stories, but the Bhaviṣya professed by its name to treat of the future, and the title Bhaviṣya Purāṇa is a contradiction in terms. Such a name could hardly have been possible, until the title Purāṇa had become so thoroughly specialized as to have lost its old meaning and become the designation of the kind of works now known by this title. The name Bhaviṣya Purāṇa therefore proves that the kind of composition that passed under the title Purāṇa had become stereotyped before the title could have been assumed by the Bhaviṣya; that is, that genuine Purāṇas must have preceded it so long before as to have specialized the title Purāṇa. It has been shown above that the Bhaviṣya existed in the middle of the 3rd century, hence some at least, if not many, of the true Purāṇas must be considerably older. This inference does not, of course, mean that the Purāṇas contained at their beginning all that they contain now, because there can be no doubt that they have been freely added to since. It is highly probable that they consisted at first mainly of ancient stories, genealogies, ballads, &c., which formed the popular side of ancient literature, and were quite probably in Prakrit originally. In fact, it seems to me that they were largely

in an old literary Prakrit used by the higher classes, but that, as the spoken languages diverged in time more and more from Sanskrit through political vicissitudes, that literary Prakrit became unintelligible, while Sanskrit remained the only polished language of brahmanic Hinduism. Hence it was natural that this literature should be Sanskritized, if it was to be preserved, a process that was not difficult because the old literary Prakrit was not far removed from Sanskrit, yet it was not always effected completely, especially in poetry where the necessity of preserving the metre sometimes qualified that process, and hence Prakrit forms might survive embedded in good Sanskrit as *pravartayitvā* in p. 88, l. 14. It was the brahmans probably who saved and improved the status of those old compositions by converting them into Sanskrit, and afterwards, perceiving what an excellent means they provided for reaching popular thought, made use of them to propagate their own views and doctrines by freely augmenting them with brahmanical fables, philosophical discussions, and ceremonial expositions which were enforced with the authority of Vyāsa. I should say therefore, speaking generally, that what may be called the kṣatriya, or better perhaps the popular, matter of the Purāṇas constituted the really old and genuine *purāṇa*, and that the brahmanical and ritual matters now found in them were later additions and interpolations made from time to time. This inference is based on the fact that it is in the former portion of the Purāṇas that peculiarities occur such as are

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these dynasties would then naturally have been required for the Bhavisya, and all that was necessary was to collect the Prakrit metrical chronicles and convert them into Sanskrit prophecies uttered by Vyāsa¹. That was done as shown in Appendix I, and then the Matsya first, and the Vāyu and Brahmānda afterwards, borrowed the account from the Bhavisya. The original Bhavisya account has been lost, but these three Purāṇas have preserved and reveal what its contents were; otherwise it would have been impossible to know what it contained at that time. A comparison of their accounts with the present condition of the Bhavisya shows to what bold lengths pious fraud has gone.

29. Since the chronicles existed in the form of ślokas in literary Prakrit, all that was necessary was (1) to convert the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, and (2) substitute futures for past tenses, while maintaining the śloka metre. The first process appears to have been made word by word as nearly as possible², and the Sanskritization was crude as the many Prakritisms noticed in Appendix I indicate, for they must have existed in the Bhavisya account, otherwise it is difficult to see how they could appear in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda. Indeed it would almost seem that the Bhavisya account may have been composed in a literary Prakrit rather than in true Sanskrit. Both processes of conversion would have upset the metre, since Prakrit words are sometimes a syllable longer or shorter than their Sanskrit equivalents, and future tenses are generally longer than past tenses; hence three correctives were adopted; (1) words were dropped which might be omitted without impairing the sense, such as 'reigned', 'years', &c.; (2) compensatory expletives were inserted; and (3) the sentence was occasionally recast³. Still the Sanskritization was imperfect and sometimes grammar or metre was sacrificed, and these blemishes have persisted, as pointed out in Appendix I, in spite of attempts to rectify them afterwards.

noticed in Appendix I. It seems highly probable too that it was largely through the Purānic literature, that brahmanism re-established itself over the people and secured the revival of Hinduism and the downfall of Buddhism. That was what actually happened in Bengal and has been called by Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen the 'Pauranic Renaissance', which he has described very clearly in his excellent work 'The History of Bengali Language and Literature' (ch. iv).

¹ This was, as has been pointed out above, the beginning of a pious fraud, whereby the prophetic matter has been continually revised and brought up to date in the Bhavisya. To be able to point to such prophetic accounts in the literature would have been

a valuable weapon, moreover, in the hands of the brahmans against adversaries of other creeds; and it may be noted in this connexion, that the Veṅkateśvara edition of the Bhavisya has incorporated a summary of the Biblical account from Adam to Abraham in the early chapters of Genesis (Bhav. iii, 4, 17-19, 29-60; 5, 1-20). There can hardly be any doubt that this interpolation has been made very recently in view of Christianity.

² See the phrase *astāvīṁśati tathā varṣā* in Appendix I, § i.

³ Cf. for instance the lines in the *Andhras* where the two versions are given, and the notes thereto.

Errors, omissions, and rare verses.

30. Though there was originally one text common (but qualified by the revisions suggested in § 23) to the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda down to the end of the Andhras, yet present MSS show many errors and omissions and some misplacements. Such defects easily occurred through the carelessness of copyists¹, damage to² or loss of³ leaves, or disarrangement of leaves⁴. The blemishes in the text appear to have been generally accidental. The brahmans who compiled the Sanskrit account could and did fabricate passages portraying the evils of the Kali age, but had neither inclination nor incentive to invent particular dynasties or kings of foreign or base origin. The chief changes that can be placed under the head of fabrications are various attempts by later readers to improve the text in details in which it appeared to be corrupt or inelegant⁵, or to remove inconsistencies⁶. Among the latter some alterations, though made apparently in good faith, involved tampering with the text, as in the Śiśunāga dynasty, where the Matsya, by mistakenly introducing the first two Kāṇvāyana kings, names twelve kings instead of ten as all the other authorities declare; so that some copies of the Matsya have boldly altered the total to twelve, while others more cautiously have made the passage indefinite⁷. Misreadings have also produced incorrect statements and there are many errors in names and numbers⁸; but of deliberate falsification I have found no instance except in the story of the dispute between Janamejaya and the brahmans⁹.

31. It is reasonably certain, then, that in the main these versions have suffered from nothing but carelessness and accident, and considering what little interest this account could have for educated readers, especially those brahmanically-minded, the text has been fairly well preserved. Much may have been lost altogether, for some passages have almost disappeared. One Purāna, or even one MS only, has preserved a passage or verse sometimes which is wanting in all the rest: thus eVāyu, alone of all the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda MSS,

¹ As for instance the mistaken introduction of the first two Kāṇvāyana kings among the Śiśunāgas in the Matsya (see p. 21 and note²⁴).

² Damage probably explains the frequent loss of verses here and there in different MSS.

³ Hence no doubt the absence of all the first part in the Brahmānda (see pp. 1, 3, 8).

⁴ As for instance the displacement in eVāyu of the last half of the Early Contemporary Dynasties, all the Nandas, Maṇaryas, Śungas, and Kāṇvāyanas and the first twelve lines of the Andhras after Viśvasphāṇi

(see pp. 23, 24, 27, 30, 33, 35, 50).

⁵ See p. 26, note⁴²; p. 33, note⁵³; p. 52, notes^{27, 28, 42}.

⁶ As in p. 29, note³².

⁷ See p. 22, note⁴³.

⁸ As where the Bh misread *trayodasa* as *bhūyo daśa*, p. 46, note²². As regards the readings *Tuṣāra* and *Tukhāra* in pp. 45, 47, it may be noted that *s* has often been pronounced *kh* for centuries in North India, and that the letter *s* was used at times for *kh*; hence these two letters are often confused: cf. p. 6, notes^{22, 48}; p. 19, note²³; p. 41, note⁸⁰; p. 51, note²⁴; &c.

⁹ See Appendix III.

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contains the verse about Śālisūka, and his existence might be doubted if it depended on that alone, but it is testified to by the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata¹. Again in the Bhāgavata only one copy has preserved the verse about Suśarman². Such being the conditions, no verse should be discarded even if it is found in only one MS. Thus line 26 of the Aikṣvākus appears only in three MSS, and lines 12–14 of the Preface only in *eVāyu*; yet it is not credible that they were fabricated, and they might easily have been regarded as valueless in the other MSS, for the former contradicts the alleged prophetic standpoint, and the latter merely name sundry and some unknown dynasties. Such rare passages appear to be relics of genuine tradition; and it is possible that lines 30, 31 of the Bārhadrathas found only in *jmatsya*, and line 28 of the Andhras found only in *eVāyu*, may be genuine. Other peculiar verses will be found in the notes³.

Formation of this Text.

32. The Bhavisya account having been the common source of the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda versions, the various readings are often equivalent or not materially different, so that real divergencies are far fewer than the places where the readings vary. The text now offered has been prepared according to the printed editions and the MSS collated. The Matsya and Vāyu versions are of far greater value than the Brahmānda, because they have been printed at Calcutta and in the Ānandaśrama series from a number of MSS, and I have collated besides 13 MSS of the Matsya and 11 of the Vāyu; whereas of the Brahmānda only the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition has been available⁴, and I have seen no MSS containing this account. Where variations occur I have endeavoured to choose the most weighty, it being remembered (1) that the Matsya gives us the oldest version, *eVāyu* the next, and all other copies of the Vāyu and the Brahmānda the third recension; and (2) that the Matsya is at times a somewhat crude Sanskritization of the old Prakrit ślokas, and the later versions may be more accurate. Their general agreement must be understood, but variations and omissions are always noticed, so that where no notes are given, the copies all agree.

33. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata cannot elucidate that common version except in the occasional passages where they adhere to it; and there they have been used to frame the text. Otherwise they can only help towards determining the correct names of the kings and the duration of the dynasties, and are so utilized in the notes. The Bhāgavata is also useful in determining the order of the kings, because, while the single lines devoted to individual kings might be and have been displaced at times in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda, its versified lists preclude the

¹ P. 29, l. 10. He is also mentioned in the *Gārgīsamhitā* according to Max Müller in 'India: what can it teach us?' (ed. 1883) p. 298; but the passage is spurious, see JRAS, 1912, pp. 792–3.

² See p. 34, note¹⁹.

³ As p. 40, l. 13; p. 42, note⁸.

⁴ See *List of Authorities, Brahmānda Purāna*.

shifting of names in a verse, and the disarrangement of lines would produce manifest disarrangement of groups of kings. Besides the Calcutta edition of the Viṣṇu and the Gaṇpat edition of the Bhāgavata, I have collated 10 MSS of the former and 18 of the latter, and also the French edition of the Bhāgavata so far as its Sanskrit text goes.

34. The Garuda is of use only for the names of the kings in the three earliest dynasties, and I have been able to collate only the Calcutta edition and two MSS. The Veṅkatesvara edition of the Bhavisya is of no value as already explained.

35. As regards variations in words, these when small, such as errors in sandhi¹, or optional ways of writing², or obvious clerical mistakes³, or mere trivial differences⁴, are generally disregarded or corrected unless there is something noteworthy in them⁵, for many of the MSS are carelessly written and abound in such blemishes; yet the notes will show that I have erred probably rather on the side of inclusion than of exclusion. Various letters are often written so much alike in the MSS as to be easily confused, such as *b* and *v*, *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *n* and *l*, *n* and *r*, subscript *r* and *u*, and the MSS often contain superfluous letters written by mistake and not cancelled. These flaws, when obviously purely clerical, have been disregarded in some cases, but otherwise, and especially where these particulars may prove significant in the matter of Prakritisms and scripts, have been cited in the notes as they stand, the superfluous letters being enclosed in square brackets. *B* and *v* when not distinguished in the MSS have been generally transcribed as they should be correctly, unless the actual letter seemed worthy of notice. Since the account is only a Sanskritized version of Prakrit ślokas, Prakrit forms have been admitted into the text if they are supported by the best authority, as more truly representing the original words especially in numerals. Variations of readings and corruptions of names have been arranged in the order of modification, so as to elucidate as far as possible the process of the changes, and when so placed, readings that are corrupt often prove to be highly instructive as regards both language and script⁶.

36. Though I am not an advocate of the use of Roman characters in lieu of Devanāgarī, yet, as this work is intended for the use of all interested in Indian archaeology whether Sanskrit scholars or not, practical usefulness should be the chief consideration in this presentation of the Purānic accounts of the dynasties of the Kali age. Hence the Roman character has been used throughout, because it

¹ E.g., in p. 60, note⁴³ *dflVā* have *śatāt* *śatam* actually.

² As where conjunct nasals are written for convenience as *anusvāra*, or where consonants conjoined with *r* are optionally doubled.

³ Thus the Calc. edition of the Vāyu has *Sneeccha* sometimes instead of *Mlechcha* by an obvious printer's error: see p. 47, note⁷⁶.

⁴ As the insertion or omission of final *anusvāra* or *visarga* through mere carelessness.

⁵ To have noticed such minutiae would have swollen the notes beyond all reason and usefulness.

⁶ E.g. p. 39, note⁴⁸; p. 40, note⁶⁹; p. 47, note⁷²; p. 49, note¹⁴.

offers several advantages over Devanāgarī, namely, (1) words can be separated which would be all run together when written properly in Devanāgarī; (2) compound words and words that have fused together by sandhi can be divided by hyphens and so displayed distinctly; and (3) by so treating words capitals can be introduced for names, and names can be exhibited unmistakably, even when initial vowels have been modified by sandhi. The system of transliteration is that adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society and most other Oriental Societies. Where vowels are blended by sandhi, the resultant vowel has been marked with a circumflex, except *ai* and *au* where a circumflex is inconvenient and hardly necessary. Changes in sandhi, which are required by the variant readings, are treated as necessarily consequential and are not mentioned. It has been necessary to introduce the double hyphen (used in transliterating inscriptions and MSS) in order to distinguish separate words that have become fused by sandhi¹, and I trust this sign may be pardoned here, especially as this Purānic account is not literature but only patch-work Sanskritization.

Interpretation of the Account.

37. In interpreting the account the fact must be borne in mind that it was written in Prakrit originally, and this will throw light on many points, especially the variations in names and the meaning of numbers. It will explain how corruptions in names have sometimes occurred², it will help to elucidate doubtful passages³, and will be the best guide in solving difficulties in readings which appear corrupt⁴. The best course in such cases is to convert the different readings into literary Prakrit, write the Prakrit forms in the various old scripts, compare them, and see whether one can divine what was probably the original Prakrit statement. These remarks apply especially to the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda versions.

38. There is often great variation in names. In some cases the correct form can be selected by reference to other books or to inscriptions, but where there is no such agreement I have not ventured to emend the Purānic forms from other sources, because it is my duty simply to edit the text and not to attempt to make it square with our present scanty knowledge of ancient Indian history—which is a separate matter. In such cases I have confined myself to estimating what form of the name is best attested by the MSS, and often the only feasible course is to adopt the most central form from which the other forms may be considered

¹ Chiefly where names have fused with other words by single or double sandhi, as *bharivyôdayanas* (p. 7, l. 23; p. 82) and *bharitâsoka* (p. 27, l. 2; p. 28, l. 4 in *eVā*); these are printed as *bharisy-Ödayanas* and *bharit-Âsoka* in order to bring out the name clearly. It could hardly be dispensed with in such cases of double sandhi as *Yavandstau*

and *bhâvyyânyâh* (see p. 82); and as no line could well be drawn regarding its use, the simplest course was to adopt it throughout, except in the Appendixes and Introduction.

² E.g. p. 40, note⁶⁹; p. 41, note⁷⁴.

³ E.g. p. 52, notes^{57, 58, 42}.

⁴ P. 59, line 11 is an excellent crux for such solution.

to diverge¹; but this is a measure more of convenience than of accuracy, because it happens sometimes that the correct form is what would appear to be an aberrant form²; and in such cases what is, or would seem to be, the correct form is suggested sometimes in the notes³.

39. The numbers present much difficulty. Those that occur oftenest are *vinśati* and *trimśati*, and their abbreviated forms *vinśat* and *trimśat*, *vinśa* and *trimśa*⁴; and the difficulty arises because *tr* and *v*, if written carelessly or if partially frayed, are hardly distinguishable in the later script⁵, and *t* and *v* in the Prakrit forms of these words might have been confused from the first in Kharoṣṭhī. Hence in many cases either may be read as other data may indicate, irrespective of the weight of the MSS.

40. Various groups of misreadings will appear on an examination of the notes, and the most important may be mentioned here. First, *abda*, if the loop of the *b* be carelessly written so as to touch the top bar (as I have found it sometimes), may easily be misread as *aṣṭa*, and there can be no doubt that *abda* and *aṣṭa* have often been confused. Thus, where most MSS read *aṣṭapañcāśatam cābdan*⁶, one has *cābdā*, two *cāṣṭān*, and one *cāṣṭā*; and here *aṣṭa* is plainly a corruption of *abda* because it is impossible after *aṣṭapañcāśatam*. Again, one set of readings is *so smā daśa*, *so 'smād daśa* and *tasmād daśa*, and another set is *aṣṭām daśa*, *aṣṭādaśa* and *so 'ṣṭādaśa*⁷: the latter suggest the reading *abdām daśa*, which (with the frequent use of *anusvāra* for *nasals*) would be often written *abdām daśa* and might be misread as *aṣṭāmadaśa* and so pass to *aṣṭādaśa*: thus *abdām daśa* would reconcile all the readings as regards the number and would seem to have been the original reading. The same confusion occurs in other places⁸. This liability of *abda* and *aṣṭa* to be confused may harmonize other passages where the numbers 10 and 18 are in conflict. Moreover, *abda*, if the initial *a* is elided by Sanskrit or Prakrit sandhi, becomes *bda*; and *bda* may be mistaken for *dva* (= *dvaū*)⁹; hence *dvā* and *dvaū* become a third alternative, and this possibility may harmonize other passages¹⁰. Secondly, *samā* and *sapta* have been confused sometimes, for it is not always easy to distinguish *m* and *pt* where written carelessly in the more modern scripts, as I have found. Thus two readings occur *saptāśitīm* and *samāśitīm*¹¹, and either might be derived from the other¹².

¹ See p. 39, note⁴⁵ for an instance.

² E.g. *Vindusāra*, whose name is given correctly only by the *Viṣṇu* (p. 28, notes^{23, 24}).

³ As in p. 6, note²⁹; p. 42, note²⁸.

⁴ In *nMt* *ṣadvinśati* looks like *sadgiṁśati* generally, and *saṭtrimśati* like *saḍimśati*.

⁵ For a clear instance see p. 57, note⁴.

⁶ P. 15, l. 17, and notes.

⁷ P. 39, l. 5, and notes.

⁸ See p. 19, note⁴⁶; p. 30, note⁴⁶; p. 43, note³³; p. 47, note⁷⁷; p. 60, notes^{70, 86};

p. 61, note¹; p. 62, note²⁸. For the reverse cf. perhaps p. 29, note²¹.

⁹ I have not seldom found *bd*, *db*, and *dbh* inverted in the MSS, and *b* is generally written as *v*. See p. 22, note⁴³.

¹⁰ Cf. probably p. 40, l. 13.

¹¹ That is, *samāḥ aṣṭīm* by double, or Prakrit, sandhi: p. 47, note⁴⁴.

¹² See also p. 29, note⁴⁶; p. 31, note¹³; p. 40, notes^{44, 55}.

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41. Misreadings could easily affect other numerals. Thus, *caturvimsa-t* occurs at times where it may be erroneous¹, and in such cases it might easily be a mistaken Sanskritization of Prakrit *cattāri sa* (or perhaps *ca*), for *cattāri* is both nomin. and accus., and is of all three genders². Again *dasa* and *sata* are sometimes confused³, and, since *dasa* appears in Prakrit as *dasa* and *dasa*, and *sata* as *sada* and *sada*⁴, either word might easily be altered to the other, since metathesis occurs in the MSS⁵. Again the final *ti* of numerals, especially *saptati*, may be a misreading of *vi* which may in Prakrit represent 'pi'⁶ or 'vai'⁷ (Pali *ve*), for *v* and *t* might easily be confused in Kharosthi, so that *saptati* should probably be *sapta vai* in some cases⁸. In short in dealing with all numerals, it must be remembered that they were Prakrit originally, and their Prakrit forms are of primary importance.

42. The combination of numerals is important. They are used in two ways, *first*, in correct Sanskrit compounds, such as *caturvimsati*, 24; *asṭatrimśac-chatam*, 138; *saptatrimśac-chatam*, 137⁹; and *secondly*, strung together in separate words. The latter construction alone requires notice, because it often follows what seems to me to have been a Prakrit arrangement and, if so, should be interpreted according to Prakrit usage. Thus, in Prakrit 'hundred' preceded by 'three' means 'three hundred', but followed by 'three' means apparently 'hundred (and) three'. The Prakrit numerals were Sanskritized as they stood, and were then declined regularly, so that 'three' appears as *triṇi*, and 'hundred' seems to appear similarly in the plural as *satāni*. If this view be right, *triṇi satāni* mean 'three hundred', but *satāni triṇi* 'hundred and three'. This conclusion may be tested by some cases, for it is very important if it is right.

43. The most important passage for this purpose is the statement that 18 Śakas would reign *satāni triṇy asṭim ca* years¹⁰. This expression is ordinarily read as correct Sanskrit to mean 380, but there are cogent grounds to show that these words cannot have that meaning. These Śakas are, in Dr. Fleet's opinion, Nahāpāna and his successors, whose kingdom began with (or about) the Śaka era, A.D. 78; and if these words mean 380, the conclusion could be and has been drawn that this Purānic notice was written after they had reigned 380 years, that is, about the year A.D. 458¹¹. Now this conclusion involves this consequence, that the account brings the notice of the Śakas down to A.D. 458 and yet wholly ignores the great Gupta

¹ See p. 14, l. 10; p. 21, ll. 3, 6; p. 22, l. 13; &c.

² Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 439.

³ See p. 30, note⁴⁶; p. 33, note⁵⁰.

⁴ Pischel, *op. cit.*, §§ 442, 448.

⁵ See p. 7, note⁵³; p. 32, note⁵²; p. 39, note⁴⁸; p. 45, note¹¹; p. 49, note²⁶: also *nṛpah* and *punah* are confused through their Pkt forms *napa* and *pana*, see p. 11, note⁵¹, and p. 45, note⁴.

⁶ Pischel, *op. cit.*, § 143.

⁷ *Sapta vi* actually occurs for *sapta vai*,

p. 53, note⁴. Similarly in names a final *vi* has been treated as a particle and the name curtailed, cf. p. 40, note⁶, p. 42, note²⁸, and p. 43, note²⁴.

⁸ E.g. p. 28, l. 7.

⁹ P. 19, l. 10; p. 28, l. 9; p. 30, l. 15.

¹⁰ *Various Local Dynasties*, p. 46, l. 9. The number of Śaka kings is given also as 10, or 16 (see p. 45, l. 3), which seem more probable.

¹¹ JRAS, 1912, p. 1047.

empire which was paramount in North India after A.D. 340 and was still flourishing in 458¹. This is incredible, because the Gupta kings were orthodox Hindus, guided by brahman advisers, and skilled in Sanskrit²; and this Purānic account, which was brahmanical, would unquestionably, if not closed till 458, have extolled their fame. The argument *ex silentio* is incontestable here. The fact then that the account knows nothing of events most congenial to brahmanism later than 330 shows that the rendering '380' leads to impossible results: indeed no date later than about A.D. 330 is possible. These words *sātāni triṇy asūtim ca* occur in the Matsya as well as in the Vāyu and Brahmānda, and the Matsya account is that which was compiled in the Bhavisya about or soon after the middle of the 3rd century A.D. If we read these words as '380' with reference to that time, they take us back to about 130 or 120 B.C. as the beginning of these Śakas—a result that no one will accept. From both these alternative interpretations therefore it appears that the rendering of these words as '380' stultifies them.

44. We may now try reading these words as 'hundred, three, and eighty', 183. Applying them to Nahapāna and his successors and reckoning from A.D. 78 as before, we obtain the year A.D. 260-1 as the date of this notice of the Śakas, and this agrees entirely with the conclusion, reached above on other grounds (§ 21) that the account was first compiled about or soon after the middle of the 3rd century. This rendering '183' therefore brings all the particulars into an agreement which is strong evidence that it is the true meaning; and it further gives something like a precise date for the first compilation of the account in the Bhavisya as preserved in the Matsya, namely, A.D. 260-1. This statement, that the Śakas had reigned 183 years in A.D. 260, does not imply that they had come to an end then, but simply that the account being compiled then could say nothing about the future. So far as the account is concerned, they might have reigned, and in fact did reign, long afterwards, for there are coin-dates for them down to the year '311'. Such coin dates refer to a time after the account was compiled, and are in no conflict with the rendering '183'. This date A.D. 260-1 is a lower limit, for, if the Sakas formed a kingdom before their era was established, the reckoning would start from before A.D. 78, and the 183 years would have expired some little time before A.D. 260.

45. This conclusion is corroborated by the notice of the Hūnas or Maunas along with the Śakas. They are said to have reigned, eleven for *satāni triṇi* years³. It is not known when their rule began, so that exact calculations cannot be made for them; but, if these words be read as '300', difficulties occur precisely similar to those discussed with regard to the Śakas and show that that meaning cannot be right. Read as meaning '103' however the statement may be true; Hūnas or Maunas may have formed some small kingdom for 103 years on the frontiers of

¹ V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 2nd ed., pp. 289-90.

² *Id.*, pp. 282, 287.

³ P. 47, l. 14. Their number is also given less probably as 18 or 19 (cf. p. 46, l. 5).

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India in A.D. 260. The corresponding line relating to the Tuṣāras is certainly corrupt, and their period should probably be 105 or 107 years¹, which would be possible in A.D. 260.

46. All the statements regarding the 'Various Local Dynasties' in pp. 45-47 must be read with reference to the date of the first compilation which is preserved in the Matsya. When the account was revised and brought up to date in the Bhavisya at the Gupta era in the version found now in the Vāyu and Brahmānda, the periods assigned to the Śaka and other mleccha dynasties should have been revised for the further period of 60 or 70 years, but that was not done, for the periods are the same in the two versions. The brahmans, who revised the account at that time, merely revised the language and not the statements. That was natural, for revision of the statements required fresh and precise calculations, for which they may have had few data and certainly had little inclination, as the dynasties were mleccha or śūdra. All they did was to extend the account by adding the fresh matter contained in p. 48, l. 16 to p. 55, l. 17; yet in that they do appear to have included further particulars about the Śakas on p. 49, for there can be little doubt that Nabapāna's successors are alluded to in l. 4², though the context is vague.

47. This examination of the circumstances thus leads to the conclusion that the numerals discussed here cannot be read as correct Sanskrit, and that read in the way now suggested they accord with the circumstances and also apparently with Prakrit usage. Hence I would submit that they must be interpreted in that way. This construction simplifies numerical statements remarkably and reduces to reasonable and probable totals figures that seem at first wild and extravagant. At the same time one must hesitate to assert that numerical statements must always be so read, for it certainly seems that the period assigned to the Andhras by the Matsya is 460 rather than 164 years³.

Conclusion.

48. The foregoing results and inferences may be summarized thus. The Bhavisya was the first Purāṇa to give an account of the dynasties of the Kali age, and the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda got their accounts from it (§§ 7, 8), though

¹ P. 47, l. 11 with p. 45, l. 4. *Sahasrāni* is sometimes a corruption of *sa* (or *tu*) *varsāni*, see p. 25, note¹⁸; p. 46, note³⁶.

² This would be natural, if they fostered brahmanism and Sanskrit learning during the 3rd century (V. Smith, *History*, p. 287); though they are treated so curiously in the earlier part, before they favoured Hinduism.

³ It says there were 19 Andhra kings, and I may offer a tentative suggestion. The Andhra who overthrew the Kānvayanas

was not Simuka as these Purāṇic accounts say, but probably one of the kings, nos. 12-14 (V. Smith, *History*, p. 194). Possibly then the Matsya account may refer only to him and his successors, and they may have been 19: but the period if read as 164 years would be too short for them. Otherwise its reading *ekonavimśatir* should probably be *ekonatrinśatir*, which is quite possible, see § 39.

they no doubt, and many of the Purāṇas certainly, existed before the Bhaviṣya (§ 28, note). Metrical accounts of the dynasties, that reigned in North India after the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, grew up gradually, composed in ślokas in a literary Prakrit and recited by bards and minstrels (§§ 15–17); and, after writing was introduced into India about seven centuries B.C., there could have been no lack of materials from which those accounts could have been composed and even written down (§ 17). Such accounts were composed in or near Magadha more particularly, which was one of the chief centres of political life and thought during those times (§ 13) and was famous for its bards and minstrels (§ 17); and the Prakrit in which they were expressed was no doubt a literary Māgadhi or Pali (§ 17).

49. The Bhaviṣya professed to treat of future events, subsequent to that battle which practically ushered in the Kali age (§ 14), and should therefore supply an account of the dynasties of that age, because royal vairas were one of the prescribed topics of the Purāṇas (§ 28); and, as the Purāṇas professed to have been composed by Vyāsa, it took the same standpoint. Hence it appropriated the Prakrit metrical accounts, converted the Prakrit ślokas into Sanskrit ślokas, and altered them to the form of a prophecy uttered by Vyāsa (§§ 28, 29, Appx I); and this re-shaping was carried through generally yet not completely (§ 12). Some compilation seems to have been made, of the Andhras at least, in the reign of the Andhra king Yajñāśrī about the end of the second century A.D. (§ 21, note)¹; but the first definite compilation is that which brought the ‘history’ down from the time of the battle to a little later than the end of the Andhras², together with the final portion³, and was incorporated in the Bhaviṣya about or soon after the middle of the third century (§§ 19, 21, 24); and there are reasons for fixing its date as not later than A.D. 260–1 (§ 44). That account was apparently written in Kharoṣṭhī and composed in Northern India (§ 27). The Matsya borrowed it from the Bhaviṣya, probably during the last quarter of the third century (§ 23), and so has preserved what the Bhaviṣya contained then.

50. The Bhaviṣya account was revised about the years 315–320 and brought up to date by the insertion of the later dynastic matter⁴ and much addition to the ‘Evils of the Kali Age’⁵: it was still in Kharoṣṭhī, and was certainly written down then (§§ 23, 27). That version was borrowed by the Vāyu then, but exists now only in one MS, *e*Vāyu (§ 23). The language of the account in the Bhaviṣya was revised again about the years 325–330, and that version was adopted by the Vāyu, and soon afterwards by the Brahmāṇḍa⁶, and now constitutes their general versions (§ 23). They have thus preserved what the Bhaviṣya contained at that time.

¹ It is possible that the use of the present tense for the three ancient Paurava, Aikṣvāku and Bārhadratha kings (§ 11) may have something genuine in it.

² P. 1 to l. 15 on p. 48.

³ Pp. 55–63: see § 25.

⁴ P. 48, l. 16 to p. 55.

⁵ Pp. 55, 56.

⁶ But the Brahmāṇḍa may have copied from the Vāyu (§ 23, note).

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51. The Viṣṇu next utilized the account, perhaps before the end of the fourth century, and condensed it all in Sanskrit prose except the concluding portion (§ 27). The Bhāgavata also drew its materials from the same sources, from the Brahmānda and more particularly the Viṣṇu; it retained some of the old ślokas, but in the main condensed the matter into new Sanskrit ślokas; and it probably belongs to the 8th or even 9th century (§ 27). The Garuḍa utilized the same materials for the three great early dynasties only, and has merely a bald list of the kings in new Sanskrit ślokas; but its date is uncertain (Appx I, II).

52. Since those times a quiet process of small emendations in details has been at work in these Purāṇas; but the Bhavisya, the source of them all, has been unscrupulously tampered with in order to keep its prophecies up to date, and the text now presented in the Veṅkateśvara edition shows all the ancient matter utterly corrupted, but the prophecies brought boldly down to the nineteenth century.

53. The sixty-three MSS of these Purāṇas that have been collated have yielded a great quantity of different readings, and no pains have been spared to state and arrange them correctly, so that I trust the notes will be found free from errors. The Index comprises all names and forms of names mentioned in the text, notes, translation, appendixes, and introduction, except such peculiar forms as are obviously erroneous or occur in single MSS of no particular trustworthiness.

54. In conclusion I have to tender my thanks to Dr. J. F. Fleet. He had long thought that a critical edition of the Purāṇa texts of these dynasties was greatly needed, and it was at his desire that I undertook this work, which has proved full of interest. He has done me the kindness to read most of this Introduction, and to offer me some criticisms and suggestions, which have been of great help and have also opened up some new questions that I have now endeavoured to elucidate; and he has supplied the valuable references to various inscriptions which mention certain kings named in these dynastic lists.

F. E. PARGITER.

OXFORD, May 15, 1913.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

Editions and Manuscripts collated.

BHĀGAVATA PURĀNA.

- BBh.* The edition published in part by Burnouf and continued afterwards. Skandha ix is in Skt, but sk xii only in translation. It differs very little from *GBh.*
GBh. The edition published by the Ganpat Krishnājī Press, Bombay, 1889. Has a commentary, and some variant readings rarely.

MSS in the Bodleian Library.

- aBh.* Wilson 22; Auf. Cat. no. 86. Dated 1711. In Bengali characters; fairly well written; contains sk x-xii only.
bBh. Wilson 121-3; Auf. Cat. nos. 79-81. Dated 1813-6. Sk xii contains only the last portion, the Evils of the Kali Age, &c.
cBh. Mill 133-6; Auf. Cat. nos. 82-5. Dated 1823. Writing moderately good; many clerical errors.
dBh. Fraser 2; Auf. Cat. nos. 809-10. Does not contain sk ix; sk xii is dated 1407. Genuinely accurate. A very valuable MS; it contains alterations by another and apparently later hand, which are not always sound.
eBh. Walker 215-6; Auf. Cat. nos. 811-2. Dated 1794. Is close to *GBh* and fairly correct; writing poor.
fBh. Skt MS c. 54; W and K. Cat. no. 1180. Dated 1642. A very valuable MS in Śāradā script. Writing good and almost free from mistakes.

MSS in the India Office Library.

- gBh.* No. 3206, E 3461. Date about 1650. Fairly good.
hBh. Nos. 2759-60, E 3463-4. Dated 1762-3. Contains sk v-xii; writing poor but fairly correct, except for many small clerical errors.
jBh. No. 976, E 3466. Modern. Contains sk viii-xii; well written and fairly correct.
kBh. Nos. 654 and 656, E 3470 and 3472. Modern. Carelessly written.
lBh. Nos. 1838-9, E 3474-5. Modern. Well written, with few clerical errors; is close to *GBh*.
mBh. Nos. 2502 and 2506, E 3489 and 3493. Dated 1779-81. Fairly good.

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- n*Bh. Nos. 2756-7, E 3495-6. Dated 1780-1. Fairly well written, with few clerical errors.
- p*Bh. Nos. 2437 and 2439, E 3503 and 3505. Date, 18th cent. Fairly good.
- q*Bh. Jones MS; W 3a, T 32. Date, beginning of 17th cent. Fairly good.
- r*Bh. Jones MS; W 3b, T 33. Date, end of 18th cent. In Bengali characters; fairly good.
- s*Bh. Jones MS; W 3c, T 34. Date, 18th cent. Written on palm leaves; fairly good: does not contain sk ix.
- t*Bh. Tagore MS; no. 106; Auf. list no. 14. Date, about 1780. In Bengali characters on palm leaves.

There are two other MSS in the Bodleian—one, Wilson 117; Auf. Cat. no. 87, which contains sk x and not xii as stated in the Cat., and so has nothing about these dynasties: the other, Mill 145; Auf. Cat. no. 88, written on an extremely long narrow roll. There are also two similar MSS in the British Museum, Add. 16624 and 26419. These three are mere bijou MSS, written in minute characters and decorated with coloured pictures and designs.

BHAVIŚYA PURĀNA.

Edition published by the Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay. The Pratisarga-parvan deals with the dynasties of the Kali age, but the account is not genuine, see Introdn. §§ 6, 9, 28, and ZDMG, lvii, 276.

I have examined the following MSS, but none of them contain anything about these dynasties:—

in the India Office Library, two, no. 1314, E 3447, and no. 1429, E 3448;

in the Bodleian Library, three, Auf. Cat. nos. 75 (Wilson 103), 76 (Wilson 126), and 77 (Wilson 124);

in the Royal Asiatic Society, MS Tod 2;

in the Nepal State Library, one MS sent to Oxford with other selected MSS.

I have also made inquiries about MSS elsewhere, but have not found any in which this dynastic matter can be deemed genuine. The Sanskrit College, Calcutta, has a MS, q no. 106, from which two extracts were sent me; it describes the founding of Calcutta. Queen's College, Benares, has a MS but it does not contain this dynastic matter, as Prof. Venis informs me. He sent me an extract from a MS belonging to the College Librarian, Pandit Vindhyeśvarīprasād Dvivedī, but it deals with later events and especially with the Mohammedans.

BRAHMĀNDA PURĀNA.

Bd. The edition published by the Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay. It professes to be based on several MSS, yet gives variant readings only rarely, and leaves on my mind the impression that it has been silently emended at times; cf. p. 25, note²⁴; p. 26, note²²; p. 34, note⁵; p. 51, note¹⁰.

I have also examined the following MSS, but they contain nothing about these dynasties:—

in the India Office Library, two, Burnell MS no. 458, and Tagore MS no. 10 (Auf. list, no. 11);

in the Bodleian Library, three, Auf. Cat. nos. 72 (Mill 51), 73 (Wilson 105), and 74 (Walker 130).

GARUDA PURĀNA.

CGr. The edition published by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1890. It contains no notes of variant readings.

MSS in the India Office Library.

aGr. No. 1199 c, E 3353. Dated 1727? Far from correct. Account begins, fol. 114^a, l. 1.

bGr. No. 2560, E 3355. Modern. Very incorrect. Account begins, fol. 103^a.

cGr. No. 1199 a, E 3354. Dated 1800. Badly written. Account begins, fol. 127^a, l. 2.

The Bodleian Library has one, Skt MS c. 50; but it contains nothing about these dynasties.

MATSYA PURĀNA.

AMt. The Ānandāśrama (Poona) edition, 1907. It is based on 6 copies, the Veṅkateśvara (Bombay) edition (marked व and cited here as VMt), the Gondhalekar (Poona) edition (marked घ and cited here as GMt), and 4 MSS marked ग, घ, ङ and च, and cited here as a¹, a², a³, and a⁴ respectively.

CMt. The Calcutta edition by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, 1876.

GMt. The Gondhalekar edition; see AMt.

VMt. The Veṅkateśvara edition; see AMt.

aMt. See AMt.

MSS in the Bodleian Library.

bMt. Wilson 21; Auf. Cat. no. 95. Dated 1729. Well written, fairly free from clerical mistakes, but errs widely in names and has corrupt readings, especially near the end. Has marginal notes of different readings by one or two other hands; these form no part of the text and are not noticed here. Where it varies from the general Mt text, it often agrees with the Vā and Bd.

cMt. Fraser 1; Auf. Cat. nos. 813–4. Date, 17th cent. appty. Fairly well written and genly correct. Where it varies from AMt it agrees often with AVā. Paurava kings, vol. i, fol. 113^a, verse 55; the rest, vol. ii, fol. 575^b, l. 1.

MSS in the India Office Library.

dMt. No. 1918, E 3548. Dated 1525. Good, but with not a few inaccuracies. Where it differs from AMt, it agrees often with AVā. Paurava kings, fol. 63^a, l. 8; other dynasties, fol. 307^a, l. 2.

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- e*Mt. No. 2032, E 3549. Dated 1767. Writing poor and full of clerical mistakes: agrees genly with *c*Mt and sometimes corruptly. Paurava kings, fol. 67^b, l. 13; other dynasties, fol. 321^b, l. 8.
- f*Mt. No. 1080, E 3550. Dated 1795. Fairly well written; many small clerical mistakes (as *s* for *ś* often) and a very few corrections. Paurava kings, fol. 62^a, l. 13; other dynasties, fol. 327^b, last line.
- g*Mt. Nos. 406-7, E 3551-2. Modern. Much like *f*Mt. Paurava kings, vol. i, fol. 79^a; other dynasties, vol. ii, fol. 437^b.
- h*Mt. No. 2831, E 3553. Modern. Contains only the first part of the Mt. Fairly well written; some special readings. Only Paurava kings, fol. 166^b, l. 9.
- j*Mt. No. 3347, Jackson Collection. Modern. Fairly well written; apptly copied carefully from a damaged MS and so has small blanks: many small errors. Valuable as it has several special readings, which are apptly ancient. Paurava kings, fol. 62^b, l. 6; other dynasties, fol. 330^a, l. 9.
- MSS in the Dekhan College, Poona* (collated for me by a pandit through the kindness of the Professor of Sanskrit at the College).
- k*Mt. Skt MS no. 28 of 1871-2. Much like *ce*Mt.
- l*Mt. Skt MS no. 164 of 1887-91.
- m*Mt. Skt MS no. 340 of Viśrama (first collection).

MSS in the British Museum.

- n*Mt. Add. 14348. Date, 18th cent. Fairly well written; fairly accurate, though with some carelessness: resembles *c*Mt. Paurava kings, fol. 98^b; other dynasties, fol. 508^a.
- p*Mt. Add. 26414. Date, 18th cent. Fairly well written and genly correct; closely like *AMt*. Contains only the Preface and Pauravas; begins fol. 42^b.

VĀYU PURĀNA.

- AVā*. The Ānandāśrama (Poona) edition, 1905. It is based on five copies, the Calcutta edition (marked *ā*; see *CVā* below), and 4 MSS marked *ā*, *ā*, *ā*, and *ā* and cited here as *a¹*, *a²*, *a³*, and *a⁴* respectively.
- CVā*. The Biblioteca Indica edition, Calcutta. It is based on 6 MSS, but only rarely notes variant readings.
- aVā*. See *AVā*.

MSS in the Bodleian Library.

- bVā*. Wilson 120; Auf. Cat. no. 104. Date, early 19th cent. Fairly well written, but with a good many mistakes and not a few repetitions. Account begins, fol. 237^a, l. 4.
- cVā*. Wilson 355; Auf. Cat. no. 103. Date 15th cent. Unfortunately contains nothing about these dynasties.

MSS in the India Office Library.

- dVā*. Jones MS; W 6a, T 37. Date, end of 18th cent. Valuable, because apptly copied from one MS and corrected by another: yet not accurate. Account begins, vol. ii, fol. 386^a, l. 9.

- eVā.* Jones MS; W 6b, T 38. Not dated. Writing fairly good, but diction rather illiterate. Very valuable, because it has readings different from the printed editions, and some verses not contained therein; and where it differs therefrom, it often agrees with the Mt (see Introdn. § 22). Unfortunately it has a lacuna at the beginning. Account begins, fol. 198^a, l. 11.
- fVā.* No. 1869, E 3587. Date, about 1600. Fairly well written, but many small errors. It has a large lacuna at the beginning, and commences in fol. 358^b, l. 5 with l. 23 of the Aikṣvākus.
- gVā.* No. 2103, E 3589. Dated 1483. Fairly well written. Account begins, fol. 311^b, l. 10.
- hVā.* No. 1310, E 3590. Modern. Full of mistakes, especially at the beginning; agrees closely with *bVā* even in the errors.
- jVā.* No. 264, E 3591. Date, about 1800. Badly written, full of mistakes and gaps; has a lacuna at the beginning and commences only with l. 23 of the Aikṣvākus in fol. 347^a, l. 7.

MSS in the Dekhan College, Poona (collated for me by a pandit through the kindness of the Professor of Sanskrit at the College).

- kVā.* Skt MS no. 8 of 1874-5. Has lost all the account after l. 17 on p. 48.
lVā. Skt MS no. 110 of 1881-2.

MS in the Royal Asiatic Society.

- mVā.* Tod 14. Writing poor, with many small mistakes; much like *fVā*.

VISNU PURĀNA.

- CVs.* The edition by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta, 1882. Has a commentary, but no notes of variant readings.

MSS in the Bodleian Library.

- aVs.* Wilson 26; Auf. Cat. no. 112. Date, 18th cent. Beautifully written in Bengali characters. Account begins, fol. 102^a.
bVs. Wilson 108; Auf. Cat. no. 109. Dated 1703. Fairly well written and fairly correct. Much like *aVs*.
cVs. Wilson 107; Auf. Cat. no. 110. Dated 1740. Writing good but careless; close to *CVs*.
dVs. Wilson 130; Auf. Cat. no. 111. Date, late 18th cent. Well written and fairly correct: close to *CVs*.

MSS in the India Office Library.

- eVs.* No. 420, E 3606. Dated 1770. Writing poor, with not a few mistakes.
fVs. No. 1380, E 3607. Modern. Fairly good.
gVs. No. 1695, E 3608. Modern. Well written and accurate.
hVs. Burnell MS no. 374. Fairly well written, with some variant readings.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

MSS in the Indian Institute, Oxford.

jVṣ. Malan MS; cat. no. 122. Date, 18th cent. Writing poor, with many small blunders and omissions, some of which have been corrected by a later hand in Bengali writing.

kVṣ. Cat. no. 121. Dated 1736 (?). Fairly well written and genly correct, but has strange mistakes at times, probably through defects of the MS copied: contains several interesting readings.

MS in the Royal Asiatic Society.

tVṣ. Whish MS no. 33. From South India; written on palm leaves in modern Grantha. Well and carefully written, but often shortens the connecting phrases in the first half, and omits the Bārhadrathas: agrees often with *hVṣ.* A valuable MS, which checks the readings of North Indian MSS. Account begins, fol. 166^a, l. 7.

ABBREVIATIONS.

* (prefixed) denotes a hypothetical word.
† (prefixed) denotes a corrupt reading.
apptly = apparently.
crp = corrupt, corruptly.
genly = generally.

MBh	= Mahābhārata.
Pkt	= Prakrit.
prob	= probable, probably.
Skt	= Sanskrit.
syll	= syllable.

CORRIGENDA

- p. xvii, line 8, for his *read* Vyāsa's
 p. 48, line 14, for Kielhorn's Inscriptions of Northern India
 (Epig. Ind. v, Appendix) *read* Lüders' List of the Brāhmī
 Inscriptions (Epig. Ind. x, Appendix),
 p. 50, line 17, for pp. *read* Lüders' List of the Brāhmī
 Inscriptions, nos.

THE PURĀNA TEXT
OF THE
DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE

PREFACE

The Matsya and Vāyu Purānas introduce a preface into the middle of the account of the Paurava dynasty. Both bring the Paurava (or Aila) genealogy from the Pāndavas to Abhimanyu, Parīkṣit, and Janamejaya¹, and then describe Janamejaya's dispute with Vaiśampāyana and the brahmans about his Vājasaneyaka doctrine². They then continue the genealogy to Adhisimakṛṣṇa, in whose reign was performed the twelve-year sacrifice during which these Purāṇas profess to have been recited³. At this point the rishis ask the Sūta for a full account of the Kali age⁴, and he proposes to give it in verses which are here treated as the Preface⁵. Then starting from Adhisimakṛṣṇa as the existing king, he carries on the dynasty to its close⁶. In order to simplify the arrangement, the prefatory portion is placed here first, and the separated parts of the Paurava genealogy are joined together in a continuous account and given next as the Paurava line. The story of Janamejaya's dispute⁷, the rishis' questions, and the Sūta's resumption of his account are omitted as superfluous⁸. The Preface therefore consists of—

Text—AMt 50, 72–76 ; AVā 99, 264–269.

All copies contain this preface, except that *kMt* omits lines 6–10; *hMt* misplaces l. 11 after l. 5; *eVā* has lost the first $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines and it alone contains ll. 12–14; *gVā* omits l. 11; and *fjmVā* have nothing. All agree in the text except where noted, and where the Matsya and Vāyu are different, both versions are given, the Matsya on the left and the Vāyu on the right. The Brahmānda has lost the preface in a large lacuna. The Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, and Garuda have no preface.

¹ *AMt* 50, 57 ; *AVā* 99, 249b–250a.

² *AMt* 50, 58–64 ; *AVā* 99, 250b–255.

³ *AMt* 50, 65–67 ; *AVā* 99, 256–259.

⁴ *AMt* 50, 68–71 ; *AVā* 99, 260–263.

⁵ *AMt* 50, 72–76 ; *AVā* 99, 264–269.

⁶ *AMt* 50, 77–89 ; *AVā* 99, 270–280a.

⁷ This is given in Appendix III as it shows some brahmanical tampering with the Vāyu.

⁸ See Introdn. § 14.

Sūta uvāca—

Yathā me¹ kīrtitam pūrvam² Vyāsen-ākliṣṭa³-karmanā
bhāvyam⁴ Kali-yugam⁵ cāiva tathā manvantarāṇi ca⁶
anāgatāni⁷ sarvāṇi bruvato me nibodhata
ata ūrdhvam⁸ pravakṣyāmi bhaviṣyā ye⁹ nṛpāś tathā¹⁰

Aid-Ēkṣvākva-nvaye¹¹ cāiva

Paurave cānvaye¹⁴ tathā

yeṣu¹⁶ saṁsthāpyate¹⁷ kṣatram¹⁸ Aid-Ēkṣvāku¹⁹-kulam²⁰ śubham²¹
tān sarvān kīrtayiṣyāmi²² Bhaviṣye²³ kathitān²⁴ nṛpān²⁵
tebhyo 'pare 'pi ye²⁶ cānye²⁷ utpatsyante nṛpāḥ punāḥ²⁸
kṣatrāḥ²⁹ pāraśavāḥ³⁰ sūdrāś tathānye ye³¹ vahiś-carāḥ³²
Andhrāḥ³³ Śakāḥ Pulindāś ca Cūlikā³⁴ Yavanāś tathā³⁵

Ailāṁś¹² cāiva tathā Ēkṣvākūn¹³

Saudyumnaṁś¹⁵ cāiva pārthivān

7

10

¹ *Yath-aiva* in jMt.

² So Mt. Vā *sarvam*.

³ So Mt. Vā °ādbhuta.

⁴ *Bhāvam* in eMt; kMt *bhavet*.

⁵ *Yuge* in cijnMt.

⁶ So Mt. Vā *tu*.

⁷ *Atr-āgatāni* in lMt.

⁸ *Param* in jMt.

⁹ So Mt genly: ḥdMt *bhaviṣy-ārthe*; cijnMt *bhāvino ye*. Vā *bhaviṣyanti*. For this half line lMt reads *bhaviṣyān kathitān* (*nṛpān* omitted) as in l. 7.

¹⁰ *Smṛtāḥ* in fgjMt. Vā *tu ye*.

¹¹ So a²a⁴befmMt; CGVgpMt °k-ānvaye: cMt *Ail-Ēk°*; jMt +*Ain-Ēk°*; hMt +*Aīñdāk°*; dMt +*Ed-Ēk°*; nMt crp: a³kMt *Aid-Ēkṣvāku-nṛpe*: a¹Mt *Iksrākor* *nvaye*: lMt +*Ekṣakasya*. *Aida* = *Aila*.

¹² *Elāṁś* in ghkVā.

¹³ In gVā *tathā*-*Aik°*.

¹⁴ But nMt *v-ānvaye*; eMt c=ānya[talye]. This is pleonastic because the Pauravas were Ailas, see JRAS, 1910, pp. 16, 20.

¹⁵ This reading is better. The Saudyumnas were distinct from the Ailas and Aikṣvākus, being the descendants of Sudyumna, who was Manu's daughter Ilā when she gained man's form according to the fable; and they comprised the early kings of Gayā and the eastern region, Utkala and perhaps a country named Haritāśva or Vinatāśva in the west: see one version in Mt 12, 17-18; and another in Vā 85, 19, Bd iii, 60, 18-19, and Hariv. 10, 632.

¹⁶ In hMt *yehi* (Pkt for *yebhiḥ*?).

¹⁷ So Vā, ceMt: Mt genly *saṁsthāsyate*.

¹⁸ So a²-Vā; Ca'dghklVā *kṣetram*, a frequent mistake for *kṣatram*. Mt genly *tac ca*; cefyhjnMt *tatra*.

¹⁹ So Mt genly; jMt *Ain-Ēk°*: hMt *Ail-Ēkṣvākān*, eVā °*kūn*: dMt *Ed-Ēk°*. Vā genly *Aikṣvākāvān*: lMt +*Ekṣdkasya*.

²⁰ So Mt. Vā *idam*.

²¹ *Śrutān* in lMt; *smṛtam* in dMt.

²² *Kathayiṣyāmi* in jMt.

²³ But dMt *bhaviṣyān*; enMt °*syā*; jMt °*syat*: see Introdn. § 7.

²⁴ So Mt. Vā *paṭhitān*; bVā *paṭhito*.

²⁵ *Nṛpā* in bVā.

²⁶ So Mt: nMt omits *ye*. Vā *pare ca ye*.

²⁷ So Vā; eVā 'py anye. Mt genly *tv anye hy*; bedghjnpMt omit *hy*.

²⁸ So Mt; eVā *nṛpāś tathā*: Vā genly *mahiṣitāḥ*.

²⁹ So Mt, Vā genly: cijnMt, eVā *kṣatra-*; a¹kVā +*kṣetrāḥ*; eMt +*kṣatriyāḥ*.

³⁰ So Mt, Vā genly: fgpMt *pāraśavāḥ*, so mMt with *pāraśāḥ* also; bMt +*pāraśārāḥ*; eVā +*pāraśārāḥ*; eMt +*pāraśā*; nMt +*tyāh-ravāḥ*; lMt +*pāśavī*.

³¹ So Mt genly; jMt *ca* for *ye*: hMt *tathā ye* 'nye. Vā *tathā ye ca*; eVā *tathā c-aiva*.

³² So Mt genly: Ca'a'bdmpMt *mahiṣvarāḥ*. Vā *dvijātayah*.

³³ So Vā genly, chjnpMt; fgMt *Āndhrāḥ*: dhVā, Mt often, *Andhāḥ*: kVā *Adhryāḥ*.

³⁴ ACMt *Cūlikā*; eVā *Cūl°*; bVā *Vūl°*; hVā *Vūn°* (or *Vūt°*); dVā *Vrūl°*: Vā genly *Tūl°*; hMt *Dhūl°*; jMt *Mūl°*; bmpMt *Cał°*; eMt *Pulihāś*; fgMt *Valimkā*; dMt *Bālhikā*:

Kaivart-Ābhira-Śabarā³⁶ ye cānye³⁷ Mleccha-sambhavāḥ³⁸
 Pauravā Vītihotrā vai Vaidisāḥ³⁹ pañca⁴⁰ Kosalāḥ
 Mekalāḥ Kośalāḥ Pauṇḍrā Gaunardāḥ Svasphrakāś ca ha⁴¹
 Sunidharmāḥ Śakā Nīpā yāś cānyā Mleccha-jātayah⁴²
 varṣ-āgrataḥ⁴³ pravakṣyāmi⁴⁴ nāmataś cāiva tān nrpān⁴⁵. 15

Pauravas.

Text—AMt 50, 57, 65^a, 66, 78–89; AVā 99, 249b, 250^a, 256^a–258^a, 271–280^a; Bd nil.

Corresp. passages—CVś iv, 20, 12–21, 4; GBh ix, 22, 34–45^a; CGr i, 140, 40–141, 4.

The arrangement of this dynasty has been explained above (p. 1). In the first portion the Matsya and Vāyu differ, and their versions are both given, the former on the left and the latter on the right; otherwise they agree except where noted. The Brahmanāda has lost the whole in a lacuna.

The Bhāgavata is somewhat full about the first seven kings, but combines the rest in a succinct list. The Viṣṇu agrees closely with it. The Garuda gives merely a list of names.

All copies of Mt give the whole except lines 5, 27; and besides eMt omits l. 28 (second half) to l. 30 (first half); fMt ll. 10 and 17 (second half) to 20 (first half); and gMt l. 10. The Vā MSS are complete, except that eVā has lost ll. 1–6, 11 (first half) and 16 (second half) to 18 (first half): all copies, except eVā, omit

gVā omits this half line. Cūlikā appears to be the best form, see JRAS, 1912, p. 711.

³⁶ So Mt. Vā Yavanaiḥ saha.

³⁷ So Mt. Vā genly (Śabarā or Śav^o); eVā Kaivartt-Āraibhīra-varāḥ; nMt Kauvart-Ābhīra-Śabarō.

³⁸ So Mt. Vā genly: nMt ye v-ānye: eVā yāś cānyā, correcting the faulty grammar.

³⁹ So Mt. Vā jātayah.

⁴⁰ This line only in eVā, which reads Rītihotrā vai Vaidikāḥ; this should obviously be Vītihotrā vai Vaidisāḥ, and has been emended so. For the Vītihotras see *Pradyotatas*, line 1, *infra*; for Vaidisās see *Dynasties of Vidiśā*, &c., *infra*.

⁴¹ Pañca suggests that Pañcālas are meant, and that this name has been in some way curtailed. For them see *Early Contemporary Dynasties*, line 2, *infra*.

⁴² This line only in eVā. For Mekalas

see *Dynasties of the 3rd Century*, line 5, *infra*.

⁴³ This line is only in eVā.

⁴⁴ So Vā genly, chjknMt. Mt genly paryāyataḥ. Other copies intermediate, eMt vaṣāgrataḥ; dVā vaṣāyataḥ; bVā varṣāyataḥ; hVā varyāyataḥ. Varṣ-āgrataḥ occurs in this context, AVā 99, 261—

varṣ-āgrato'pi prabṛūhi nāmataś cāiva tān nrpān.

Varṣ-āgra occurs in AVā 21, 16, 21; 22, 3; where it means the ‘total number of years’; hence varṣ-āgrataḥ here, being applied to the kings, would mean ‘according to the totals of their years’. Paryāyataḥ is also good.

⁴⁵ In kMt pravisiyāmi.

⁴⁶ So Mt genly, Vā: cek/nMt read this half line, bhaviṣyām (n, °syāt) kathitān (l, kāśikān) nrpān, which should no doubt be Bhaviṣye kathitān nrpān; see l. 7.

ll. 10 and 20 (second half) to 25 (first half); *hVā* omits ll. 15 (second half) to 18 (first half); *lVā* ll. 17 (second half) to l. 20; and *fjmVā* have nothing. Also *adBh* have nothing; and *abGr* omit all kings after the second *Satānika*.

For notices of the earliest of these kings elsewhere see Introdn. § 2. The kings named are 29 altogether, 25 from and including *Adhisimakṛṣṇa*; but the list of *Early Contemporary Dynasties*, l. 6, *infra*, mentions '36 Kauravas'.

Abhimanyoḥ Parikṣit tu¹
putraḥ para-puram-jayaḥ
Janamejayaḥ³ Parikṣitaḥ
putraḥ parama-dhārmikāḥ
Janamejayāc Chatānikas⁶
tasmāj jajñe sa vīryavān⁷
putro 'svamedhadatto 'bhūc⁸ Chatānikasya vīryavān
putro 'svamedhadattād vai jātaḥ para-puram-jayaḥ⁹
*Adhisimakṛṣṇo dharm-ātmā*¹⁰ sāmpratam yo¹¹ mahā-yaśāḥ¹²

Uttarāyām tu Vairātyām
Parikṣid¹ Abhimanyu-jah²
Parikṣitas tu dāyādo⁴
rājāśij⁵ Janamejayaḥ
tasya putraḥ Šatāniko⁶
balavān satya-vikramāḥ
5

¹ *Parikṣita-su-* in *mMt*. All agree in this name. *Parikṣit*'s name is often written in the MSS in other ways, as *Parikṣita*, *Parikṣi*, *Parikṣa*, &c.; these variations are left unnoticed here. Bh begins with a verse about his birth as told in the *MBh*, and *Vṣ* amplifies it in high literary style.

² *Abhimanyu* in *bVā*.

³ All agree in this name. There is a redundant syllable in this and the next line, and it occurs elsewhere with the name *Janamejaya*. The name was sometimes treated as *Janmejaya* (as in *cefjMt* here), thus obviating the superfluous syllable.

⁴ *Parikṣitasya* (omitting *tu*) in *bVā*. Bh says *Parikṣit* had three other sons—

Tav=ēme tanayās tāta Janamejaya-pūr-
vakāḥ
Śrutaseno Bhīmasena Ugrasenaś ca vīrya-
vān.

Virasena for *Bhīmasena* in *rlBh*. *Vṣ* concurs in this; so also *MBh* i, 3, 661–2.

⁵ *Rājā sa* in *kVā*.

⁶ All agree in this name. *Vṣ* styles him *aparah Šatānikāḥ*, with reference to an earlier *Šatānika*, who was son of Nakula and Draupadī and was killed in the great battle. Bh is fuller and contains these two lines—

tasya putraḥ Šatāniko Yajñavalkyāt
trayīm paṭhan

astra-jñānaṁ kriyā-jñānaṁ Šannakāt
param eṣati.

Vṣ agrees, and expands this statement, improving it by reading *Kṛpāj jñānaṁ* instead of *kriyā-jñānaṁ*. *MBh* says *Janamejaya* had a second son, *Šaṅkukarṇa* (i, 95, 3837–8).

⁷ *Su-vīryavān* in *jMt*.

⁸ So *Vā*; *hMt* agrees but has *vai* for '*bhūc*'. *Mt* crp *ath-Āsvamedhena tataḥ* (*fgMt sutah*); *kMt* omits this line. *Vṣ* and *Gr* give the name as *Āsvamedhadatta*; *kVṣ* °*dātṛ*; Bh as °*medhaja*. Between him and the preceding *Šatānika* Bh inserts a king *Sahasrānika* thus—

Sahasrānikas tat-putras tatas c-aiv-Āś-
vamedhajah :

but no other authority supports it.

⁹ So *Vā*: *kVā* *pura-puram*°. *Mt* omits this line, condensing it with the next.

¹⁰ So *Vā* except that the name varies; all have a superfluous syllable: *hVā Adhisimakṛṣṇo*; *Ca^aVā °sāmak*°; *gVā °sāmaḥ Kṛṣṇo*; *aⁱVā °māsaḥ*°; *a^sVā °masaḥ*°; *kVā Adhīmaka*°. *Mt* genly *jajñe 'dhisimakṛṣṇa-ākhyah*; *fgMt °sāmak*°; *jMt* both; *eMt °sāmaḥ Kṛṣṇa*°; *nMt +Adhīnsamak*°; *pMt Adhisimakṛṣṇāsyah*; *bMt °krṣṇasya*; *dMt °sāmaḥ Kṛṣṇāsyah*; *gMt °sāmakṛṣṇas ca*; *hMt āśit Kṛṣṇa sutas tasya*: *jMat* misplaces this line after l. 3. *Mt* readings seem to

Adhisimakṛṣṇa-putro¹³ Nicakṣur¹⁴ bhavitā nṛpaḥ¹⁵
 Gaṅgay-āpahṛte¹⁶ tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye¹⁷
 tyaktvā Nicakṣur nagaram¹⁸ Kauśāmbyāṁ sa¹⁹ nivatsyati²⁰
 bhavisy-āṣṭau²¹ sutās tasya²² mahā-bala-parākramāḥ²³
 Bhūrir²⁴ jyeṣṭhah²⁵ sutas tasya
 tasya²⁷ Citrarathah²⁸ smṛtah | bhavisyad Uṣṇas tat-putra²⁶
 Uṣṇāc Citrarathah²⁸ smṛtah

be corruptions of *Adhisimakṛṣṇo'sya* in Pkt form °kr̥ṣṇa asya. Vs *Adhisimakṛṣṇa*; kVs °śimah Kr̥ṣ°; Gr °śimakah Kr̥ṣ°. Bh *Aśimakṛṣṇas tasy-āpi*; hBh *Aśīśāk°*; fBh avātśīt Kr̥ṣ°; gBh crp. In two later lines (omitted here) a'a²a⁴Mt (verse 77) and a³a⁴Vā (verse 270) have *Adhisimak°*. The correct name appears to be *Adhisimakṛṣṇa*, with a shorter form *Aśimak°*. The longer form is best supported here, though the shorter would improve the metre.

¹¹ So Mt: jMt sa. Vā sāmprato 'yam. See corresponding lines about Divākara of the Aikṣvākus and Senājīt of the Bārhadrathas, *infra*.

¹² So Vā, Mt genly: a³ceknMt mahārathah. After this line Mt and Vā insert three lines stating that the twelve-year sacrifice was performed during his reign; see Introdn. § 10.

¹³ So Mt, Vā, except that there are variations in the name; cMt adds 'bhūt and CGVa³a⁴jMt tu superfluously: a¹a²deMt, ghVā *Adhisimah Kr̥ṣṇa-putro*; kMt °māsaḥ K°; dVā *Aśimak°*; nMt merely *Kṛṣṇa-putro*; eVā *Dadhicikṛṣṇa-suto*. Bh says *tat-sutah*, 'son of the preceding'.

¹⁴ There is great variation in this name here and in l. 9. Mt often *Nivakṣu*; bgMt *Nicakṣus*; dMt both; hMt *Nrcakru*; a³cenMt *Nrcaka*: afterwards fMt *Nicakṣus*, lMt *Nrvakṣu*, kMt *Nrcaka*. Vā genly *Nirvaktra*; eVā *Nrvadha* here. Vs genly *Nicakṣus*; bcdgjVṣ, jMt, tBh *Nicakru*; lVṣ *Nīscakru*; kVs crp: aGr +*Nivadra*?; bGr +*Nivaha*?; CGr *Aniruddha*. Bh genly *Nemicakra*; eBh *Nemimīś°*; nBh *Naimic°*; rBh, aVs *Nic°*. I have adopted *Nicakṣus* as the most central form; but the true name may be *Nrcakṣas*, a word occurring in Rigv. x, 14, 11.

¹⁵ So Mt. Vā kila.

¹⁶ So Vā, cenMt. Mt genly *Gangayā tu*

hṛte; bMt °dhṛte; mMt both; dMt bṛte.

¹⁷ Similarly Vs—yo Gaṅgay-āpahṛte Hastināpūre Kauśāmbyāṁ nivatsyati. Bh also—Gajāhvaye hṛte nadyā Kauśāmbyāṁ sādhu vatsyati:

where gBh °sa tu vat°; rBh °sa nivat°; pBh ends neṣyati.

¹⁸ So Mt genly with variations in the name, see note¹⁴: a³a⁴ceknMt *Nrcako nagaram tyaktvā*; hMt °svām vāṁśāṁ tyaktvā: eVā tyaktvā *Nṛbandhu vāsam* (with a syll. lost). Vā genly *tyaktvā* (gVā kr̥trā) ca tam sa vāsam ca; CVā °su-vāsam°; dVā °taṁ tu vāsam svam; hVā °naṁ sarvāsa va; bVā tnyā[ttakām]tkaṁ ca naṁ sa vāsa va. These variations suggest the reading, *tyaktvā ca tam sva-vāsam* (or *vāṁśām*) ca.

¹⁹ So Vā genly (gVā omits *sa*) and rBh; lVā +*Kauśāmbyām°*; fMt *sa Kauśāmbyām*; gMt *sa Kauśāvya*. Mt genly *Kauśāmbyām tu*; jMt °su; dMt +*Kauśānām*; hMt +*Kauśālyāntu*. Vs, Bh corroborate; eBh +*Kauśikyām*; kVs *Kauśāk°*.

²⁰ So Mt, Vā genly, Vs: bVā nireṣyati; hVā nives°; dVā nivēṣmani; gVā sannivēṣyati.

²¹ This line is only in Mt, but not in dfgjMt: a³Mt bhavisy-āṣ ca; hMt °ṣye yaḥ; mpMt °ṣyāksau; kMt omits aṣṭau: eVā has only the first half line, *bhavisyas tu sutas tasmāt*.

²² C-aiva in a³Mt.

²³ In hMt *Uṣṇa Citraratha smṛtah*.

²⁴ Bhūri in bdfgjkpMt; hMt *Bhūvi*; lMt *Bhūmi*.

²⁵ In hMt śreṣṭhah.

²⁶ So Vā. Vs *tasy-āpy Uṣṇah putro*. CGr *Uṣṇa*; abGr *Uṣca*?; Bh *Ukta*; tBh *Upta*.

²⁷ Tataś in bcefhnpMt; mMt both; jMt *tatra*.

²⁸ All agree in this name, except eVā *Tvaṣṭā Dhitrarathah*.

Śucidrathaś ²⁹ Citrarathād ³⁰ Vṛṣṇimāṁś ³¹ ca Śucidrathāt
 Vṛṣṇimataḥ Suṣenaś ca ³² bhavisyati śucir nṛpaḥ ³³
 tasmāt Suṣenād bhavitā Sunītho ³⁴ nāma pārthivah ³⁵
 Rucaḥ ³⁶ Sunīthād ³⁷ bhavitā ³⁸ Nṛcakṣur ³⁹ bhavitā tataḥ ⁴⁰ 15
 Nṛcakṣuṣas ⁴¹ tu dāyādo bhavitā vai ⁴² Sukhibalaḥ ⁴³
 Sukhibala-sutaś c-āpi ⁴⁴ bhāvī ⁴⁵ rājā Pariplavaḥ ⁴⁶
 Pariplava-sutaś c-āpi ⁴⁷ bhavitā Sunayo ⁴⁸ nṛpaḥ

²⁹ So Vā, *fj*Mt; CGr agrees: *ceghn*Mt *Sucidratha*; *a²a³k*Mt *Suvir*^o; bVṣ either; bMt, kVā *Sucidravya*, so *dp*Mt with ^o*dravat* at the end: other Mt *Sucidrava*. Vṣ genly *Suciratha*; cVṣ *Suvir*^o. Bh *Kaviratha* and *Kuvir*^o about equally; jBh *Tuvir*^o; fBh *Kathir*^o; rsBh *Sucir*^o. The proper form should probably be *Sucadratha*. Omitted in *dVṣ*, abGr.

³⁰ *Caitraratho* in *a²a³k*Mt; *en*Mt *Cit*^o. Bh says *sutah*.

³¹ So Mt genly; Vṣ, *fgjklq*Bh, CGr agree in the name: *mp*Mt *Viṣṇumāṁś*; *cēm*Mt *Vṛṣṭim*^o: in next line *p*Mt *Vṛṣṇimataḥ*; *l*Mt *Vṛṣṭi*^o; *n*Mt *Vṛṣi*^o. Vā genly *Dhṛti-māṁś*; *d*Vā *Dhṛtam*^o; *g*Vā *Vṛttim*^o; *b*Vā *Vṛtyam*^o; *h*Vā *Vṛnam*^o; *k*Vā *Vṛttirmāṁś*. Bh genly, *abVṣ* *Vṛṣṭimat*; *t*Bh *Vṛti*^o; *r*Bh *Dhṛti*^o; *e*Bh *Dhṛṣṭi*^o; *c*Bh *Kṛṣṭi*^o. Omitted in abGr.

³² So Mt genly: *eVā* *Susena* *Dhṛtimato* (with one syll. short). Vā genly *Suseno* *vai mahāvīryo*. Bh, Vṣ, CGr agree in the name; kVṣ *Susena*. With the dialectical modification of *s*, *cen*Mt read *Sukhenas tu*, so *gVā* and *hVṣ*; *bVṣ*, *knpBh* *Sukhena*: *l*Mt *Sukhanas tu*. Omitted in abGr.

³³ So Mt genly: *efghijkl*NMt *punar nṛpaḥ*; *e*Mt *punu*^o. Vā genly *mahāyaśāḥ*; *eVā* *punah punah*.

³⁴ So Mt genly, *eVā*. Vṣ, Bh agree; CGr *Sunīthaka*; *k*Bh *Sunītha*: *j*Mt *Suniyo*; *mp*Mt *Suniyo*, *p*Mt *Sunīthād* in next line. Vā genly *Sutīrtha*. Omitted in abGr.

³⁵ *Dhārmikāḥ* in *eVā*.

³⁶ So Vā genly; *gVā* *Ruciḥ*. Vṣ genly *Rcaḥ*; *kVṣ* *Rta*; *jVṣ* *Ārīca*; *eVā* *sa* *vai*. Mt *nṛpāt*. Bh, *hVṣ*, Gr omit him.

³⁷ *Sunīto* in *eVā*. Vā *Sutīrthād*.

³⁸ *Samjanye* in *k*Mt.

³⁹ So Mt genly; Vṣ, Bh, Gr agree genly: *ckn*Mt *Nṛcakra*, *e*Mt *Nuc*^o. Vā genly *Tri-cakṣo*; *bdVā* *vakṣyo*; *gVā* *Citrākṣo*; *a²k*Vā

Vivakṣo; *eVā* *Nrvandhur*. Others, *p*Bh *Nṛcakru*; *cBh* *Nṛpaku*; *fBh* *Sucakṣus*; *aVṣ* *Nuc*^o, *kVṣ* *Ntac*^o, *bVṣ* *Tric*^o: see note ⁴¹. ⁴⁰ So Vā. Mt *su-mahāyaśāḥ*; *d*Mt *sa*^o; *fgh*Mt *tu*^o.

⁴¹ Readings here genly follow those in note ³⁹: but *bp*Mt *Nṛcakṣuṣasya* (omitting *tu*), *l*Mt *Vivakṣasas*: *IVā* *Trivakṣasasya*, *kVā* *ksyāsasya*, *bVā* *vikṣyāsasya*; *gVā* *Citrākhyasya*; *eVā* *Nrvandhuyas*.

⁴² In *fj*Mt *ca*: *cehkn*Mt *bhavisyati*.

⁴³ So Mt, Vā genly, here and in next line: *bdVā* *Suṣib*^o; *n*Mt *Sukhilava*, *j*Mt *Sukhel*^o, *c*Mt *Mukhīl*^o; *ek*Mt *na samāsayah*: but in next line *c*Mt *Sukhilava*, *ek*Mt *itala*, *bVā* *Suradhīla*. Vṣ genly *Sukhābala*, *IVā* *Sukhab*^o, *ablk*Vṣ *Sukhb*^o. Bh genly *Sukhīnala*, *p*Bh *o**nara*; *fBh* *Susīnara*; *r*Bh *Sakhānana*. CGr *Mukhābāna*; *a*Gr *Surabala*, *b*Gr *o**baja*. This name omitted in *eVā*. After him Gr adds, *medhāvī ca nṛpañjayah*, implying apptly two other kings, but no authority supports it.

⁴⁴ In *dVā* *sutah sūta*; *bVā* *tsuta[mṛ]tasi*; *ek*Mt *tvāśāś c-āpi*. Bh *sutas* *tasmāt*.

⁴⁵ So Mt genly. Vā, *cn*Mt *bhāvyo*, *e*Mt *bha*^o; *h*Mt *bhavisyati* (omitting *rājā*).

⁴⁶ So many Mt, *a²a³Vā*, here and in next line. Vṣ, Bh agree genly; and abGr: *bgrt*Bh, CGr *Pāriplava*; *Ca²a³Vā* *Paripluta*. *CG Va³l*Mt, *ghVṣ*, *cBh* *Parīṣṇava*; *k*Mt *o**ṣṇuva*. The letters *pl* and *ṣṇ* are often written very much alike; so *e*Mt *o**ṣṇura* here, *o**pluva* in next line: *gVā* *o**pluta*, *o**flava*; *kVā* *o**pluva*, *o**plava*: *bVā* *o**śraya*, *o**plava*; *kVṣ* *o**puna*; *dVā* *o**slagha*; *cfVṣ* *Paritmava*: *IVā* substitutes here *Dandapāñir bhavisyati* from l. 25.

⁴⁷ This line omitted in some, see p. 3.

⁴⁸ So Vā genly, *h*Mt; Vṣ genly, CGr agree: also Bh impliedly, *Medhāvī Sunay-ātmajah*. Mt genly *Sutapā*; *j*Mt *o**tamā*: *t*Bh *o**ta**pa*; *p*Bh *o**daya*; *kVṣ* *o**vaya*; *k*Mt *o**nṛpo*; *eVā*

Medhāvī⁴⁹ tasya dāyādo⁵⁰ bhavisyati narādhipah⁵¹
 Medhāvinah sutas c-āpi⁵² bhavisyati Nṛpañjayah⁵³ 20
 Durvo⁵⁴ bhāvyah sutas tasya⁵⁵ Tigmātmā⁵⁶ tasya c-ātmajah⁵⁷
 Tigmād⁵⁸ Brhadratho⁵⁹ bhāvyo Vasudāno⁶⁰ Brhadrathāt
 Vasudānāc⁶¹ Chatāniko⁶² bhavisy-Ödayanas⁶³ tatah⁶⁴
 bhavisyate c-Ödayanād⁶⁵ viro rājā⁶⁶ Vahinarah⁶⁷
 Vahinār-ātmajaś⁶⁸ c-aiva⁶⁹ Dāṇḍapāṇir⁷⁰ bhavisyati
 Dāṇḍapāṇer Nirāmitrāt⁷¹ tu⁷² Kṣemakah⁷³ 25

⁴⁹ratho: bgVā, acdeghVṣ, abGr Munaya; hVā Mumapa; lMt Muṣnavo; ceMt Putrayo; nMt Putrāpo; rBh Vijana.

⁵⁰ So all: but hBh Modhāvin; kBh Mēghāvin.

⁵¹ So Mt, eVā. Vā genly Sunayasy-ātha; bgVā Munay^o; hVā Munany-ātha. Bh Sunay-ātmajah.

⁵² So Vā: eVā nṛpaḥ sa tu; hMt nayasya tu. Mt genly na saṁśayah.

⁵³ So Mt and Vā.

⁵⁴ So eVā. Bh, Vṣ, Gr agree. Mt Purañj^o; bVṣ Ripuñj^o; lVṣ Nṛpanaya. See p. 3.

⁵⁵ There is great variation in this name. Mt mostly Urvo; ceMt Uru; hMt Uror; jMt Urvyā; gMt Urvyau, fMt Ur^o; nMt Uru (or Kuru); pMt Kurvo; dMt Jayo. But eVā Durvi. Bh genly Dūrva; nBh Dur^o; ctBh Dar^o; rBh Dār^o; pBh Purva. Vṣ genly Mrdu; fVṣ °da; hVṣ Durva, lVṣ Dur^o; abVṣ Durbala; kVṣ Durddharṣa. Gr Hari. Durva is the most central form.

⁵⁶ C-āpi in eVā.

⁵⁷ So Mt genly; eVā shortly Tigmāns. Vṣ, Gr Tigma, which Mt and eVā use in next line. Bh Timi; hMt Timātmā, ceknMt Nirm^o; fgMt Nirm-ākhyas; jMt +Nindātmā.

⁵⁸ In eVā tasmād bhavisyati; Bh °janis�ati.

⁵⁹ So Mt genly, eVā: bMt °mātmād, dMt °mātmano, with excess syll: pMt Tigmā; hMt Tīmād; cefgknMt Nirmād; jMt +Nindā.

⁶⁰ All agree in this name.

⁶¹ So hMt, eVā; Vṣ agrees: dMt Vasudānā. Mt genly °dāmā; kMt °dhānā; eMt °dhāmā; cnMt °dhāma; jMt °deo: lVṣ °da; bVṣ °manas. CGr Sudānaka; abGr +Tudānava misplacing him after the next king Śatānika. Bh Sudāsa indirectly, Śatānikaḥ Sudāsa-jah; bBh Sudāru-jah.

⁶² So hMt, eVā. Mt genly °dāmnāḥ; bMt

°dāmnā; enMt °dhāmā; cMt °dhāmāc; jMt °dāsuh.

⁶³ All agree; eMt Sat^o: abGr Sadānīka, Pkt. Vṣ calls him aparaḥ Śatānīkaḥ; for the former see note⁶. Bh says 'son of the preceding', see note⁶⁰.

⁶⁴ So Mt genly; Vṣ: eVā bhavit=Ödana-ya[m]s here, Udayanād in next line: jMt bhavisy=Ödayināḥ; eMt °syadayanah; dmpMt °sy=Ödathanāḥ; kMt °syadanayah. CGr Udāna. Bh genly Durdamana; enBh Durd^o or Urd^o; cBh Umanasu (or Dum^o).

⁶⁵ Tathā in bchjnMt, eVā.

⁶⁶ See note⁶⁵. Other variations here are, cjnMt °syatas c^o (so kMt erp); CMt °syate ca Dayanād; dpMt °c-Ödathanād; eMt bhavitas c-Övayanād; eVā bhavisyas c-āpy Udayanād.

⁶⁷ Jāto in dMt.

⁶⁸ So Mt genly; Bh, ablVṣ agree: pBh Vrahi^o; Vṣ genly Ahī^o; hVṣ Ahā^o; CGr Ahī^o; gBh Vahinana: cehlnMt Mahānarah, fgMt °rataḥ, here and in next line.

⁶⁹ So Mt; eVā °ra-sutas: lMt Mahāsar-ātm^o.

⁷⁰ C-āpi in eVā; mpMt c-Aindro.

⁷¹ So Mt; and Vā which resumes the list here. Bh, bklVṣ, CGr agree. Vṣ genly Khandā^o; fVṣ that or Khadga^o.

⁷² So Vā, CbodefgnMt; jVṣ. ApMt, bghVṣ Nira^o; hMt Nirva^o. Vṣ genly Nara^o; aVṣ Ni^o. CGr Nimittaka. Bh genly, klVṣ Nimi; cBh Nima; nBh Nini; tBh Nidhi; jBh Niti; rBh Muni. This half line in eVā is bhavita Kṣemakas iathā.

⁷³ So Mt. Vā ca.

⁷⁴ All agree in this name; but lVṣ Kṣema; a^agkVā Kṣepakah; jVṣ, lBh Kṣamaka; kVṣ Cākṣuka. All agree in Kṣemaka in l. 30.

pañca-vimśā⁷⁴ nṛpā hy ete⁷⁵ bhavisyāḥ Pūru⁷⁶-vamśa-jāḥ
 atrānuvamśā⁷⁷-śloko 'yam gīto vipraih purātanaiḥ⁷⁸
 brahma-kṣatrasya⁷⁹ yo yonir vamśo⁸⁰ deva-rsi⁸¹-satkrtaḥ⁸²
 Kṣemakam prāpya rājānari saṁsthām prāpsyati vai Kalau⁸³ 30
 ity esa Pauravo vamśo⁸⁴ yathāvad anukīrtitah⁸⁵
 dhīmataḥ Pāṇḍu-putrasya Arjunasya⁸⁶ mahātmanaḥ⁸⁷.

Aikśvākus.

Text—AMt 271, 4–17^a; AVā 99, 280^b–293; Bd iii, 74, 104–107^a.

Corresp. passages—CVs iv, 22; GBh ix, 12, 9–16; CGr i, 141, 5–8.

The Matsya and Vāyu give the whole. The Brahmānda has a lacuna and its account begins only at l. 23. The Bhāgavata gives a list of names with a few particulars. The Viṣṇu and Garuda have only a list of names.

Line 1 is only in Vā. Otherwise all copies of Mt and Vā have the dynasty complete, except that jMt omits ll. 4–7; eVā ll. 19–21; gVā ll. 5, 7–14, 24, 25; tVā l. 24; hMt have lost the whole; and fjmVā begin only at l. 23. In jBh kings Śākya to Kṣudraka (inclusive) are omitted; in nBh Śākya to Suratha; in pBh Rāṇajaya to Śuddhodana: in cVs Śākya to Kulaka; in kVs all after Śākya except the genealogical verse; and adBh have nothing.

There is confusion regarding the first two kings, for Vā, Vs, and Bh name two, but Mt and Gr make them one only. This piece of the dynasty, with so much of the various readings as concerns these two kings, stands thus:—

⁷⁴ This line is only in Vā; dVā °śan; gVā °śa: eVā °trīmśan. These 25 kings are Adhisīmakṛṣṇa and his successors, see l. 6; but see *Early Contemporary Dynasties*, l. 6, *infra*.

⁷⁵ Nṛp-Adyā te in bVā.

⁷⁶ Vā genly pūrva; eVā Puru. The correct reading is clearly Pūru, from whom the Pauravas were descended.

⁷⁷ In hMt °vamśah; nMt °vamśya: bdpMt ato 'nuvamśa-h; eVā tatrān°: dVā Puruvamśasya; kVā anuv°, hVā °śayā: gVā omits atra.

⁷⁸ So Mt genly; nMt +surāt°; fgMt sanāt°. Vā genly purā-vidaiḥ; eVā paurāṇikair dvijaiḥ.

⁷⁹ This verse is in Mt, Vā, Vs, Bh.

⁸⁰ In hMt yā yonir°; BrtBh vai yonir°. Bh genly vai prokto°; bfhjknpqBh vamśo 'yam prokto.

⁸¹ Vs rājarṣi; alVs devarṣi.

⁸² In nMt saṁk°; cMt saṁsk°; eMt +saṁnitah; kMt +saṁjnīnah.

⁸³ So Vā, Bh, IVs. Mt MSS have two endings (1) saṁsthāsyati Kalau yuge, (2) saṁsthāsyati sa (or ca) vai Kalau; jMt °sthāpyanti ca ye°: Vs sa saṁsthām (k, saṁsthānam) prāpsyate Kalau. Cf. p. 12, note ⁷⁹.

⁸⁴ But eVā ity evam Pauravaṁ vamśam.

⁸⁵ So Vā, ceknMt; eVā °tam. Mt genly iha kīrtitah.

⁸⁶ So Vā, Mt genly; AbklmMt c=Ārjunasya; dVā dharma-jñāsyā; eVā reads this half line Pārthasya prathit-ātmanah.

⁸⁷ Gr after naming Kṣemaka says, tataḥ śūdrā pitā pūrvas tataḥ sutah, suggesting that two Śūdra kings, father and son, reigned after him.

- Mt.* Br̥hadbalasya dāyādo vīro rājā hy¹ Urukṣayah²
Uruksaya³-sutās cāpi⁴ Vatsadroho mahāyasāh⁵.
- Vā.* Br̥hadrathasya⁶ dāyādo vīro rājā Br̥hatkṣayah⁷
tatah Kṣayah sutas⁸ tasya Vatsavyūhas tatah Kṣayāt.
- Vś.* Vṛhadbalasya putro Vṛhatksanah⁹
tasmād Guruksephā¹⁰ tato Vatsah¹¹ Vatsād Vatsavyūhah.
- Bh.* Br̥hadbalasya bhavitā putro nāma Br̥hadraṇah¹²
Urukriyas¹³ tatas tasya Vatsavṛddho bhavisyati.
- Gr.* Vṛhadbalād¹⁴ Urukṣayo Vatsavyūhas tatah parah.

A comparison of these readings with possible mistakes in letters in the various old scripts suggests that Vā, Bh, and Vś are right in naming two kings, that their names appear to be Br̥atksaya and Uruksaya, and that Mt and Gr have confused them as one. Hence it seems the text of Mt and Vā should be emended thus:—

Br̥adbalasya dāyādo vīro rājā Br̥atksayah
Urukṣayah sutas tasya Vatsavyūha Urukṣayāt.

The number of kings in this dynasty is not stated, but 29 are named, excluding Siddhārtha: see however *Early Contemporary Dynasties, infra*.

Ata ūrdhvam pravakṣyāmi Iksvākūnām mahātmanām¹
Br̥adbalasya² dāyādo vīro rājā Br̥atksayah³
Urukṣayah⁴ sutas tasya Vatsavyūha⁴ Urukṣayāt
Vatsavyūhāt⁵ Prativyomas⁶ tasya putro⁷ Divākaraḥ⁸

¹ *Hy* omitted in *bcdēfgjknMt*.

² In *jMt Urūk°; dkMt Ruruk°; ceMt Nurak°; lMt Nuk°*.

³ See note ²; *eMt Surak°; nMt Urukṣayas*.

⁴ In *nMt tu tasy-dpi*.

⁵ In *gMt mamā°; nMt mahātāpāh*.

⁶ *Br̥adbalasya* in *eVā*.

⁷ In *hVā °ikṣavāh; dVā °tvayāh; bVā °drathāh*.

⁸ *Kṣaya sutas* in *bVā*: *eVā* omits this line.

⁹ In *kVś °kṣevenāh; gVś °kṣetrah; bVś °kṣantah; fVś Br̥atksanah*.

¹⁰ So *dVś* or *Urūk°*: *jVś Urukṣaprah; abhVś Urukṣayah; kVś Varūk°; IVś + Purusak°*.

¹¹ But *IVś* omits him.

¹² In *hnBh °vraṇah; cBh Dharudraṇah*.

¹³ In *cBh °kriśasāt; hBh Kurukriyas; rBh Upāvṛttas*.

¹⁴ *Vṛhanraṇād* in *abGr*.

¹ This line is only in *Vā*. *Vś, Gr* have similar statements.

² Vā genly, *fgMt °rathasya*, but *Br̥adbalā*, king of Kosala, is mentioned in the MBh.

³ For this line, see above.

⁴ So Vā genly, *a'a³a'bklMt*. *Vś, Gr* agree. In *kVā °vyūhās; fgMt °vyāho, dMt °dāho*, in next line *dgMt °dvyaḥāt; jMt crp; eMt Vaśavyūho; nMt Vṛtsamūho* and *Vatsavyūhāt*. Mt genly *Vatsadroho*: Bh *°vrddha, tBh °vrīha; hVś Vyūha*. *Vś* (except *IVś*) inserts a king *Vatsa* before him (see above), but no other authority supports it.

⁵ *Vyūdhāt* merely in *eVā*.

⁶ So Mt genly. *Vś, Bh, abGr* agree. In *eVā Prativyomnas tu*. *Vā* genly, *IVś °vyūhas; gMt °vyogo; rBh °vyota; jVś °cyoma; kVś Prativyāma*. *CGr, hVś* omit him.

⁷ *Vyoma-putro* in *fgMt*.

⁸ So Mt, *Vā, Vś, Bh* *Bhānur Divāko vāhinī-patiḥ*, where *BepBh* read correctly *Divārko*. *Surya* in *abGr*. *CGr, hVś* omit him.

tasyaiva ⁹ Madhyadeśe tu	yaś ca sāmpratam adhyāste
Ayodhyā nagari śubhā	Ayodhyām ¹⁰ nagarīm nr̄pah
Divākarasya bhavitā ¹¹ Sahadevo ¹² mahā-yaśāḥ	
Sahadevasya ¹³ dāyādo ¹⁴ Br̄hadaśvo ¹⁵ mahā-manāḥ ¹⁶	
tasya Bhānuratho bhāvyah ¹⁷ Pratitāśvaś ¹⁸ ca tat-sutah	
Pratitāśva-sutāś cāpi Supratikō ¹⁹ bhaviṣyati	
Marudevah ²⁰ sutas tasya ²¹ Sunakṣatraś ²² ca tat-sutah ²³	10
Kinnarāśvah ²⁴ Sunakṣatrād bhavisyati param-tapah	
Kinnarād Antarikṣas tu ²⁵	bhavitā cāntarikṣas tu ²⁶
bhavisyati mahā-manāḥ ²⁷	Kinnarasya suto mahān
Suṣenaś ²⁸ cāntarikṣac ca ²⁹	Antarikṣat Suparnas ³⁰ tu ³¹
Sumitraś cāpy ³² Amitrajit ³³	Suparnāc cāpy ³⁴ Amitrajit ³⁵

⁹ So Mt genly: °aiśā in cdefgmnMt. Cf corresponding lines about Adhisimakṛṣṇa (p. 4, l. 6) and Senājit (p. 15, l. 13).

¹⁰ So Vā: gVā omits this line.

¹¹ Sahitā in eMt.

¹² So all, except that gVā reads—

Divākara-sutāś cāpi cakravartī bhavisyati. CGr, hVs omit him.

¹³ In CmMt °devāc ca.

¹⁴ So Vā. Mt bhavitā.

¹⁵ So Vā. Vs, Bh, Gr agree: kVs °drutha. Mt genly Dhruvāśvo vai; cenMt °v-ākhyo°: hVs omits him.

¹⁶ So Mt: cnMt °yasāḥ. Vā bhavisyati.

¹⁷ So Vā genly; Vs, Gr agree: bhVā Bhātū°. Bh Bhānumant; hBh Vān°: bhVs omit him. Mt corrupts this half line, gjMt bhāvyaratho bhāvyah, fMt bhāvyā°, bMt bhāvyo°, dmMt bhāvyo rathā°; lMt °rathodbhāv°: genly bhāvyo mahābhāgah. Vs says, 'son of the preceding', tat-sūnur.

¹⁸ So Vā, bdsgnMt; abhklVs agree. Mt genly Pratipāśvaś; kMt Pranūtā°. In bBh Pratikāśva: Bh genly Pratikāśva; cfhknprBh °kāśa: CGr °vya; abGr °cyu: jMt Pracetāś tasya (omitting ca), but Pratataśva in next line: lMt marutaś cāpi. Vs genly omits him.

¹⁹ So kMt; Vs, Bh agree. Vā genly Supratīto; eVā °ñito: Mt genly °ñīpo; fgMt °ñāpo: mMt Suprītāyo; lMt Suvratopo. CGr Pratītaka; rBh Pratīka; abGr °tikṣaka. Bh says, 'son of the preceding', tat-sutah.

²⁰ So Mt; Vs, Bh agree: jBh Marad°; lVs Maru[da]x°; mMt, Gr, bpBh Manud°; Vā Sahad°; cBh Suhad°.

²¹ Cāpi in eVā.

²² So all; except rBh Svan°; eBh Sutahk°; hBh Sunakṣetra: cMt Sukṣatras tat; eMt +Svakṣatrasvat; mMt Sutakṣas tu, but Sutakṣatāt in next line; jMt Sutahkṣatas, but Sutakṣatāt in next line.

²³ So Vā: ceMt suto 'bhavat. Mt genly tato 'bhavat; dknMt °bhavel.

²⁴ So Mt genly, eVā; kMt °raśva: nMt °raś ca; lMt °rāḥ; dMt °rākṣah; fgmMt °r-ākhyah; jMt +rakṣat. Vā genly Kinnaras tu; Vs, Gr agree: bVā +Kanarasya: rBh Kandara; Bh genly Puskara; kBh °kala; cBh Puspura; tBh Ruṣkara. But cMt Kinnaraś cāksaras tadvad; so eMt erp.

²⁵ So cdefgjklmnMt (with some corruptions); so bMt, but altered to Kinnarāśvād Antarikṣas which ACMt have. Vs, Bh Antarikṣa; bfgjkVs °rīkṣa; CGr °rīkṣaka: abGr Anurākṣaka.

²⁶ So Vā; kVā °rīkṣasya: eVā cāksarikṣas tu, but Antariikṣat in next line.

²⁷ Mahāyaśāḥ in dfmMt.

²⁸ So Mt genly: mMt °sarnaś; cekMt °varnaś; dfgMt °parnaś; bMt °parvas; lMt °pparvah; nMt °kṣatras; jMt °varṇāc.

²⁹ So Mt genly; cenMt °rīkṣasya.

³⁰ So Vā: bhlVs, Gr agree. Vs Suvarna; jVs Sarvāṇa. Bh Sutapas.

³¹ Tu wanting in kVā.

³² So Mt genly; jMt tu: nMt Sumitrasyāpy; bMt Sumantr°; ceMt Suvarn°. Sumitra Amitrajit would be one king.

³³ All agree in this name, except bMt

putras tasya ³⁵ Br̥hadbhṛājo ³⁶ Dharmī ³⁷ tasya sutah smṛtah
 putrah ³⁸ Kṛtañjaya ³⁹ nāma Dharminah sa ⁴⁰ bhaviṣyati ¹⁵
 Kṛtañjaya⁴¹-suto vidvān ⁴² bhaviṣyati ⁴³ Raññajayah ⁴⁴
 bhavitā Sañjayaś ⁴⁵ cāpi ⁴⁶ vīro rājā Raññajayat
 Sañjayasya ⁴⁷ sutah Śākyah ⁴⁸ Śākyac ⁴⁹ Chuddhodano ⁵⁰ 'bhavat ⁵¹
 Śuddhodanasya ⁵² bhavitā Siddhārtho ⁵³ Rāhulah ⁵⁴ sutah ⁵⁵
 Prasenajit ⁵⁶ tato bhāvyah ⁵⁷ Kṣudrako ⁵⁸ bhavitā ⁵⁹ tatah ⁶⁰ ²⁰
 Kṣudrakāt Kulako ⁶¹ bhāvyah Kulakāt ⁶² Surathah ⁶³ smṛtah ⁶⁴

Amantrajit; CGr Kṛtajit; abGr Śatajit;
jMt tato bhavet.

³⁴ So Vā; dMt also: dVā Parnāc.

³⁵ So Vā. Mt genly Sumitra-jo; bMt
 °triyo; jMt °trāt tu.

³⁶ Mt genly Br̥adrājo; Vś, Bh genly agree.
 But hVś, bgtBh, CGr °dbhrāja; hklpBh
 °dbhāja; nMt, abGr °dvāja; fBh °dgātra;
 cBh °dbhānu; gBh °jjāta; eBh Brahmadrāja;
 cMt Mahārājo. Vā Bharadvājo. Br̥ad-
 bhṛāja appears to be the probable name.

³⁷ So Vā; Vś agrees: eVā Dharmā; Gr
 Dhārmika. Mt reads this half line Br̥ad-
 rājasya (d, °rājyasya; n, °vājasya) vīryavān
 (b, vīrya-bhāk; j, kīrtanāt), where vīryavān
 is probably a mistake for Dharmavān or
 Dhārnikāh; see note ⁴⁰. Bh Barhis.

³⁸ So Vā, CbcdejkmnMt. Other Mt punah.

³⁹ So Mt genly, Vā. Vś, Bh, Gr agree.
 But fgMt read thus—

Kṛtiñjaya iti khyātah su-putro yo bhavi-
 syati:

but fMt Kṛtiñj° in next line. In bVś
 Kṛtiñj°: jMt Vṛhamj°, but Kṛtiñj° in next
 line.

⁴⁰ So Vā: for sa dVā has sam-, eVā tu.
 Mt genly Dhārmikāś ca; cMt °kes ca; mMt
 °tathākaś ca. Mt reading should probably
 be Dhārmikasya (see note ³⁷). But gVā
 reads this half line, rājā parama-dhārmikāh.

⁴¹ In degVā °jayāt; kVā °jayāt; lMt Raññ-
 jaya.

⁴² So Mt. Vā genly Vrāto: gVā sutah
 vrāto, dVā °vrāta, kVā vrato; eVā suvrato
 vai. These suggest a king Vrāta or Suvrata,
 of whom the other authorities know nothing.

⁴³ So Mt. Vā tasya putro to accord with
 the insertion of Vrāta.

⁴⁴ So Vā, cefgknMt; Vś, Bh agree. Mt
 genly Ranej°; abGr Rañaj°; qBh Rñañj°;
 eVā Rathāj°: CGr +Dhanastraya.

⁴⁵ So all; but gBh Suñjaya: lMt reads
 this half line †Raññajayaś capisuno.

⁴⁶ C-āto in bMt.

⁴⁷ Raññajaya- in cenMt.

⁴⁸ So all genly: but cdeMt, abVs, cfBh
 Śak°; bMt Śāh°; gMt Śāj°; fMt Śāj°;
 abGr Kāśyapāṇya: kVā omits this name in
 a blank.

⁴⁹ So all; except ceMt Śak°; dgMt Śāj°;
 fMt Śāj°; bMt Śāh°: gVā rājā.

⁵⁰ So Vā, bcdjMt; bghlVś, Gr agree: efgMt
 Sud°. Mt genly Chuddhaud°; nMt crp.
 Bh Śuddhoda. Vś genly Kruddhodana;
 dVs Krod°; aVś crp.

⁵¹ So Vā; bVā bhavet: eVā smṛtah. Mt
 genly nrpaḥ; cejnMt punah.

⁵² So Vā, cdenMt. Mt genly Śuddhaud°;
 bfgMt Sudhdod°.

⁵³ So Mt genly; cMt Śuddhārddha, eMt
 Śru°. Vā Śākyārthe; a'a°bdhVā Śak°. Vś,
 Bh, Gr omit him.

⁵⁴ So Ca²a°Vā; lVś Rāhula. Vś genly
 Rātula; a'a°dgkIVā Nāhula; abhVś, CGr
 Bāh°; abGr Vāph°; bhVā Nah°; jVś Gār°.
 Bh Lāngala. In jMt Prāhula; fgMt
 Prāhuta; Mt genly Puṣkala; eMt Hasata;
 kMt Hasanah (cMt sanah); lMt Sukṛtaḥ.

⁵⁵ So Mt. Vā smṛtah; jMt dhruvah. Bh
 tat-sutah smṛtah.

⁵⁶ So Mt genly, Vā. Vś, Bh agree. CeMt
 Prasenaji; lMt °sannaji; Gr Senajit: lVś
 omits him.

⁵⁷ Kṛto° in eMt; jMt tato bhavyāt.

⁵⁸ So all; but lVś Kṣudrajit: aVś omits
 him.

⁵⁹ Mavarā in eMt.

⁶⁰ In ceMt nrpaḥ; nMt na sah.

⁶¹ So Mt genly: a³dVā Kuliko, Ca²a²a²Vā
 Kṣul°; cMt Kṣullako, eMt Kṣall°; jMt
 Tūlako. Vś Kunḍaka; fMt Ku[vā]nako;

Sumitraḥ⁶⁵ Surathasy-āpi⁶⁶ antyaś ca⁶⁷ bhavitā nṛpaḥ
 eta Aikśvākavah⁶⁸ proktā⁶⁹ bhaviṣyā ye⁷⁰ Kalau yuge⁷¹
 Brhadbal-ānvaye jātā⁷² bhaviṣyāḥ kula-vardhanāḥ⁷³
 śūrāś ca krta-vidyāś ca satya-sandhā jit-ēndriyāḥ⁷⁴
 niḥśeṣāḥ kathitāś c-aiva nṛpā ye vai purātanāḥ⁷⁵
 atr-ānuvamśa⁷⁶-śloko 'yam viprair gītāḥ purātanaiḥ⁷⁷
 Iksvākūṇām ayam vamśāḥ Sumitr-ānto bhaviṣyati⁷⁸
 Sumitram prāpya rājānam saṁsthām prāpsyati vai Kalau⁷⁹.
 ity evam Mānavo vamśāḥ⁸⁰ | ity evam Mānavam kṣatram⁸¹
 prāg eva⁸² samudāhṛtaḥ⁸³ | Ailaṁ ca samudāhṛtam⁸⁴

25

30

IV⁸⁵ Kurandaka: pBh Kanamka; fBh Ganaka; gBh Sun^o; Bh genly Ran^o; cBh Rūn^o: erBh omit him. CGr Kudava; abGr Kuḍara. Gr inserts a king Sumitra before him, misplacing aptly the next king Su-ratha.

⁶² In jMt Kūl^o; fMt Krul^o; ceMt Kṣull^o.

⁶³ So Mt, Vā. Vs, Bh agree: kBh Suretha; fMt Surasah: hVs Adhiratha; IV⁸⁶ Vidūr^o or Vimyūr^o: cBh Sunaya; erBh omit him. Gr apptly Sumitra, see note ⁶¹.

⁶⁴ Sutah in cenMt. Bh tanayas tataḥ.

⁶⁵ So all: eVā omits this name.

⁶⁶ So Vā, bcdfgjknMt; eMt °thāś c-āpi: other Mt °thāj jāto; AMt adds hy: eVā °thāt tasmād: IV⁸⁷ says tat-putras.

⁶⁷ So Vā, nMt; eVā °sa; Mat genly °tu; bVā antya ca. Antyah crp to antah in bMt, abGr; to anyah in CcefgjMt; Vs genly; to atah in CGr; to tataś in dVā: so antyaś ca to antasya in gVā. Bh niṣṭhānta.

⁶⁸ So bdhVā, Bd. ACMt ete c=Aik^o; cenMt, eVā ete Ik^o; bdfgMt ity et=Ēk^o, jMt °ev=Ēk^o. Vā genly eta Aikśvākavah; mVā ete Aila-ja-śvākavah.

⁶⁹ Bhūpā in jMt.

⁷⁰ So Mt genly, eVā: cejnMt °ṣyanti. Vā, Bd bhavitārah.

⁷¹ Kilau purā in jVā.

⁷² So Vā, Bd; eVā °tv ete; bcnMt °ānvayā ye tu. Mt genly °ānvavāyē tu: jMt Vṛhadba..nṛpā ye tu; ejqBh °balā nṛpāḥ. Vs °bal-ānvayāḥ. Bh genly ete Bārhadbal-ānvayāḥ: rtBh ete c=ānāgatā nṛpāḥ.

⁷³ So Mt genly: dMt kṣudra-vamdh^o, bfgMt

^obāndhavāḥ, eVā putra-bāndh^o; kMt kṣatra-bandhavaḥ: jMt kruddha-vamdhanaḥ; cenMt śuddha-vamśa-jāḥ. Bd reads this half line, mahā-vīrya-parākramāḥ. Vā repeats bhavitārah Kalau yuge.

⁷⁴ This line is only in Va and Bd.

⁷⁵ This line is only in cenMt.

⁷⁶ Atṛ-ānubandha in kMt.

⁷⁷ So Mt genly; bcfgjnMt gīto vipraih. Vā bhaviṣya-jñair udāhṛtaḥ; Bd bhaviṣyaj-jñ^o; dVā bhaviṣyatair (or °nair)^o: see Introdn. § 8.

⁷⁸ So all; but jMt Sumitrā te bh^o: eMt omits the second half line.

⁷⁹ So all: except that Vs, Bh begin yatas tam; rBh eṣyati for prāpeyati; IV⁸⁸ tasmāt for saṁsthām. Vs reads the second half line, sa saṁsthām(h, saṁsthānam) prāpsyate Kalau. This line in jMt is—

Sumitras cāpi rājā vai saṁsthām prāpsyati kevalam.

⁸⁰ So this line is in Mt genly: bMt Mānavam vamśam.

⁸¹ So this line is in Vā, Bd: CgkVā +kṣetram: eVā blunders thus—

ity etat Soma-jām kṣatram Aila-jām samudāhṛtam;

for Aila-ja = Soma-ja, and neither term applies to the Aikśvākus who were Mānavas.

⁸² In bMt Pāṇḍavam; cnMt Ailasya; eMt Elāś ca; kMt +malasa; jMt etaiḥ ca; dMt crp.

⁸³ In bMt °tam: eMt su-mah-ādṛtaḥ; cMt su-mah-ādbhutāḥ.

⁸⁴ Su-suhr̥d-gatam in bVā.

Bārhadrathas.

Text—AMt 271, 17^b-30^a; AVā 99, 294-309^a; Bd iii, 74, 107^b-122^a.

Corresp. passages—CVś iv, 23; GBh ix, 22, 45^b-49; CGr i, 141, 9-11.

The Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmānda give the whole, and agree except where noted. The Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata and Garuda give merely a list of names. There is some confusion in the Matsya in lines 20, 22, and 24 compared with l. 26, and its version and that of the Vāyu and Brahmānda are both given, the Matsya on the left and the other on the right.

Scarcely any copies are complete. L. 15 is only in Vā and Bd, and ll. 30, 31 only in jMt. All copies of Mt omit ll. 26-28, except that l. 26 is in dfgkMt and ll. 27, 28 in cdefgjkmMt. Other omissions are: ceMt ll. 8, 9, 13, 20, 21, 23-25, and eMt also ll. 29, 32, 33; jMt ll. 8-12, 17-19, 32, 33; kMt ll. 12, 13, 17-23; lMt ll. 8-12, 21-29; mMt ll. 10-12, 14, 24, 25 and misplaces 18-20 after 23; nMt ll. 19 (second half)-22 (first half); a¹a²Vā ll. 23-25; bVā ll. 16 (second half)-18 (first half); eVā ll. 7-9, 15; fVā l. 25; gVā ll. 21-29; jVā ll. 1 (second half)-2 (first half), 10-12; lVā ll. 8-12; mVā ll. 23-25; hMt and lVś have lost the whole. Vś and Bh omit Nirvṛti; rBh also Kṣema, Suvrata, Dharmanetra and Suśrama; and alGr Senājit and all after Dṛḍhaseuna.

Lines 30, 31 in jMt are perhaps valuable. This dynasty was founded by Br̥hadratha, son of Vasu Caidyōparicara, and he and his 9 successors reigned down to the great battle; see JRAS, 1910, pp. 11, 22, 29. From the battle to Senājit 6 kings are named, excluding Senājit who is spoken of as the then reigning king; and from and including him to the end 16 kings are mentioned. There were thus 32 kings altogether, 10 before the battle and 22 after; or from the standpoint of Senājit's reign 16 past and 16 future. Lines 30-31 in jMt take the standpoint of his reign and speak of him and his successors as the 16 future kings, and say *prima facie* their total duration was 723 years; see note ⁹⁸. Lines 32-33, which are not in jMt, reckon (in a way) from the beginning and speak of all the 32 kings as future since most of them were posterior to the battle; and thus they say the whole dynasty lasted 1000 years. These two statements are not contradictory but are hardly compatible, because taken together they assign 723 years to the last 16 kings and only 277 to the first 16. The total of 1000 years for 32 kings is excessive, and that of 723 years for 16 kings is absurd. But if we can read lines 30-31 as two independent sentences, and treat *tesām* as applying, not merely to those 16 future kings, but to the Br̥hadrathas generally, their purport stands thus—"These 16 kings are to be known as the future Br̥hadrathas: and¹ their kingdom (that is, the kingdom of the Br̥hadrathas) lasts 723 years." The total duration then, 723 years, would be within possibility, for the average reign would be about 22½ years. This rendering would of course discredit lines 32-33. If we read *vayo* in jMt with that construction (see note ⁹⁸), the total period would be 700 years and would give an average reign of just under 22 years, which would be *vimś-ādhikam*.

¹ The position of *ca* does not necessarily discredit this rendering, for *cas* are often inserted anywhere in these accounts.

Ata ūrdhvam pravakṣyāmi Māgadhā ye Br̄hadrathāḥ¹
 Jarāsandhasya ye vam̄se² Sahadev-ānvaye³ nṛpāḥ
 atītā vartamānāś ca⁴ bhaviṣyāś ca tathā punah⁵
 prādhānyataḥ pravakṣyāmi gadato me nibodhata⁶
 saṅgrāme Bhārate vṛtte⁷ Sahadeve nipātite⁸ 5
 Somādhis⁹ tasya dāyādo¹⁰ rāj-ābhūt¹¹ sa Girivraje¹²
 pañcāsatam¹³ tathāṣṭau ca¹⁴ samā rājyam akārayat
 Śrutasravāś¹⁵ catuh-ṣaṣṭim¹⁶ samās tasyānvaye¹⁷ 'bhavat¹⁸
 Ayutāyus¹⁹ tu²⁰ ṣad-vimśat²¹ rājyam varṣāṇy²² akārayat
 catvārimśat²³ samās tasya | samāḥ śatāṁ²⁴ Nirāmitro
 Nirāmitro²⁵ divāṁ gataḥ | mahīm bhuktvā divāṁ gataḥ¹⁰

¹ So Mt, *a²a³a⁴bdfghVā*; also *IVā* (reading *yo*): *fkmVā Māgadha (m, °dhe) ye Br̄hadrathāḥ, Bd Māgadho yo B°, jMt Māgadhēśo B°*: other *Vā Māgadheyān Br̄hadrathāḥ: eVā vam̄se ye vai Vr̄hadrathāt*. Bh says—

Atha Māgadha-rājāno bhavitāro vadāmi te; which is not Skt but Pali; see Appendix I, § ii. Vs says—

Māgadhānām Vārhadrathānām bhaviṣyānām (*kVṣ bhāvinām*) anukramām kathayāmi.

² So *Vā, Bd. Mt pūrvena ye Jarāsandhāt*, which should prob. be *pūrve tu ye J°*, cf. *jMt sarve ye tu J°*. Vs says—

atra hi vam̄se mahābalā Jarāsandha-pradhānā babbūvuh.

See JRAS, 1908, p. 316; and 1910, p. 29.

³ In *jMt °devās tu ye*; *dMt crp.*

⁴ Both accus. pl. in *cēfgnMt*; both nom. sing. in *jMt*.

⁵ So *Vā, Bd. Mt °syāṁś (bdj, °syāś) ca nibodhata (j, nibodha tān)*.

⁶ This line only in *Vā, Bd: eVā prādhānyāś tān*.

⁷ So Mt; *jMt matte. Vā, Bd tasmin*.

⁸ So Mt, *eVā. Vā, Bd °devo nipātitaḥ: cēMt yaś ca bhuktā mahī drayam (c, duayam)*.

⁹ So Mt, *Vā* genly. *Bd, cdefajVṣ, CGr Somāpi; eVā, bhVṣ °āri; bnMt °ādi; Vs genly °āmi; kVṣ °āri: aVs Semāvi; jMt, bVā Samādi, hVā Sām°. Bh Mārjāri. For Somādhis tasya cMt has Sahadevasya, eMt °devo 'sya*.

¹⁰ So Mt. *Vā, Bd tanayo*.

¹¹ So Mt: *eVā rāj-āsīt. Vā, Bd rājarṣih*.

¹² In *lMt Giri[sam]vrajan; cēMt samiti-dhvajah*.

¹³ Pañcāśac ca in *fgMt*; *jMt* reads this

half line, *pañcāśat sapta ca tathā*.

¹⁴ Tathā c-aiva in *bMt*; *eVā* omits *th-astau ca*.

¹⁵ So Mt, *a¹⁻⁴mVā, Bd. Bh, bkVṣ, CGr agree. CVā °śruvāś; fBh °śruva; abGr °ścavāś: gBh Śatasravas, tBh Vyutas°. Vṣ genly Śrutavān; aVṣ +Tukṣata.*

¹⁶ So Mt, *Ca¹Vā: a²⁻⁴bdfghjklmVā, Bd sapta-ṣaṣṭi*; but *dVā* repeats the line thus—

Śrutasravā ṣaṣṭi samās tatas tasya suto 'bhavat:

so *bVā* also, crp.

¹⁷ So Mt genly; *bMt °ānvayo; dMt °āntayo; nMt tasya nayo. Vā, Bd tasya suto*.

¹⁸ Bharet in *bkMt*.

¹⁹ So *Vā, Bd. Vṣ, Bh, CGr* agree; *gVṣ °tāyuta, abGr °tāmus, rBh °dhāyus; fBh °dhutaś ca; jVṣ Uyus. Mt genly Apratīpī; a¹a²dfgmMt Apratīpī* (which would be an easy misreading of *Ayutāyī*); *nMt Anayā-pam; kMt Asutā*.

²⁰ Ca in Mt.

²¹ So *bkMt, Bd*; *Vā* genly ṣad-vimśat²¹: *mVā* that or ṣat-trimśat. Mt genly, *a¹a²fgjnVā ṣat-trimśat* or °śat²²: but *dfgMt, bdhVā ṣad-trimśat* or °śa, where the *ḍ* suggests the correct reading is ṣad-vimśat, for *v* and *tr* are often confused.

²² So *Vā, Bd. Mt samā (kMt abdaṁ) rājyam*.

²³ So Mt: *kMt °śati*.

²⁴ So *Vā, Bd: eVā* omits these words.

²⁵ So Mt genly; *bnMt tasmān Nir°; nMt Nirāmitro*: but *cēMt samā Mitro bhuktvā c-aiva; kMt Śarmamitro bhogān bhuktvā; dfgMt Nirāmitro (g, °titro) bhuktvā c-ēmāṁ*.

pañcāśatam samāḥ ṣaṭ ca²⁶ Sukṣatraḥ²⁷ prāptavān mahīm
 trayo-vimśad Brhatkarmā²⁸ rājyam varṣāny²⁹ akārayat
 Senājit³⁰ samprayātaś ca³¹ Senājit³⁰ sāmprataṁ³² cāpi
 bhuktvā³³ pañcāśatam³⁴ mahīm etā vai³⁵ bhokṣyate³⁶ samāḥ³⁷
 Śrutanjayas³⁸ tu³⁹ varṣāni⁴⁰ catvārimśad⁴¹ bhaviṣyati
 mahā-balo⁴² mahā-bāhur⁴³ mahā-buddhi⁴⁴ parākramah⁴⁵
 aṣṭā-vimśati⁴⁶ varṣāni mahīm⁴⁷ prāpsyati vai⁴⁸ Vibhuḥ⁴⁹
 aṣṭā-pañcāśatam⁴⁹ cābdān⁵⁰ rājye sthāsyati vai Śuciḥ⁵¹
 aṣṭā-vimśat⁵² saṁnā rājā⁵³ Kṣemo⁵⁴ bhokṣyati vai mahīm⁵⁵

Vś, eVā, Bh, Gr *Nirāmitro*. Bh adds *tat-sutah*.

²⁶ But fgMt *ṣadra*; nMt *ṣadga*; cMt *sastah*; eMt *hy aṣṭah*; eVā *tasya*.

²⁷ So dfMt, a³eVā, Bd; Vs agrees: kVā *Sukṣatrā*; a⁴gmVā °kṣattā. Ca¹a²Vā °kṛitā, hVā °kṛtā, bVā °kṛtā, dVā °kṣakrt; gMt *Kṣukṣatraḥ*; bMt *Sukṣarah*. Mt genly *Suraksah*; ceMt *Sumitraḥ*; kMt *Naksatraḥ*; nMt erp. Bh, bVś *Sunaksatra*; abGr *Suhaks*; CGr *Svakṣetra*. Vs adds *tat-tanayah*.

²⁸ So Vā, Bd, with °śad, °śam, or °śa. Mt *Brhatkarmā trayo-vimśad*; ceMt °tu dvā-trinśat. Vs *Vṛhatkarman*. Bh °tsena; hBh *Vihaṣena*. CGr *Bahu-karmaka*; abGr *Varukarmana*.

²⁹ So Vā, Bd; eVā *varṣāni kār*. Mt genly *abdaṁ rājyam*, fgMt *abdān*: cenMt read this half line, *prāptā* (n, °taś; c, °tvā) c-ēnāṁ vasundharām.

³⁰ So Mt, Vā genly, Bd: a²bdjMt, a²a³Vā, Vś, CGr *Sena*; nMt *Śena*, mMt *Śyena*; kVā *San-jit*. Bh genly *Karmajit*, nBh *Kār*, hBh *Kūr*; rBh *Dharmavid*: eVā *Maniṣī*. CGr inverts this king and the next. See the corresponding lines about *Adhisimakṛṣṇa* (p. 4, l. 6) and *Divākara* (p. 10, l. 5).

³¹ So Mt genly: bfgnMt *sāmprataś cādyam*, jMt *samprajic* c°.

³² So Vā, Bd: eVā *sāmprataś*.

³³ *Bhoktā* in *bdfgjlnMt*.

³⁴ So a¹a²bdjMt; fgjMt °śatā. Mt genly *pañca-śatam*.

³⁵ So Vā genly, Bd. CVā etāṁ vai, 'this (earth)'. But eVā *pañcāśad*, thus bringing this version into similarity to the corresponding verses, p. 4, l. 6 and p. 10, l. 5.

³⁶ CVā *bhuṣyate*; fmVā *bhokṣyase*.

³⁷ In mVā *tava*; fVā *tave*.

³⁸ So all; except jMt *Śrutiñ*; a³kVā *Śatañ*; gMt *Śrūtañ*; bMt *Stutañ*; dVś *Kṣatañ*; bVś *Ripuñ*: eVā *Śatāmyajñas*. Bh names him *Sṛtañjaya* indirectly, *Sṛtañjayaād Viprah*; cBh *Mutañ*. CGr inverts him and *Senājit*.

³⁹ Ca in cenMt.

⁴⁰ In enMt *varṣānām*; jMt *varṣān* vai.

⁴¹ *Pañca-trimśad* in fgMt, eVā.

⁴² This line is only in Vā, Bd. CVā °bāhur.

Bd *ripuñjayo*.

⁴³ CVā °buddhir.

⁴⁴ CVā bhīma; gVā bala.

⁴⁵ So Mt; eVā aṣṭā-vimśat tu: gmVā *pañca-vimśat tu*. Vā, Bd *pañca-trimśat tu*.

⁴⁶ *Masvā* in eVā.

⁴⁷ So Mt genly; jMt *pāsyati*; cenMt *sāmprāpsyate*. Vā, Bd *pālayitā*.

⁴⁸ So Mt genly, eVā; bMt *vibho*; cefgMt *Prabhuh*; lMt *prabho*: djkMt *vīryavān* for vai *Vibhuḥ*. Vs, Bh genly *Vipra*; pBh *Dhipra*; jVś *Pipra*; kVs *Ripu*; bVś *Ripuñjaya*. CGr *Bhūri*; abGr *Sāmvi*. Vā, Bd *nṛpah*, giving no name; mVā [vr]nṛpah.

⁴⁹ Aṣṭau *pañcāśatā* in eVā.

⁵⁰ So dfgMt, Vā, Bd: cMt *cābdā*; nMt, hVā *cāstān*; eMt *cāṣṭā*. Mt genly *ṣaṭ ca*: eVā *sūnho*.

⁵¹ So all: except nBh *Suci*; bMt *Mucih*; eMt *Śruciḥ*; gBh *Śusi*. Vs adds *tasya putrah*.

⁵² In cdeMt *aṣṭā-trimśat* (or °śa); mMt *dvātrinśas ca*.

⁵³ So Mt. Vā, Bd *pūrnāḥ*.

⁵⁴ So all: except eVā *Kṣamo*; lMt *Kṣaimo*. Vs genly, CGr *Kṣemya*: fgMt *Pakso* or *Yakso*.

⁵⁵ So Mt genly; cefgnMt *bhokṣyati* (f, *bhoyati*) *medinām*. Vā, Bd *rājā bhavisyati*.

Suvratas tu ⁵⁶ catuh-ṣaṣṭim ⁵⁷ rājyam prāpsyati vīryavān ⁵⁸	pañca-trimśati ⁵⁹ varṣāni	pañca varṣāni pūrnāni ⁶⁰	20
Sunetro ⁶¹ bhokṣyate mahīm ⁶²	bhokṣyate ⁶⁴ Nirvṛtiś ⁶⁵ c-ēmām ⁶⁶ aṣṭa-pañcāśatām samāh ⁶⁷	Dharmanetro ⁶³ bhaviṣyati	
aṣṭa-vimśat ⁶⁸ samā rājyam	catvārimśat tath-āṣṭau ca ⁷⁴ Dr̄dhaseno ⁷⁵ bhaviṣyati	aṣṭa-trimśat ⁶⁹ samā rājyam ⁷⁰	
Trinetro ⁷¹ bhokṣyate tataḥ ⁷²	trayas-trimśat tu ⁷⁶ varṣāni	Suśramasya ⁷³ bhaviṣyati	
Mahīnetraḥ ⁷⁷ prakāṣyate ⁷⁸	dvā-trimśat tu ⁸¹ samā rājā ⁸²	trayas-trimśat tu varṣāni	
	Sucalas ⁸³ tu bhaviṣyati ⁸⁴	Sumatiḥ ⁷⁹ prāpsyate tataḥ ⁸⁰	25

⁵⁶ So Bd. Vś, Bh, CGr agree: also eVā *Suvratas tha* (for *Suvrato 'tha*); CbfghmVā *Suvatas tu*. Vā genly *Bhuvatas tu*; jVā, 2 MSS of CVā *Yuvatas*^o; dVā *tsavatsara*; jBh *Suvrta*; abGr *Sujāta*. Mt genly *Anuvrataś*, gMt ^otraś; fMt *Anuvṛta*: ceMt *Kṣemakasya*.

⁵⁷ So Mt, Vā, Bd (^oti, ^oti, ^oti, ^oti): cdeMt *sutah* *ṣaṣṭi*; dVā *tu* *ṣaṣṭim* *vai*; mMt *ṣaṣṭi* *samā*.

⁵⁸ In ceMt *yatnataḥ* (for *Suvrataḥ*? see note ⁸⁶).

⁵⁹ So CbMt; fgjkmMt ^otrimśat tu (m, ca; k omits tu). AlMt ^oviṁśati; dMt pañcāśac ca (with a syll. short).

⁶⁰ So Vā, Bd: eVā *varṣāni* repeated.

⁶¹ In jMt *†Śnānātrot*; lMt *pañcāśan*.

⁶² *Mahān* in jMt.

⁶³ So Vā, Bd; also hVś, hjkBh, and v. r. in GBh: hVā ^onepro. Bh genly *Dharmasūtra*; nBh ^oputra; bBh ^okṣetra. Vś, Gr briefly *Dharma*.

⁶⁴ *Bhoyate* in mMt, emVā.

⁶⁵ So Mt; jMt *Nirvṛtiś*; eVā *Nṛbhṛtaḥ*. Vā, Bd *nṛpatiś*.

⁶⁶ So Mt. Bd c-ēmā; a¹a²a⁴fkmVā *cāimā*; hVā *caibhā*; dVā c-ōbhā; other Vā c-aiva: eVā *pythvām*.

⁶⁷ In fMt aṣṭam p^o: bMt aṣṭa-pañcāśa vai samām.

⁶⁸ So Mt: cdeMt ^ovinśa.

⁶⁹ So Vā, Bd. CVā aṣṭi^o.

⁷⁰ So Vā. Bd *rāṣṭram*.

⁷¹ So Mt genly; jMt *Train*^o: cdefgMt *Sun*^o.

⁷² In cefgjMt *nṛpaḥ*; dMt *mahīm*.

⁷³ So Bd; Vś genly *Suśrama*: hVś *Suśruma*, eVś and abGr *Śus*^o, CGr *†Śmas*^o:

dVś *Śuśuma*; tBh *Śrama*. Bh genly *Śama*; hknPbh *Sama*; bVś *Susava*; hVś *Suśrama*. Vā genly *Suśramasya*, eVā *Suśrut*^o.

⁷⁴ So Mt; eVā ^oṣatam aṣṭau ca. Vā, Bd ^oṣad tdaś=āṣṭau ca.

⁷⁵ So a²djMt, Vā genly, Bd. Vś genly, BcrtBh agree; CGr ^osenaka; jVś ^ośnena; abGr *Dathasenaka* (Plt): mMt *Dr̄dhanetā*; fgMt and eVā *Vṛhatseno*; bMt *Mahats*^o, nMt *Mahās*^o, CVā¹a³a⁴Mt *Dyumat*^o, and so GpBh (altered in p to *Dr̄dhas*^o).

⁷⁶ So Mt genly; djMt ^osac ca; fgMt ^oṣati: kMt pañca-trimśad (omitting tu).

⁷⁷ So CVā³a⁴knMt: a¹a²bdfgjMt *mahīm* N^o.

⁷⁸ So Mt genly: a¹bfMt *praśāsyate*, dgMt ^oti; a²kMt *praśāsyate*, gjnMt ^oti. The root *praśās* appears to be treated as belonging to the ya class, see *Various local dynasties*, note ⁶⁴, post.

⁷⁹ So Vā, Bd, Vś, Bh, CGr: dVś *Sumanti*.

⁸⁰ In eVā ^ote *mahīm*; dVā *viṁśatiḥ* *samāh*.

⁸¹ So Mt genly, eVā; dfgkMt ^osac ca; nMt ^oṣatam. Vā dvā-vimśati; jMt ^oṣat tu. Bd catvārimśat.

⁸² So Mt; fgMt *rājan*. Vā, dMt *rājyam*. AkMt add *hy*.

⁸³ Mt genly *Acalas*; bMt *Abalas*: a¹a²jIVā *Sucalo*; CVā *Sucālo*; a³a⁴bhkVā *Sucālo*. Vś, nMt, Bh, CGr *Subalas*; hBh *Subāla*; cBh *Surbala*: eVā *Sudhanvā*; rBh *Bhūvana* or *Bhūbala*; one CVā MS *Yuvāno*. *Sucalo* seems the best form. Bd omits this line: dVā reads it—

rājyam *Sucālo* bhokṣyati atha śatru-jayī tataḥ;

which suggests a king *Śatrujayin*, but no other authority supports this. Bh adds *janitā tataḥ*, ‘son of the preceding’.

catvāriṁśat samā rājā⁸⁵ Sunetro⁸⁶ bhokṣyate⁸⁷ tataḥ⁸⁸
 Satyajit⁸⁹ pr̄thivīm rājā⁹⁰ tr̄y-aśitim⁹¹ bhokṣyate⁹² samāḥ⁹³
 prāpy-ēmāṁ Viśvajic⁹⁴ cāpi pañca-viṁśad⁹⁵ bhaviṣyati
 Ripuñjayas⁹⁶ tu varṣāṇi⁹⁷ pañcāśat prāpsyate mahīm
 śodaśaite⁹⁸ nṛpā jñeyā bhavitāro Bṛhadrathāḥ³⁰
 trayo⁹⁹-viṁś-ādhikam teṣāṁ rājyam ca sata-saptakam
 dvā-triṁśac¹ ca² nṛpā hy ete³ bhavitāro Bṛhadrathāḥ⁴
 pūrnāṁ varṣa-sahasram⁵ vai⁶ teṣāṁ rājyam bhaviṣyati⁷.

Pradyotas.

Text—AMt 272, 1-5; AVā 99, 309^b-314^a; Bd iii, 74, 122^b-127^a.

Corresp. passages—CVs iv, 24, 1-2; GBh xii, 1, 2-4.

The Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa give the whole dynasty. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata name all the kings.

All are complete, except thus: CkMt omit lines 9, 10; gMt ll. 5, 6; bMt

⁸⁴ So Mt. Vā bhokṣyate tataḥ; eVā bho-
jyate^o.

⁸⁵ As to this line, see p. 13: dfgkMt rājyan.

⁸⁶ So Mt, Vā, Bd. Vs genly, frtBh Sunāta,
dVs °nāta; Bh genly, aVs °nītha. CGr
Nīta.

⁸⁷ In kMt bhojyate; eVā bharitā.

⁸⁸ In dfgkMt nṛpah.

⁸⁹ So all (see p. 13); except jkMt Saptajit;
cdemMt Sarvajit.

⁹⁰ So cefgkmMt, eVā; gjMt °vī-rājā. Vā
genly °vī-rājyam. Bd °vī-rāṣṭram.

⁹¹ So Vā, Bd: cefgkmMt aśitim; dMt
aśīh: eVā triṁśatam: jMt reads this half
line, 'śītim prāpsyati vai samāḥ. Tryaśītim
may be a mistake for hy aśītim, or (by
metathesis of vowels) for triṁśatam.

⁹² In eVā bhojyate; cdefgkmMt prāpsyate.

⁹³ In dfgkMt tataḥ; ceMt nṛpah.

⁹⁴ So all (see p. 13): but kVā Viśvajic; Vā
genly Viśvajic: cdefgkmMt read this half
line, Viśvajic c-aiwa (d, sarva) varṣāṇi.

⁹⁵ So ekMt, dfmVā, Bd. Vā genly, cdjmMt
°triṁśad: gMt tri-pañcaśad, fMt °cād.

⁹⁶ So Mt, eVā. Vs, Bh agree: see Pradyotas, note¹. Vā, Bd synonym. Ariñj^o;
dVā + Acirāñj^o; CGr Iṣuñj^o: gMt omits this
line and repeats l. 24 here. Vs adds tasya
putrah.

⁹⁷ So Mt, Vā. Bd varṣānām.

⁹⁸ So jMt (see p. 13) with śodaśaite, which
no doubt means śodaśaite, because from
Senājit to the end there were 16 kings,
though its list is imperfect.

⁹⁹ So jMt (see p. 13) reading vayo, which
is no doubt a misreading of trayo, tr and v
being often confused. If we keep vayo, the
line may perhaps mean, 'Their periods ex-
ceeded 20 years, and their kingdom lasted
700 years'; yet the first of these two state-
ments, if it can be so rendered, seems inept:
see p. 13.

¹ So Mt genly, Vā. CblMt °śati (omitting
ca). Bd dvāriṁśac, which is the total num-
ber of kings mentioned. This half line in
gVā is, ete mahābalāḥ sarve.

² Mat tu; eVā omits.

³ CMt nṛpārhyate (misprint): eVā ete hi
nṛpā.

⁴ So Mt, Bd. Vā genly °thāt. CVā Dṛhad-
rathāḥ; eVā drdha-vratāḥ.

⁵ In dMt pūrvam v^o; fgyMt pūrñe varṣa-
sahasre. Vs varṣa-sahasram ekam. Bh
sāhasra-vatsaram.

⁶ Mt tu.

⁷ After this line AbcMt insert l. 3 from the
next dynasty.

inserts l. 2 of the next dynasty after l. 8: *eVā* omits ll. 9 (second half), 10; *mVā* omits ll. 5, 6 and reads then ll. 8, 9, 7–10: *nBh* has lost Viśakhayūpa to the end; and *hpMt* and *btBh* the whole.

The total of the reigns agrees with the period assigned to the dynasty, which is 138 years according to *Vā*, *Bd*, *Vś*, and *Bh*. *Mt* generally says the duration was 52 years, or at most (if *dvi-pañcāśat* could mean *dviḥ pañcāśat*) 100 roundly; but several copies make it 152 years (see note ³⁹).

<p><i>Bṛhadrathesv¹</i> atītesu² Vītihotresv³ Avantiṣu⁴ <i>Pulikah⁵</i> svāminam hatvā⁶ <i>sva⁷-putram abhiṣekṣyati</i> <i>misatām¹⁰</i> kṣatriyāṇām¹¹ ca¹² <i>Bālakah¹⁴</i> Pulik-ōdbhavah¹⁵ <i>sa vai pranata¹⁹-sāmanto²⁰</i> bhaviṣyo²¹ naya-varjitaḥ²²</p>	<p>Sunikah⁷ svāminam hatvā <i>putram samabhiṣekṣyati⁹</i> <i>misatām kṣatriyāṇām hi¹³</i> <i>Pradyotam¹⁶</i> Suniko¹⁷ balāt¹⁸</p>
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¹ In *a¹bMt* °*rathe*: *nMt* *Bārhadrathesv*, *eMt* °*ratheśa*.

² In *beMt* *vyatītesu*; *a¹Mt* °*te tu*; *bVā* omits 'tītesu'.

³ So *Mt* genly: *Vā* genly and *cdenMt* *Vīta^o*; *eVā* *Riti^o*. *Bd* *Virahant̄sv*. *Vītihotresv* is right; see *Early Contemporaneous Dynasties*, I. 7, where all three read it right; the name occurs often in the *Purāṇas*.

⁴ So *Mt* genly. *Bd*, *a²a³bfgVā* *a-vartiṣu*. Other *Vā* °*hotresu* *vartisu*, *eVā* °*varṇisu*, *fjgkMt* °*bandhusu*; *lMt* °*bhavisyati*.

⁵ So *a¹-⁸bcdefgkmnMt*. *CGVā¹lMt Pula-*

kah; *jMt Palikāḥ*.

⁶ *Kṛtvā* in *eMt*.

⁷ *SofmVā*; and *Vś* genly. *Bd*, *Bh* *Śunaka*; *dBh* *Śanaka*. *Vā* genly, *hkVś* *Munikah*; *lVś* *Munīka*. *Vś* says—

yo 'yam Ripuñjayo nāma Bārhadratho 'ntyāḥ tasya Śuniko nām-āmātyo* bhaviṣyati. Sa c-aīnām svāminam hatvā sva-putram Pradyota-nāmānam abhiṣekṣyati: where * *kVś* °*dpatyo*; ¹ *eVś* *Pradyotana*. *Bh* reads—

yo 'ntyo * Purañjayo⁺ nāma bhaviṣyo Bārahadrathah¹.
tasy=āmātyas tu Śunako hatvā svāminam ātmajam

Pradyota-sañjñām rājānaṁ kartā :—

where * *lVś* °*nyaḥ*; ¹ *dBh* *Ripuñjayo* correctly, see p. 17, note ³⁸: ¹ *Bārahadrathah* for the metre; *eBh* *Bārhayad^o*; *cpBh* *Vāvṛhad^o*; *dBh* 'iha *Bārhad^o*, *afnrsBh* *Bārhad^o*, in dis-

regard of metre: *qBh* and v.r. in *GBh* amend this half line, *bhāvya Bārhadratho nrpaḥ*.

⁸ *Swam* in *bedMt*; *eMt* +*sūm*.

⁹ So *Vā*, *Bd*; *sam-* was probably *swam* originally: *dVā rājye 'bhi*.

¹⁰ So *Mt* genly: *bMt* *jiyatām*; *lMt* *niyatām*; *nMt* *niyanṭā*; *dMt* +*masilām*: see p. 17, note ⁷.

¹¹ In *dMt* °*yāyām*.

¹² *Tu* in *edefyjnMt*.

¹³ *Ca* in *eVā*.

¹⁴ So *Mt* genly: *bMt* *bālakaiḥ*; *jMt* *Mālikah*; see note ²⁷.

¹⁵ So *cejnMt*; see note ³. *ACMt* *Pulak^o*; *kMt* *Pulako* merely. But *bdMt* *Puliko* *balāt*, *lMt* *Pulako^o*, *fjmMt* *Pālako^o*. The accus. seems to be required.

¹⁶ So *Vā* genly. *Vś*, *Bh* corroborate, see note ⁷. *Bd* °*tim*; *eVā* *Sudyotam*. *Ca'a³kVā* *Pradyoto*.

¹⁷ See note ⁷; *fVā* *Śunike*. *Vā* genly *Muniko*, *mVā* °*ke*. *Bd* *nrpatim*.

¹⁸ To its statement in note ⁷ *hVś* adds +*kyi* *sāmīnati pārśva svayam eva rājā svayāmava bhāvino*.

¹⁹ In *eMt* *prajāta*; *kMt* *prajāmtāḥ*.

²⁰ In *lMt* *śrīmanto*.

²¹ So *Mt* genly, *eVā*. *Vā* genly, *a¹a³bdMt* °*ṣye*; *jMt* *bhavītā*.

²² So *Ca³a⁴cejklnMt*, *cfgjklmVā*; so *AVā* which prints it 'naya^o'. But *dMt* *nava-v^o*; *eVā* *na ca v^o*; *fMt* *na ca dhārmikah*, *GVa¹a²mMt* °*dharma-jit*:

trayo-vimśat samā rājā ²³ bhavitā ²⁴ sa nar-ottamah ²⁵	5
catur-vimśat samā rājā ²⁶ Pālako ²⁷ bhavitā tatah ²⁸	
Viśākhayūpo ²⁹ bhavitā nṛpah pañcāsatīm ³⁰ samāh	
eka-vimśat samā rājā ³¹	eka-vimśat ³² samā rājyam
Sūryakas ³³ tu bhaviṣyati	Ajakasya ³⁴ bhaviṣyati
bhaviṣyati ³⁵ samā ³⁶ vimśat ³⁷ tat-suto Nandivardhanah ³⁸	aṣṭa-trimśac ⁴¹ -chatam ⁴² bhāvyāh ⁴³
dvi-pañcāsat tato ³⁹ bhuktvā ⁴⁰	Prādyotāh ⁴⁵ pañca te sutāh ⁴⁶ . 10
prāṇaṣṭāh ⁴⁴ pañca te nṛpah.	

dVā mitra-varjitah; bVā merely varjitah.
Bd reads this half line *bhaviṣyena pravar-*
tītah.

²³ In *a²a⁴Vā rājya*.

²⁴ In *nMt bhaviṣyat*.

²⁵ In *blnMt marmaṭh-āturaḥ*.

²⁶ So Vā, Bd. Mt genly aṣṭā-vimśati var-

pāni: bMt °vimśati tathā varṣā (with an extra syll.), see Appendix I, § i: kMt °vimśat tato yo (with a syll. short).

²⁷ So all, except hBh *Pal^o*; dBh *Yāl^o* (*p* and *y* confused); kVṣ *Gopāl^o*; ceMt *Bāl^o*; bnMt *Til^o*; jMt *Pāśako*; lVṣ *Baka*; lMt *Nalakṣo*. Vs adds, *tasy-āpi Pālaka-nāmā putro*; Bh *yat Pālakah sutah*.

²⁸ So Vā, Bd: *eVā punah*. Mt *nṛpah*.

²⁹ So genly, except *dVṣ °yapa*, *bVṣ °yūgha*, *cBh °śūpa*, *BMt* and *aVṣ °bhūpo*, *fmVā °dhūpo*, *jBh °dūya*, *fjMt °rūpo*, *rBh °nṛpa*. With the dialectical variation of *s* and *kh*, *nMt* and *deVā Viśasa-yūpo*, *bhVā °sūyo*, *kBh °mūpa*. Otherwise *dMt Viśākhayūpo*; *hBh Visvay^o*; *kVṣ Viśāśvam^o*. Bh adds *tat-*
putro; Vs implies it.

³⁰ So *Ca¹a²a⁴Vā*; *bghkVā °tī*; *a³lVā °tī*: Bd °tām. Mt reads this half line, *tri-*
pañcāsat (*jMt pañcāsa drā*) *tathā samāh*; *eVā kṣatriyānām samā satam*.

³¹ So Mt: *kMt rājye*.

³² So *efVā*, Bd: *mVā* first *trayo-vimśat* (part of l. 5 !) but in repeating has *eka*.
Vā genly *eka-trimśat*.

³³ So Mt genly: *lMt Sūryabas*; *dMt Mūr-*
jakas; *mMt Mṛjukas*.

³⁴ So Vā, Bd; *fVā Ajyak^o*, *dVā Akark^o*:
eVā reads this half line *Ajakah sa karisyati*.
Bh genly *Rājaka*; *Vṣ Janaka*: *dBh Cājaka*;
akVṣ Ajaka; *hVṣ Aja*.

³⁵ In *bmMt Śiśunākah*.

³⁶ So Vā, Bd, *bmMt*. Mt genly *nṛpas*;
fMt bhras.

³⁷ Mt *trimśat*; *jMt tadvat*.

³⁸ So Mt, Bd. Vs, Bh agree: *dBh Nanda^o* altered to *Nandi^o*; *cVṣ Nakṣi^o*. Vā genly *Varti^o*; one MS of *CVā Vardhi^o*; *a¹Vā Kirti^o*. Bh adds *tat-putrah*; Vs implies it.

³⁹ So *ACbklmMt*: *dMt chate*; *fgnMt cha-*
tam; *ceMt satam*.

⁴⁰ In *cdefgjMt bhūtvā*; *lMt bhāvyah*.

⁴¹ So Vā genly, Bd: *Ca¹Vā aṣṭā^o*; *jVā aṭṭi-*
trimśat; *dVā ṭaṣṭattāśa*.

⁴² In *jMā satam*; *dMā tatam*; *gVā samā*.

⁴³ In *gVā rājā*.

⁴⁴ In *gMt prāṇaṣṭhāh*; *BMt prāṇanyāh*;
fMt prāṇāṃdyāh; *lMt prothotāh*.

⁴⁵ So Vā genly, Bd: *a¹a²a⁴kmVā*, Vs *Prad^o*.
Bh *Prādyotanāh*; *dBh Prād^o*.

⁴⁶ So Vā. Bd *nṛpah*. Similarly Vs—

ity ete aṣṭā*-trimśad*-uttaram abda*-
satam pañca Prādyotāḥ pṛthivīm bhok-

syanti : where * *aVṣ gaṭ*, *hVṣ dvā*; *bhkVs vimśad*;

* *jVṣ ardda*, *hVṣ aṣṭā*, and *kVṣ arū*, all cor-

ruptions of *abda*. Bh says—

pañca Prādyotanā ime
aṣṭā*-trimś*-ottara-satam bhokṣyanti

pṛthivīm nṛpah:

where * *fmBh aṣṭā*; *mBh vimś*.

Śisunāgas.

Text—AMt 272, 6–13^a; *AVā* 99, 314^b–322^a; *Bd* iii, 74, 127^b–135^a.

Corresp. passages—CVṣ iv, 24, 3; *GBh* xii, 1, 5–8^a.

The Vāyu and Brahmānda give the whole, and the Matsya all except lines 11, 12. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata name all the kings and state the duration of the dynasty. All copies of the Matsya erroneously introduce the first two Kānvāyana kings (see note ²⁴) after l. 7; and the Vāyu and Brahmānda put l. 8 before ll. 6 and 7 contrary to all the other authorities.

The defects are these. *CMt* omits l. 1; *ceMt* ll. 13, 14; *jMt* ll. 6 (second half), 7 (first half); *kMt* ll. 2, 3, 10; *lMt* ll. 5, 6: *a*⁴Vā omits ll. 6–end; *eVā* ll. 8–10; *fVā* ll. 15, 16, 17 (first half); *gVā* ll. 7–14, 16, 17; *hVā* has only ll. 1–3; *mBh* omits Kṣemadharman to Udayin; *nBh* has only the verses stating the duration of the dynasty; and *hpMt*, *btBh* have nothing.

All the authorities say there were 10 kings, and do not differ much in their names. The duration of the dynasty appears to have been 163 years, for the Mt reading in l. 16 can well mean ‘hundred, three, plus sixty’ (see *Introdn.* §§ 42 ff.), though it would mean ‘360’ if taken as literary Sanskrit; moreover ‘163’ is a probable figure while ‘360’ is an impossible one. The terms certainly admit of ambiguity, and an examination of the other versions shows how it developed.

The Bd and Bh reading *sasty-uttara-sata-trayam* (see note ⁴⁶) can also mean 163, if it represents a Pkt original of (something like) *satthy-uttara-satam tao*, but means 360 if taken as correct Skt. The former interpretation seems preferable, because this expression is used with *varsāni* in Bd and with *saṁāḥ* in Bh, and these combinations do not constitute correct Skt but would be good in Pkt: still an ambiguity does appear there. It seems to have affected the two other versions. The Vā reading (see note ⁴⁶) taken as Pkt means ‘hundred, three, plus sixty-two’, but this is an impossible style of reckoning, and the only tenable construction is to read it as correct Skt meaning 362. As this is an impossible figure, I would suggest that the *dvi* is a corruption of *abda*¹, that the initial *a* blended with or was elided after the word that represented *varsāni* in the Pkt original², and that the remaining *bda* was mistaken for *dvā* (or *dvi*). If this suggestion be tenable, the Vā reading agreed with Mt and meant 163. The Vs following upon the ambiguity and mistake says explicitly ‘362 years’ in correct Skt.

¹ Compound consonants are sometimes inverted in the MSS, see note ⁴³.

² Such elisions do take place in Pkt, and appear in Sanskrit, cf. p. 15, note ²⁹; p. 17, note ³¹; *Various local dynasties*, note ⁴⁸, *infra*; and to that cause are no doubt due the elisions in the middle of the following lines, *AVā* 88, 81, 115; 94, 21:—

apadhvāṁs-ēti bahuśo 'vadat krodha-
saṁanvitah.

devaiḥ sārdham mahātejā 'nugrahāt tasya
dhīmataḥ.
rathī rājā 'py anucaro 'nyo 'gāc c-aiv-
ānudṛṣyate.

Instances might be easily multiplied from the Purāṇas.

Hatvā¹ teśām yaśah kṛtsnam Śiśunāgo² bhaviṣyati
 Vārāṇasyām sutam sthāpya³ | Vārāṇasyām sutas tasya⁴
 śrayiṣyati⁵ Girivrajam sa yāsyati⁶ Girivrajam⁷
 Śiśunāgaś ca⁸ varṣāni catvārimśad bhaviṣyati
 Kākavarṇah⁹ sutas tasya¹⁰ ṣaṭ-trimśat¹¹ prāpsyate mahīm¹²
 ṣaṭ-trimśac eṣaiva¹³ varṣāni tatas tu viṁśatim¹⁴ rājā
 Kṣemadharma¹⁵ bhaviṣyati Kṣemadharma¹⁶ bhaviṣyati 5
 catvārimśat¹⁷ samā rājyam¹⁸ Kṣatrujāḥ¹⁹ prāpsyate tataḥ²⁰
 aṣṭā-viṁśati²¹ varṣāni²² Vimbisāro²³ bhaviṣyati²⁴
 Ajātaśatrur²⁵ bhavitā pañca²⁶-viṁśat samā nṛpaḥ
 pañca²⁷-viṁśat²⁸ samā rājā Darśakas²⁹ tu bhaviṣyati

¹ In *a^oVā hrtvā*; *kVā hate*; *cMt krtvā*.² So *mMt*, *Bd*. *Vṣ*, *Bh* agree: *nMt Śiśunāgo* here. *Mt*, *Vā* genly *Śiśunāko*; *bMt Sigru^o*; *eMt Suśruvāko* here; *kVā Śiśuko*; *kVṣ Śiśunāma*.³ So *Mt*: *jMt ^osthāpyo*; *dfMt tu samsthāpya*.⁴ So *Vā* and *Bd*.⁵ So *Mt* genly; so *bMt ante*, see p. 18, but *śraṇyāsyati* here: *cenMt vṛajīṣyati*; *dfgmMt adhyāsyati*, *jMt ^odhiṣṭhās^o*; *lMt tavyameti*.⁶ So *a^oa^odVā*, 3 MSS of *CVā*; *bfgjmVā so y^o*: *hVā yo y^o*; *kVā [so yosya] yo y^o*. *Bd sāny^o*: *a^oVā*, 3 MSS of *CVā samprāpseyati*.⁷ In *kVā ^ovratam*.⁸ So *Bd*. *Vā Śiśunākasya* for *o nākaś ca*, as in *fMt*. *Mt* genly *Śiśunākas tu*; *egMt Śiśru^o* (*g, ca*); *bMt Sigru^o*.⁹ So *Mt*, *Bd*. *Vṣ*, *Bh* agree; *lMt Kākev^o*; *kMt* and *fBh Kākakarṇah*; *mMt Kākṇīvarmaḥ*. *Vā Śakavarnah*; *fVā Śavarṇa*.¹⁰ *Vṣ*, *Bh* corroborate.¹¹ So *Vā*, *bcdfgjMt*, *Bd*: *eMt ṣad-trimśat*, which suggests *ṣad-viṁśat*, as in *Mt* genly: *nMt ṣad-gimśat* (= *ṣad-viṁśat*).¹² So *Mt*, *eVā* (which has only these two words). *Vā*, *Bd ca bhaviṣyati*.¹³ So *Mt* genly (*jMt ^oāpi*): *bceMt ^osati ca* (*b* omits *ca*); *nMt ṣadiṁśati* (= *ṣat-trimśati*) *ca*.¹⁴ So *Vā* and *Bd*.¹⁵ So *Mt* genly. *CMt ^odhomā*; *nMt ^odhānā*; *dMt Śyemadharma*, where *s* is dialectic variation in writing of *kh* which = *kṣ*: *bMt tLemacarmā*.¹⁶ So *eVā*, *Bd*. *Vṣ*, *Bh* agree. *Vā* genly^ovarṇā; *bVā ^ovama*; *lVā ^oram*: *dehlpesBh ^odharma*, and yet say the next king was *Kṣetradharma-ja*; similarly *fBh Kṣemadhanvā* and *^odharma-ja*. *Vṣ* adds *tat-putrah*; *Bh tasya sutah*.¹⁷ So *Vā*, *ceknMt*, *Bd*. *Mt* genly *caturviṁśat*, *dMt ^osati*.¹⁸ So *Vā*, *bMt*. *Bd rāṣṭram*; *cMt rājā*. *Mt* genly *so ^opi*.¹⁹ So *Vā* genly, *Bd*. *Vṣ* genly agrees; *bdfglVā ^otrojāḥ*: *eVā Kṣetrojā*, *mVā ^ojah*, *kVā ^oyāḥ*. *Bh Kṣetrajña*; *kBh ^otrata*; *qBh Kṣetra*. *Mt* mostly *Kṣemajit*; *gMt ^omarvit*; *fMt ^omānvit*; *dMt ^omābiḥ*; *kMt ^omārvi*; *ceMt ^omārcih*; *nMt Hemajit*. *Bh* adds *Kṣemadharma-ja*; *Vṣ* implies it.²⁰ So *Vā*, *Bd*. *Mt mahīm*; *nMt mahī*.²¹ So *Mt*. *Vā ^oṣat* (*bVā ^oṣe*). *Bd aṣṭa-trimśat*.²² So *Mt*. *Vā*, *Bd samā rājā*, *eVā ^onṛpaḥ*.²³ There is great variation in this name: *aVṣ Vinvisāra*; *jVṣ Vimis^o*. *Vṣ* genly *Vidmis^o*. *Bd*, *Bh*, *hVṣ Vidhis^o*. *Vā*, *kVṣ Vivis^o*; *bVṣ Suwindus^o*; *mMt Vidusāno*: *jMt Vindumāno*, *bfglMt ^oduseno*: *dMt Bindunāśo*. *Mt* genly *Vindhayaseno*, *nMt Vidh^o*; *kMt Kṣemadharma*. *Vṣ* adds *tat-puro*.²⁴ After this line *Mt* inserts the two lines about *Kāṇvāyana* and *Bhūmimitra* of the *Kāṇvāyana* dynasty (see *infra*), and repeats them in their proper place there. It is a clear error of misplacement.²⁵ So all: *nMt Ajātāś^o*; *kVā Ajāś^o*. *Bh* adds *sutas tasya*.²⁶ So *Vā*, *Bd*. *Mt* genly *sapta*; *ceknMt sapta*; *blMt aṣṭā*.²⁷ So *Vā*, *Bd*. *Mt catur*.

Udayī³⁰ bhavitā tasmāt³¹ trayas-trimśat samā nṛpāḥ
 sa vai pura-varaṁ rājā prthivyāṁ Kusum-āhvayam³²
 Gaṅgāya daksine kūle³³ caturthe 'bde³⁴ karisyati
 catvārimśat³⁵ samā³⁶ bhāvyo rājā³⁷ vai Nandividhanah³⁸
 catvārimśat trayas³⁹ cāiva Mahānandī⁴⁰ bhavisyati
 ity ete bhavitāro⁴¹ vai⁴² Śaiśunāgā nṛpā daśa⁴³
 śatāni⁴⁴ trīṇi varṣāni⁴⁵ ṣaṣṭi-varṣ-ādhikāni tu⁴⁶
 Śiśunāgā⁴⁷ bhaviṣyanti⁴⁸ rājānah kṣatra-bandhavah⁴⁹.

10

15

³⁰ Bd, a²Vā trimśat.³¹ Mt genly Vāṁśukas; eMt Vāṁśo; cMt Vas°; nMt Viś°; jMt Vaśyagas; kMt Śakaś c-aiva (omitting tu). Vā Darśakas. Bd, Vś, Bh Darbhaka; fBh Dambh°. Darśaka seems the most central form.³² There is great variation in this name. Mt genly Udaśū; nMt Udaśir; lMt Udaṁbhī; dfMt Udaṁbhī, gMt °bhīr; bMt Udaṁbhīr. Ca²Vā Udaī; a¹a²Vā, Bd Udayī, bVā °yām: kVā Tradapi (an easy misreading); jMt Tedāmīnū; mVā Uda. Vś genly Udayāsva, acfgjkVś °yana, lVś °ya: bVś Anaya (or Dan°); hVś Ovaya. Bh Ajaya or Ājaya, (but see note³⁸). Udayī seems the best form.³³ In a¹-sVā yasmāt; bMt tasyās; jMt bhūpās.³⁴ This line and the next only in Vā, Bd.³⁵ In a³bVā kone; kVā ko[va]ne.³⁶ So Vā. Bd 'hni: eVā caturutprām (for catur-abdām ?).³⁷ So Mt, a³kVā, Bd. Vā genly dvā-catvārimśat, with a syll. too much (dvā cancelled in dVā): eVā dvi-e°.³⁸ In eVā satir.³⁹ Rājā wanting in eVā.⁴⁰ So all: kVā Rand°; nMt Nandividhanah. Bh gives him the patronymic Ājeya; qBh Ājñeya: see note⁵⁰.⁴¹ CVā trayān (which AVā adopts); jMt bhayām; nMt tataś.⁴² So Mt, Vā genly. Vś agrees: Bh °dih; bJMt, kVā °dā; nMt Mahānandī; fVā Mahānandī. Bd Sahānandī. Bh adds eutās tataḥ.⁴³ In eVā saṅkhyayā bhavitārā.⁴⁴ In a¹-sMt 'tra.⁴⁵ So Vā, except that it gives the name as Śaiśunākā; mVā Śaiśu°; gVā Śaiśukāś ca: see note⁴⁷. The correct number of kings is ten, as Vā, Bd, Vś, Bh say (see notes⁴⁶

and⁴⁸). Mt is confused. Its original reading was probably daśa vai Śiśunāka-jāḥ, but, since the first two Kāṇvāyana kings were erroneously inserted (see note²⁴), the number of names in it became 12, and attempts were made to reconcile the discrepancy: hence CGVedfgmMt boldly read daśa dvau (fg, bdau) Śiśunāka-jāḥ, eMt daśādvā Śiśru°, kMt [daśa] dvādaśa Śiśu°; jMt crp [vai] daśa dve Śiśvanekatāḥ: other copies evade inconsistency by an indefinite statement, thus a¹-sblnMt vanīśe vai (n, 'smīn) Śiśunākataḥ (j, °jāḥ; b, Śigrūnākataḥ); and eVā, which often agrees with Mt, Śiśunāg-ādayo nṛpāḥ. For Bd, Vś, Bh, see note⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ In bVā etāni.⁴⁷ In eVā varṣānāḥ (for °nāmī). Mt genly pūrnāni; dMt pūrbāni: fMt omits this word.⁴⁸ So Mt; cenMt ca for tu: bMt ṣaṣṭir vā adhikāni ca; jMt ṣaṣṭi varṣāni kāni ca. Vā genly dvi-ṣaṣṭy-abhyadhi-kāni tu; a¹-sbdmVā dvā°; lVā dvā-ṣaṣṭy-ābhō; eVā dvi-ṣaṣṭyāś c-ādhik°. Bd condenses this and the preceding line into one—

bhaviṣyanti ca varṣāni ṣaṣṭy-uttara-śata-trayam.

Bh agrees, condensing the same two lines and the next into two lines—

Śiśunāgā * daś-āiv-aite ṣaṣṭy-uttara-śata-trayam[†]

sama bhokṣyanti prthivīm, Kuru-śreṣṭha,

Kalaś nṛpāḥ; where * adrsBh Śaiś°; [‡]hBh trayāḥ. Vś agrees with Vā—ity ete Śaiśunāgā[‡] daśa bhūmi-pālāś trīṇi varṣā-śatāni dvi-ṣaṣṭy-adhikāni bhaviṣyanti; where [‡]CVā Śaiś°; [‡]kVś crp °trīṇi varṣā-sahaśrāni śatāni dve. See discussion, p. 20.⁴⁹ So Bd, eVā. Mt genly Śiśunākā; eMt

Early Contemporary Dynasties.

Text—AMt 272, 13^b–17; AVā 99, 322^b–325; Bd iii, 74, 135^b–138.

Corresp. passages—Vś and Bh, *nil*.

The Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda give the whole of this passage, except that the latter two have not got l. 8 and remove l. 2 to l. 8: jMt omits ll. 1, 5, 6; a²Vā ll. 2, 6, 7; mVā ll. 6–8 (first half); and h²Mt and a⁴hVā have nothing. Here eVā gives ll. 1, 3, 4, 6 only, but long afterwards, out of place, namely after the first line about Viśvasphāni, inserts ll. 6, 7, 5, and 2 in modified form.

Etaih sārdham means contemporary with the Bārhadrathas and their successors, the Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas, for none of these are mentioned here, but the Aikṣvākus and the Kurus (who are probably the Pauravas) are included, whose dynasties have been fully set out *ante*. The next king Mahāpadma Nanda is called ‘destroyer of all the kṣatriyas’, and ‘monarch of the whole earth which was under his sole sway’—which terms imply that he overthrew all the kingdoms mentioned in this list, so that all subsequent dynasties except the Kāṇvāyanas were śūdras (see *Nandas*, ll. 2–6). This list of contemporary dynasties means therefore all the old ksatriya dynasties, which reigned from the time of the great battle till they and the Śiśunāgas in Magadha were swept away by the Nandas, whose dynasty follows this list.

Etaih¹ sārdham bhavisyanti tāvat²-kālam³ nr̄pāḥ pare⁴
tulya-kālam bhavisyanti sarve hy ete⁵ mahīkṣitāḥ
Aikṣvākavaś catur-vimśat⁶ Pañcālāḥ⁷ sapta⁸-vimśatih
Kāśeyāś⁹ tu catur-vimśad¹⁰ aṣṭā-vimśatir¹¹ Haihayāḥ¹²

Śiśru^o. Vā, kMt Śaiśu^o; cMt Śauśu^o: bMt Śiśunākād.

¹⁸ So Mt, Vā. Bd *daś=aiv=aite*.

¹⁹ So Mt, Bd; fVā °vāh. Vā, dMt °bāndhavāḥ; fMt vāndhānāḥ; bMt °vīcavāḥ with marg. note °bandhavaḥ. CVā confuses this with the first line of the following dynasties, reading—

Saiśunākā bhavisyanti Tāvat-kālam nr̄pāḥ
pare
rājānah kṣatra-bāndhavāḥ etaih sārdham
bhavisyati:

and so jMt which has the first line only, reading yāvat-k°. Hence perhaps the words rājānah kṣatra-bāndhavāḥ should be read with the following list.

¹ See above, note ⁴⁹: kVā ete.

² So Vā, Bd. Mt yāvat; bMt yāna (with marg. note yāvat).

³ So Vā, Bd, fgMt: dMt kāli; Mt genly Kali; eMt kīla; bMt eka (with marg. note Kali).

⁴ Ca te in gVā. For this half line kIVā have rājānah kṣatra-bāndhavāḥ (see above, note ⁴⁹), and kVā then adds as in the text.

⁵ So Mt. Vā, Bd *sarva eva*.

⁶ So bfgmVā, Bd. Vā genly Aikṣvākavaś (dVā °vāś); eVā Iksvākavaś. Mt genly catur-vimśat (ceMt °vīmśas, bjMt °vīmśa) tath-Aikṣvākāḥ; bcdfgjMt °Eksvākāḥ; jMt °mah-Eksvākāḥ; and so nMt crp. This number does not agree with the Aikṣvāku list, see p. 9.

⁷ So bcdfgjnMt, a¹–sbdgymVā, Bd: other Mt and Vā Pāñc°.

⁸ So Mt. Vā, Bd *pañca* (perhaps by influence of Pañcālāḥ).

⁹ So Mt genly: cekMt Kāśeyāś; lMt, eVā Kāśayāś; bMt Kāśasāś; djMt Kāleyāś. Vā genly, Bd Kālakāś. See Appendix II, § ii.

Kalingāś¹³ caiva dvā-trimśad¹⁴ Aśmakāḥ pañca-vimśatih¹⁵ 5
 Kuravaś cāpi ṣat-trimśad¹⁶ aṣṭā-vimśati¹⁷ Maithilāḥ
 Śūrasenāś¹⁸ trayo-vimśad¹⁹ Vītihotrāś²⁰ ca vimśatih²¹
 ete sarve bhavisyanti eka-kālam²² mahikṣitah.

Nandas.

Text—AMt 272, 18–22; AVā 99, 326–330; Bd iii, 74, 139–143.

Corresp. passages—CVṣ iv, 24, 4–7; GBh xii, 1, 8^b–12.

The Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa give the whole and have a common version in the main. Here for the first time the Bhāgavata gives the tradition in ślokas, which agree in their purport with those three Purāṇas, and are not a mere list of names. Both versions are placed here, side by side, as they are independent and valuable. The Viṣṇu in prose agrees closely with the Bhāgavata.

All the versions are complete, except that *a²dMt* omit ll. 6–10; *mMt* l. 9 with a space; *bVā* ll. 7–9 (first half); *kVā* ll. 2 (second half), 3, 7, 8; *hpMt*, *a⁴Vā*, and *btBh* have lost the whole; and *IVṣ* the matter of the last three Bh verses: *eVā* omits the whole here, but long afterwards, out of place, inserts it after the first line about Viśvasphāṇi.

The time assigned to Mahāpadma may mean the entire length of his life, as Mt seems to imply; and if so, the whole dynasty may have lasted about a hundred years as stated.

¹⁰ In *jMt* °śā; *ceMt* °śā: *fMt* blends this and the next number into one, thus *catur-vimśat tu*, and so *kMt* *sat-trimśat tu*.

¹¹ So *GVa'a⁵a⁴nMt*, violating the metre. Others save it thus, *bMt* °śati; *CgMt*, *eVā* °śat tu; *a²mMt* °śas tu; *jMt* °śā tu; *cdeMt* °śas tu: *lMt* +taśāti. *Vā* *catur-vimśat tu*; *gVā*, *Bd* °śas tu, where the number seems to be a mere repetition of the preceding number.

¹² In *jMt* *Hehayāḥ*; *eVā* *Tehayāḥ*.

¹³ So Mt genly, *Vā*: *jgMt* *Kāl*^o; *lMt* *Kalindaś*; *eMt* *Kalihśāś*. *Bd* +*Ekalingāś*.

¹⁴ So Mt genly. *Vā* reads this half line *dvā-trimśad* *vai Kaliṅgāś tu*; *Bd* *dvā-trimśad* *Eka*^o. But *cenMt* °*dvā-vimśa-d*; *lMt* °*catvārimśat* (with a syll. extra); *bMt* °*catvārid*: *eVā* reads this line—

Aśmakāḥ pañca-vimśac ca ṣad-vimśac ca Kalingakāḥ.

¹⁵ So Mt; *bMt* *Asmākāḥ*. *Vā*, *Bd* *pañca-vimśat tath-Āśakāḥ*, prob. Pkt for *tath-Āśmakāḥ*: *mVā* crp: for *eVā* see note¹⁴.

¹⁶ So Mt, *Vā* genly, *Bd*; *nMt* *ṣad-imśad* (= *sat-trimśad*); *kVā* merely *trimśad*. *CbVā*, *bMt* *ṣad-vimśud*: *eVā* *pañcāśad* here, but afterwards (see p. 23) indefinitely *ūnavimśat tathā c-ḍbhūd*. These numbers do not agree with the Paurava list, see p. 4.

¹⁷ So *jgMt*, *Vā*, *Bd*. Mt genly °śas tu; *dnMt* °śat tu; *bMt* °śā tu: *eVā* *varsāṇy aṣṭādaś-aiva tu* here, but afterwards (see p. 23) agrees with the text.

¹⁸ In *bcMt*, *dVā* *Sūras*^o; *nMt* *Suras*^o.

¹⁹ In *ceMt*, *eVā* °śā; *jMt* °śā.

²⁰ In *ceMt* *Vīta*^o; *eVā* *Rītihotrāś*.

²¹ In *elVā* °tim.

²² In *jMt* *Kali-kāle*. See p. 23.

Mt, Vā, and Bd.

Mahānandi¹-sutas cāpi
 śūdrāyām³ Kalik-āṁśa-jah⁴
 utpatsyate Mahāpadmaḥ
 sarva-kṣatrāntako⁹ nṛpāḥ
 tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno
 bhavisyāḥ śūdra-yonayah
 eka¹²-rāṭ sa¹³ Mahāpadma
 eka-cchattro¹⁵ bhavisyati
 astāśīti¹⁷ tu varṣāṇī¹⁸
 pṛthivyām ca bhavisyati¹⁹
 sarva-kṣatram²⁰ ath=oddhṛtya²¹
 bhāvin=ārthena coditah²³
 Sukalp-ādi²⁴-sutā²⁵ hy astau²⁶

Bh (with Vṣ).

Mahānandi¹-suto rājan²
 śūdrā⁵-garbh-ādbhavo⁶ bali⁷
 Mahāpadma-patiḥ⁸ kaścin
 Nandaḥ kṣatra-vināśa-kṛt¹⁰
 tato nṛpā bhavisyanti
 śūdra-prāyās tv¹¹ adhārmikāḥ
 sa eka-cchattrām¹⁴ pṛthivīm
 an-ullaṅghita-sāsanah¹⁶
 sāsiyati Mahāpadmo⁵
 dvitiya iva Bhārgavah²²
 tasya cāstau²⁷ bhavisyanti

¹ In *fgnMt* °dī; *kBh* °da.

² This vocat. expletive has no doubt ousted some genuine word, which may have been *lubdhāḥ*, because Vṣ genly describes him as *ati-lubdhā*; *hVā lubdhā*; *cVṣ 'bhilubdhā*; *djlVṣ ati-buddha*; *kVṣ erp.*

³ In *Bd*, *jMt* °yāḥ; *bVā* śūdrā vā.

⁴ So *Mt* genly; *dMt* °āṁśu-jah; *cenMt* °āṁśataḥ; *bkMt* °āṁśakah; *fMt* °āṁ-jayah; *jMt* kālikā.. jah. *Vā*, *Bd* kāla-samvṛtaḥ; *eVā* °samṛtaḥ; *bVā* kāla-[paṁ]samvṛtaḥ.

⁵ So *ahreBh*, *Vṣ*. Bh genly śūdrī.

⁶ In *jVṣ* [bha..rno] garbh-ād°; *dVṣ* jar-mod°.

⁷ In *fBh* 'rdhaṭī appty; cf. *Andhras*, note². Vṣ has no corresponding word.

⁸ Vṣ Mahāpadmo Nandaḥ: *IVṣ* °patma always.

⁹ So *Mt*. *Vā* °āntare, altered in *dVā* to °āntako. *Bd*, *eVā* °ānta-kṛṇ.

¹⁰ Vṣ akhilā-kṣatrānta-kāri.

¹¹ *Tv* omitted in *adrBh*. Vṣ śūdrā bhūmi-pālāḥ.

¹² In *kVā* saka.

¹³ In *cekMt* rājā; *mMt* padma; *fMt* ehyā; *IVā* su for sa.

¹⁴ In *dBh* °cchattrā-; *jkBh* °kṣatrām; *fBh* eka-cchattrām sa.

¹⁵ In *IMt* °kṣatro; *bMt* °mātro: *jMt* ekaśatro; *kVā* tekatro.

¹⁶ Vṣ has the same expressions; *kVṣ* c-aika-chātrā-samullaṅgh-ānamita-sāsano.

¹⁷ So all genly: *AjklmMt* °tis; *cMt*, *dVā* °tim; *jVā* astāśīti. *CeklVā* astā-vimśati (omitting *tu*), which *AVā* adopts.

¹⁸ In *cdgjnMt* sa v°; *eMt* samv°; *bMt* sahārāmī.

¹⁹ So *Mt* genly; *bcejnMt* tu bh°; *dMt* sa bh°; *fgMt* pṛthivī śobhayisyati. *Vā*, *Bd* pṛthivīm pālayisyati.

²⁰ In *Ca'a'gklVā* kṣatra; *a'Vā* kṣetra.

²¹ In *CGVā* Mt ath=ātsādyā, *lMt* tath=āt°: *ceMt* ath=ātpātya, *a'a'bMt* tath=āt°. *Bd* samuddhṛtya. *Ca'a'bgklVā* hṛtoddhṛtya or hṛtoddvṛtya or corruptions of these; other *Vā* haroddhṛtya; *eVā* athovṛtya; *dVā* tato hatvā. The correct reading may be ath=ātsādyā, or °ātpātya or °āddhṛtya.

²² Vṣ Paraśu-Rāma iv-āparah.

²³ So *Mt* genly (*cknMt* °noditah): *bMt* bhārit-ārth°; *jMt* bhāvitorth°. *Vā* genly, *Bd* bhāvino 'rhasya vai balāt; *IVā* °thasyā mahābalāt (with a syll. extra); *kVā* °tha-mahābalāt; *a'Vā* °ihān mahābalān: *eVā* Viśrānāthasya vai balāt. *Vā*, *Bd* have the same expression in *AVā* 88, 80, 95; 101, 60; *Bd* iii, 63, 79, 94; iv, 2, 59.

²⁴ So *Mt* mostly: *fgMt* Sukulp° or Sukuly°; *kMt* Sulul°; *bInMt* Sumāly°; *ceMt* Kuśal°; *eVā* Sahaly-ādyāḥ; *jMt* +Satulyā vai: *a'Vā* saṁhasrāt sa, *fVā* °srāstat, *mVā* °srāt (one syll. short); *a'Vā* saṁhāsvās tat: 3 MSS of *CVā* sahasrāt tat, 3 MSS of *CVā* and *a'a'Vā* °srās tat (which *AVā* adopts): *gVā* hāṁsa-

Mt, Vā, and Bd.

samā dvādaśa te nrpāḥ²⁸
Mahāpadmasya paryāye²⁹
bhaviṣyanti nrpāḥ kramāt³⁰
uddhariṣyati tān sarvān
Kauṭilyo vai dvir aṣṭabhiḥ³¹
bhuktvā³² mahīm³³ varṣa-śatām
tato⁴¹ Mauryān gamiṣyati⁴².

Bh (with Vṣ).

Sumālyā-pramukhāḥ²⁹ sutāḥ
ya imām bhokṣyanti mahīm³¹
rājānah sma³³ śatām³⁴ samāḥ
navā Nandān dvijāḥ kaścit
prapannān uddhariṣyati³⁵
teṣām abhāve³⁹ jagatīm⁴⁰
Mauryā bhokṣyanti⁴³vai Kalau.¹⁰

Mauryas.

Text—AMt 272, 23–26 ; AVā 99, 331–336 ; Bd iii, 74, 144–149.

Corresp. passages—CVṣ iv, 24, 7–8 ; GBh xii, 1, 13–16a.

This dynasty is given by all five Purāṇas, but the account of it has suffered more than that of any other dynasty¹. Three versions exist here, the earliest in the

svās tat. Bd *tat-paścāt-tat.*

²⁵ In bfgMt *sutā*; eVā *satā*.

²⁶ *Hy* omitted in jMt; bMt *trsāntyai*, corrected in margin to *hy aṣṭau*; gVā *hy etc.*

²⁷ In dBh *tatas* c°; cBh *yasya* c°; qBh *tasya tvāstau*, gBh *tasyāvā*°. Vṣ *tasy-āpy aṣṭau sutāḥ*.

²⁸ In jMt *vai nrpāḥ*; kMt *sainsmṛtāḥ*.

²⁹ In hklVṣ *Sumāly-ddyāḥ*; abVṣ *Sumāl-* d°; Vṣ genly *Sumāty-ā*°; fgVṣ *Sumāty-ā*°.

³⁰ In gMt, fmVā °yāyo: dVā *payāye* altered to *dāyādā*; eVā *bhāryāyām*.

³¹ In dBh *prthivīm*; fBh *ye bhokṣyanti malūm etām*: v.r. in GBh *mahīm bhokṣyanti ya imām*.

³² In kMt *nṛp-ottamāḥ*.

³³ Ca in arsBh.

³⁴ In kBh *taśām*. Vṣ agrees—

Mahāpadmāḥ tat-putrāś ca ekāṁ varṣa-śatām avanī-patayo bhaviṣyanti.

³⁵ So Vā genly: jVā *dvir aṣṭatiḥ*; eVā *dvi-saṣṭibhiḥ*; a¹Vā *mahābalāḥ*. Bd agrees, but ends *dvija-rsabhaḥ*, which may be the true reading (see Bh reading). Mt reads differently—

uddhariṣyati Kauṭilyāḥ samair dvādaśa-bhiḥ sutān: where bMt ends *sutāḥ*; cnMt *sa tān*; fMt *sa tā*; gMt *śatām*; jMt *śamāt*; kMt *kramāt*. For *dvādaśabhiḥ* read perhaps *dvija-rsabhaḥ*. After this line bfglnMt insert the first line of the next dynasty.

³⁶ In lBh *papannān uhariṣyati*. Vṣ says—
nav-aiva* tān Nandān[†] Kauṭilyo[‡] brāhmaṇāḥ samuddhariṣyati: where * hVṣ *nava vai*, jVṣ *navai*, kVṣ *navaitā*, aVṣ *tath-aiva*; [†] hVṣ *tān pyaśokāḥ*, kVṣ *Nandavala*; [‡] jkVṣ *Koṭilyo*.

³⁷ In fmVā *bhuktā*.

³⁸ In nMt, kVā *mahā-*. *Bhuktā mahī* would be better.

³⁹ In fBh *abhāvāj*.

⁴⁰ In dBh *prthivīm*.

⁴¹ In eVā *Nandair*.

⁴² So CGVā⁴Mt, eVā, *mahī* being understood: fMt °Mauryām°; cMt °gaur yām°; eMt °gaur yām°; bgMt °mokṣam°; lMt °ekāḥ; a³a⁵kMt °mokṣo bhaviṣyati; jMt boldly paraphrases it, *prāpsyanti paramām gatim*. Vā differently; mostly *Nand-ēn-luh sa bhaviṣyati* (dVā, *sambhav*°): one MS of CVā *Nandendah*, and so dVā but altered to *nandanah*; a³glVā *Nandendah*°; a²fVā *Nandr-ēndraḥ*, so mVā crp; bVā *Nandethā*°; kVā crp. The true reading is prob. *Nand-ēndraḥ*, of which all the others are easy misreadings. Bd *narendrah*°.

⁴³ Similarly Vṣ—teṣām abhāve Mauryāś* ca prthivīm bhokṣyanti: where * kVṣ So[da]-ryāḥ.

¹ Because its great fame in Buddhism disgraced it in brahmanical eyes?

Matsya, the second in *eVāyu*, and the third in the *Vāyu* generally and the *Brahmānda*. They agree in general purport but have many differences. The second forms a stage of recension intermediate between the first and the third, and is the only copy that has preserved the names of all the kings. The Matsya version in all copies is incomplete and has one of its verses (v. 23) misplaced; thus, only 5 MSS mention Candragupta, the second king is always omitted, and the account generally begins with that verse 23, putting the last two kings first, and then mentions only four kings, Aśoka and his three successors. All three versions are important, but cannot be reconciled merely by criticism; and, as they cannot all be exhibited side by side, the Matsya version is given first, and the two other versions are printed side by side; but in the Matsya version verse 23 has been removed to its proper place after verses 24 and 25.

The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata mention the kings in the same order as the *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda* with some differences in names, but the latter omits Daśaratha, and *b/Bh* want the whole.

In the Matsya version, *jMt* omits lines 4, 5, 8, 9; *kMt* l. 8, and inserts l. 9 after l. 12 of the following Sunga dynasty; *k/Bh* want the whole. In the *Vāyu* version, *a/Vā* omits ll. 1-3; *k/Vā* ll. 12, 13; *g/Vā* has only ll. 1-5; *k/Vā* wants the whole. In *eVā* the account is omitted at first, and inserted long afterwards, out of place, after the first line about Viśvasphāni.

The versions vary in the number of the kings. Mt says 10, but names only 7; *eVā* says 9 but gives 12; *Vā* and *Bd* say 9 and mention 9. *Vṣ* says 10 and names 10. *Bh* says 10 but gives only 9. The best attested number is 10, and the omissions can be particularized: but *eVā* combines the Mt and *Vā* versions and has probably duplicated two kings in the middle.

All agree that the dynasty lasted 137 years. The regnal periods added together (excluding the Mt list which is incomplete) are 160 years in *eVā*, and (*Sālisūka* being omitted) 133 in *Vā* and *Bd*; or, if we add *Sālisūka*'s reign to the latter, the total is 146 years; and the total in *eVā* would be reduced to about 145 years if we correct its duplication in the middle. This figure, 145 or 146, is compatible with the stated duration, 137 years, if (as is probable) the total of the several reigns is nominally raised above the true total by reckoning fractions of years as whole years.

Matsya.

Kauṭilyaś Candraguptam tu tato rājye 'bhiṣekṣyati¹
ṣat-trimśat tu samā rājā² bhavit-Āśoka³ eva ca
saptānām⁴ daśa varṣāṇi tasya naptā bhavisyati (24)

¹ This line is found only in *bfglnMt* where it is misplaced (see p. 26, note^{ss}); *bMt* *Koṭiśaś Candraguptas*; *nMt* *Kauṭilyaś Candraguptasya tato rāṣṭre*; and *lMt* ends *rāṣṭre niveṣyā*.

² But *cnMt* °*samā rājā tu* (*n*, *ṣadimśat* = *ṣat-trimśat*); *bMt* *ṣat-trimśati samān rājā*.

³ So *dfgkmMt*; *jMt* °Āśaka: Mt genly

°Āśaka; *ceMt* °Ākośa; *lMt* °Āyoda v-eva ca. Instead of the double expletive the true reading might be °Āśokavardhanaḥ as in *Vṣ*, *Bh*.

⁴ So Mt genly; *dMt* +*saptāno* (or °*nām*); *lMt* +*saptānām*. Can the true reading be *Suyaśā*, who is named by *Vṣ* and *Bh*? Cf. *daśonāḥ saptu* in *eVā* version, l. 7.

rājā Daśaratho ⁵ ṣṭau ⁶ tu tasya putro bhaviṣyati ⁷
 bhavitā nava varṣāṇi tasya putraś ca ⁸ Sampratiḥ ⁹ (25) 5
 bhavitā Śatadhanvā ¹⁰ ca ¹¹ tasya putras ¹² tu ṣat samāḥ ¹³
 Bṛhadrathas tu ¹⁴ varṣāṇi tasya putraś ca ¹⁵ saptatiḥ ¹⁶ (23)
 ity ete daśa ¹⁷ Mauryās tu ye bhokṣyanti ¹⁸ vasundharām
 sapta-trimśac-chataṁ ¹⁹ pūrṇam tebhyaḥ Śuṅgān ²⁰ gamiṣyati ²¹ (26)

eVāyu.

Candraguptam nṛpaṁ rājye
 Kotilyah sthāpayiṣyati
 catur-vimśat samā rājā
 Candragupto bhaviṣyati
 bhavitā Nandasāras ²³ tu
 pañca-vimśat samā nṛpah
 ṣat-trimśat tu samā rājā
 bhavit-Āsoka eva ca
 tasya putrah Kulālas ²⁹ tu
 varṣāṇy aṣṭau bhaviṣyati

Vā genly and Bd.

Candraguptam nṛpaṁ rājye
 Kauṭilyah sthāpayiṣyati ²²
 catur-vimśat samā rājā
 Candragupto bhaviṣyati
 bhavitā Bhadrasāras ²⁴ tu
 pañca-vimśat samā nṛpah
 ṣat-trimśat ²⁵ tu ²⁶ samā rājā ²⁷
 Aśoko bhavitā nṛṣu ²⁸
 tasya putrah Kunālas ³⁰ tu
 varṣāṇy aṣṭau bhaviṣyati 5

⁵ In cMt °rath-ḍṣṭau: see note ³⁶.

⁶ Jyau in bMt; dMt au.

⁷ In a³kMt bhaviṣyanti ca tat-sutāḥ.

⁸ Tu in bfgnMt.

⁹ Mt genly ṣaptatiḥ; dnMt °ti. Emended to Sampratiḥ as in eVā; see note ³⁶.

¹⁰ In nMt Ṣadadhō; mMt Sudhō.

¹¹ Tu in bcdēfḡjnMt.

¹² Putrāś in a³a²bdtMt.

¹³ In fgMt tat-samāḥ; lMt ṣaṣṭhamāḥ; mMt padmapaḥ.

¹⁴ In dMt °raihasya.

¹⁵ In dejnMt tu; bfMt putrasya.

¹⁶ So Mt genly, probably a misreading of sapta vai in Pkt form; see Vā, Bd, and Introd. § 41: eMt viṁśatiḥ.

¹⁷ So all MSS, though they name only 6, or 7 at most.

¹⁸ In bMt bhokṣyanti ca as in Vā, Bd.

¹⁹ In cenMt sapta-vimśa-śatam.

²⁰ In dMt Suṅgān; ceMt Suṅgān; kMt svargān; bMt svargī; lMt sarva.

²¹ Vasundharā being understood: see p. 26, note ⁴²; Śuṅgas, note ⁶³.

²² Vs says—Kauṭilya eva Candraguptam rājye bhisekṣyati; where kVs has Kaunḍilya.

Bh says—

sa eva Candraguptam vai dvijo rājye
 'bhisekṣyati.

²³ So eVā, instead of *Vindusāras*.

²⁴ So Vā genly, Bd. Vs rightly *Vindusāra*. Bh Vāris°; gBh Vāris°; emBh Vārikāra. Both add, 'son of Caudragupta'; Vs tasya putro, Bh tat-suto.

²⁵ Ṣad-vimśat in Ca²a⁴Vā only, which AVā adopts.

²⁶ In gVā ca; fmVā sa.

²⁷ In fmVā mahā-rājā.

²⁸ So Vā. Vs, Bh call him Aśokārdhana; jVs Aśoka°; fBh Aloka°; kVs Ayośoka°: see Appendix II, § 1. Bd Aśokānām ca trpti-dah, perhaps a play on the name.

²⁹ An easy misreading of Kunālas.

³⁰ So CVā here and in next line. But a¹-a⁴bdfgklmVā, Bd Kuśālas, jVā Kaśālas, which all have Kuśāla- in next line, except bVā Nuśāla- and lost in gVā. Vs, Bh call Aśoka's successor Suyaśas; chVs Svay°; gVs Stuy°; bVs Sudhaśāḥ. Kunāla is so named and said to have been Aśoka's son in Buddhist books, e.g. Divyāvadana, pp. 403, 406 ff, 430.

e Vāyu.

Kulāla-tanayāś c-âṣṭau
bhoktāro Bandhupālītah³²
Daśonah sapta³³ varṣāṇi
teṣāṁ naptā bhaviṣyati
rājā Daśarathas tv³⁵ aṣṭau
tasya putro bhaviṣyati
bhavitā nava varṣāṇi
tasya putras tu Sampratiḥ³⁶
Śalīsūkah³⁷ samā rājā
trayodaśa bhaviṣyati
sapta varṣāṇi³⁸ Devadharmā
bhaviṣyati narādhipah
rājā Śatadhanus c-âṣṭau
tasya putro bhaviṣyati
Vṛhadhrathas tu varṣāṇi
saptāśitīm⁴³ bhaviṣyati

Vā genly and Bd.

Kunāla-sūnur aṣṭau³¹ ca
bhoktā vai Bandhupālītah
Bandhupālīta-dāyādo
daśa bhāv-īndrapālītah³⁴

10

bhavitā sapta varṣāṇi
Devavarmā³⁹ narādhipah
rājā Śatadhanus⁴⁰ c-âṣṭau⁴¹
tasya putro bhaviṣyati
Bṛhadhrathaś⁴² ca varṣāṇi
sapta⁴⁴ vai bhavitā nṛpaḥ

³¹ In dVā adau, altered to ādau; bVā ādau: mVā °sūnur [atrunur] aṣṭau.

³² Sic, showing that the preceding plurals are probably wrong, through misreading aṣṭau as applying to tanaya instead of as years. The line should probably be—

Kulāla-tanayaś c-âṣṭau bhoktā vai Bandhupālītah.

³³ Compare l. 3 of Mt version. There seems to be some metathesis.

³⁴ Ca³a⁴k⁵Vā read daśamānīndrapālītah; a¹a²f³m⁴Vā daśā⁵; bdVā daśamānīnd^o (altered in d to daśānānīnd^o); jVā daśamānīndrapālītah. Bd bhavitā c-īndrapālītah, which suggests that Vā reading should be daśa bhāv-īndrapālītah, and I have emended it so: but it might also be daś-ābdān Indra^o as suggested in CVā.

³⁵ Actually carṣasamāsv, no doubt for Daśarathas tv (see l. 4 of Mt), and I have emended it so, since Vs agrees in this name and places him after Suyaśas (see note³⁶): cdVs Dāśaratha; bVs Daśaratna. Bh omits him. Three of his records are extant, see Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, nos. 954–6, in Epig. Ind. x, Appendix.

³⁶ Cf. note⁹. Samprati is the Sanskrit

form of Pali *Sampadī*. Sampadī was Kunāla's son (Divyāvadana, p. 430), and was established in the kingdom (*id. p. 433*, where his descendants are named). See SBE, xxii, 290 note, for Samprati. Vs, Bh place a king *Sanātata* here, which is no doubt another reading of the same name; dBh *Samiyuta*, an easy misreading of *Samprata*. Bh adds 'son of Suyaśas', *Suyaśasutāḥ*.

³⁷ First Śalīyukah, then corrected to °sūkah. Vs, Bh corroborate. Bh, cdkVs Śalīsūka; Vs genly, sBh °suka; jVs °śmūka; bVs °śūlla: lVs Śalāsūka. Bh genly Śalīsūkas tatas tasya; jBh °kas tu Suyaśas, where Suyaśas is meant for a genitive.

³⁸ Actually varṣāṇi; see Appendix I, § 1.

³⁹ In bVā Dacav^o. Vs, Bh Somaśarman.

⁴⁰ So Bd. Vs, Bh Śatadhanvan; kBh Sata^o; hBh Śāta^o; deVs Śāśa^o: bVs Śatadharman; qBh tśatayiūvā. Vā Śatadharas.

⁴¹ So Vā. Bd merely c-āpi.

⁴² So Bd. Vs, Bh agree; cBh Uhad^o. Vā Vṛhadhras, but has correct name Bṛhadhratha in p. 31, l. 1: mVā omits ca.

⁴³ Sic.

⁴⁴ In dVā sama; bVā samu.

eVāyu.

ity ete nava Mauryā⁴⁵ tu
ye bhokṣyanti vasundharām
sapta-trimśac-chatam pūrṇam
tebhyaḥ Śunga⁵⁰ bhavisyati.

Vā genly and Bd.

ity ete nava⁴⁶ Mauryā vai⁴⁷
bhokṣyanti ca⁴⁸ vasundharām
sapta-trimśac-chatam pūrṇam⁴⁹
tebhyaḥ Śunga⁵¹ gamisyati⁵². 15

Śungas.

Text—AMt 272, 27–32^a; AVā 99, 337–343^a; Bd iii, 74, 150–156^a.

Corresp. passages—CVś iv, 24, 9–11; GBh xii, 1, 16^b–19^a.

The Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda give the whole; except that most copies of the Matsya omit l. 8, and all omit l. 3. The Viṣṇu gives a list of the kings, and the Bhāgavata all except the first.

As regards MSS, *ceMt* invert lines 4, 5; *kMt* omits ll. 1–6, 13 and inserts ll. 1, 2, 5, 6 at the end; *nMt* omits ll. 4, 5; *gVā* has only l. 2; *eVā* omits this dynasty here and inserts it long afterwards, out of place, after the first line about Viśvaphāṇi; *hpMt*, *hVā*, and *btBh* want the whole.

The duration of the dynasty is stated by Vā and Bd, and by Vś generally, to be 112 years; by 7 MSS of Bh and one of Vś, 110; and by Bh generally ‘over 100 years’. Mt reads ‘hundreds two’ wrongly for ‘ten, two’, and with this correction says 112 years. The duration therefore was 112 years. The aggregate of the reigns is 118 years. These virtually agree, if the total of the reigns was nominally raised above the true total by reckoning fractions of years as whole years.

Of the time of the Śungas there are two records, nos. 687, 688 in Lüders’ List of Brāhmī Inscriptions in Epig. Ind. x, Appendix. Another record assigned to their time, no. 905 in that list, mentions a king Bhāgavata, but he does not appear to be the Śunga king Bhāgavata, as the lineage is quite different.

⁴⁵ Actually *nara Mauryyās* (an easy misreading of *nava*): but it has mentioned 12 kings.

⁴⁶ So Vā, Bd: *nava* may have been substituted since they name only 9 kings. Vś names and says 10—

evam Mauryā* daśa† bhūpatayo bhavisyanti abda‡-śatam sapta-trimśad-uitaram: where *kVś *Soryyā*, lVś *Mauryā* [dayo], see Appendix II, § 1: ¹jVś *adda*, hVś *aṣṭa*, kVś *arū*: ¹hVś *viṁśad*. Bh says 10, though it names only 9—

Mauryā hy ete* daśa nrpāḥ sapta-trimśac
chat-ottaram
samā bhokṣyanti prthivīn Kalau, Kuru-
kul-ōdvaḥ:
where *jrBh tv ete, aBh te te: dBh reads
the first line thus—

Maur[v]yā ete śata-nrpāḥ sapta-trimś-
ottaram śatam.

⁴⁷ So Bd; ¹aVā *Mūrjā* vai; ¹a²bklVā *Mūrtyā*; dVā *nava* [Su] *Mūrtiyā* (altered to *Nāma-sambhūtā* wrongly); fmVā *Mauryā* ye, ¹C²gVā *bhūpā* ye; jVā *yoyā* (or *yopā*) yo.

⁴⁸ In ¹a²a³b⁴dVā ye bhokṣyanti: kVā yo^o.

⁴⁹ Similarly Vś, Bh; see note⁴⁶: dVā ¹chataṁ (altered to *chatat*) pūrṇat.

⁵⁰ Actually *Śunko*.

⁵¹ So ¹bdflmVā, Bd; kVā *Śugo*; CVā *tu gaur*: but ¹a²-jVā *Śungān*, which AVā adopts and seems preferable.

⁵² CVā *bhavisyati*. Vś says—

teṣām ante* prthivīm¹ Śungā bhokṣyanti:
where *lVś *anvetām*; ¹ab²Vś add *daśa*:
jVś crp. Bh omits this statement.

Puṣyamitras¹ tu senānīr² uddhṛtya³ sa⁴ Br̥hadratham⁵
 kārayisyati⁶ vai rājyam
 sat̄-trimśati⁷ samā nṛpah | kārayisyati vai rājyam
 bhavitāpi Vasujyesthah¹¹ | samāḥ ṣaṣṭim⁸ sad-aiva⁹ tu
 sapta¹³ varṣāni vai nṛpah¹⁴ | bhavitā c-āpi Suṣṭyesthah¹²
 Vasumitraḥ¹⁵ suto¹⁶ bhāvyo daśa varṣāni pārthivah¹⁷
 tato 'ndhrakah¹⁸ same dve tu¹⁹ tasya putro bhaviṣyati²⁰
5

¹ So Mt genly, IVs. Vā genly, kMt, Bd, Vś *Puspa*^o; ceMt, dfklmVā *Putra*^o here, but *Puspa*^o or *Puṣya*^o in l. 3 (see note¹⁰); kVś *Prakhyā*^o by an easy misreading: nMt *Puspamitrasya* (omitting *tu*): bVā *Putrah*. Bh omits him. Vś says—

tataḥ Puspamitraḥ senā-patiḥ svāminam
hatvā rājyam karisyati.

² In cMt *sa se*^o; bVā *su-se*^o; gMt *senā-*
sanīr; eMt omits *tu*.

³ In bfjMt, eVā, *uddhatya*; ceknMt *samu-*
ddhṛtya (omitting *sa*).

⁴ So Mt, eVā: jMt *ca*. Vā genly *vai*:
bdjmVā, Bd *tu*.

⁵ So Vā, Bd, jMt. Mt genly *thān*; eVā
thah: ceknMt *sadā grīhāt*.

⁶ So Mt: jMt *karisyati sa*.

⁷ So Mt genly; nMt *ṣadiṁśati* (= *sat̄-trimśati*). ACjkMt *sat̄-trimśat tu*.

⁸ So Vā, Bd.

⁹ So Vā. Bd *sa c-aiva*. These readings are no doubt corruptions of *sat̄-trimśad eva* in Pkt form.

¹⁰ This line is only in Vā, Bd. Bd has—
Agnimitro nṛpāś c-āṣṭau bhaviṣyati samā
nṛpah;

where the first *nṛpāś* should no doubt be *sutaś*. Vā reads—
Puṣpamitra-sutāś c-āṣṭau bhaviṣyanti samā
nṛpah;

where singulars have obviously been wrongly converted into plurals through misapplying *āṣṭau* to *suta* instead of to *samā*. It should be—
Puṣpamitra-sutāś c-āṣṭau bhaviṣyati samā
nṛpah;

as eVā shows by its reading—

tat-suto 'gnimitr-āṣṭau * bhaviṣyati samā
nṛpah;

where read *^omitro 'ṣṭau and *nṛpah. Vś

and Bh name *Agnimitra*. Vś adds *asy-ātmajo*, ‘son of Puṣyamitra’.

¹¹ So Mt genly: gjMt *bhavitā* vai *Vasuśre-*
sthah; fMt *tā c-aiva Sus*^o; ceMt *tā c* (cMt v)=*Āsurajyesthah*; bMt *tā c-āpi Suṣṭyesthah* (and lMt erp), as in Vā, Bd.

¹² So a²a⁴fkmVā, Bd. Vś genly and Bh agree. In eVā *Sajy*^o; Ca¹a³lVā *taj-jy*^o; bVś *Sujesta*; jVā *Sudyetah*; bdVā *Suṣṭastah* (altered in d to *Suṣṭastah*); kVś *Jyestha*; hVś erp. *Sutah* added in aBh.

¹³ In bMt *sama*.

¹⁴ In fgjMt *tatah*.

¹⁵ So all; except ceMt, a¹-⁴Vā *mitra-*; lMt *Vasuputras*; jMt *Vāyumitrais*; dMt *Sumitras tu*.

¹⁶ So Vā genly, ceMt. Bd, eVā *tato*. Mt genly *tathā*.

¹⁷ So Vā, Bd: beMt *vai nṛpah*. Mt genly *vai tatah*. After this king kVś inserts a king *Vajramitra* besides the Vajramitra in l. 9.

¹⁸ There is great variation in this name. Vā genly 'ndhrakah; kMt, a³Vā 'ndhakah (kVā teṣāṁdhakah): 4 MSS of CVā *Dhrukah*; fmVā *Dhrakah*; 2 MSS of CVā *Vṛkah*: Mt genly 'ntakah; eMt *Taka*; jMt *Nukah*; lMt 'ṣtakah. All these should prob. be read with avagraha. Vś genly Ārdraka; bhVś *Odruka*. Bd *Bhadrah*; eVā *Madrah*. Bh genly *Bhadraka*; gBh *Bhad*^o. *Andhraka* seems most probable.

¹⁹ So Mt genly, bdefkmVā, Bd. Vā genly *samā*^o; dMt *sama*^o; ceMt *samā* *dva* *tu*: but a¹nMt *sanāḥ sapta*; kMt *sanohāṁtus*.

²⁰ So Mt; jMt *putrau bhaviṣyataḥ*. This half line is in a³a⁴klVā *bhaviṣyati suto 'sya*
vai; bVā *'sutaisya*^o; defmVā *'sutasya*^o (altered in d to *'sutaiḥ sa*^o); Ca¹a²Vā *'sutas*
ca^o. Bd *'nṛpāś ca vai*.

bhavisyati ²¹ samās ²² tasmāt ²³
 trīny evam ²⁷ sa Pulindakah ²⁸
 bhavisyati ca Yomeghas ³¹
 trīni varsāni vai tataḥ
 bhavitā Vajramitras tu ³⁴
 samā rājā punar nava ³⁷
 dvā-trimśat tu ³⁹ Samābhāgah ⁴⁰
 Samābhāgāt tato ⁴² nrpaḥ ⁴³
 bhavisyati sutas tasya Devabhūmih ⁴⁵ samā daśa ⁴⁶

bhavisyati ²⁴ samās ²⁵ tasmāt ²⁶
 tisra eva ²⁹ Pulindakah ³⁰
 rājā Ghoṣah sutas ³² cāpi
 varsāni bhavitā trayah ³³
 sapta ³⁵ vai Vajramitras ³⁶ tu
 samā rājā tataḥ punah ³⁸
 dvā-trimśad bhavitā cāpi ⁴¹
 samā Bhāgavato ⁴⁴ nrpaḥ ¹⁰

²¹ So Mt: cMt °syanti.

²² Samas in CMt.

²³ In bMt tasyās.

²⁴ So bdemVā, Bd. Vā genly °syanti.

²⁵ In lVā sutās: acdfyjhklnqBh say sutah.

²⁶ In eVā tasya.

²⁷ So Mt genly: bnMt °eva; kMt trīni vai; dfgjmMt tisro vai. See Appendix I, § iii.

²⁸ So Mt mostly: bMt sa Pulandakah: mMt °Nunandahan, jMt Madhunān°; fgMt Marunān°; dMt Medhunandakah: kMt merely nrpaḥ: ceMt read this half line trīni varsāni vai tataḥ, giving no name.

²⁹ In eVā tripusrava or triyu°.

³⁰ So mVā, Bd and other Vā read the plural °kāḥ wrongly: eVā Mūlindakah. Vś genly Pulinda; lVś Puļ°; kVś Pra-lingaka. Bh Pulinda.

³¹ This line is only in dfgjmMt. So dfgMt, but fg omit ca: mMt °va Yomekha; jMt °sa Momeghas. Yome may be a misreading of Ghoṣa, see note ³².

³² Vā genly Ghoṣa (mVā Dhoṣa) sutas, for Ghoṣah sutas, as Bh has. Bd and dVā Ghoṣas tataḥ. Vś genly Ghoṣavasu; bVś Ghoṣaka; kVś Yoṣavasu; hVś by inversion Soghavamu; cBh Ghopa: eVā has a different line—

trīni varsāni bhavitā rājā Ghoṣavasur nrpaḥ.

³³ So Vā and Bd. See Appendix I, § iii.

³⁴ So Mt genly, eVā; eMt Vajramitras; kMt Yajñam°: fgMt bhavisyate Vajramitraḥ; jMt Vajramitraś ca bhavitā.

³⁵ So Bd. Vā tato.

³⁶ So Bd. Bh and Vś genly agree: hBh Vajramitra; cBh Vajiā°; ekBh Vraja°; nBh Vañna°; fgVś Vakṣa°; cVś Vadra°; pPh

Vajramindra. Vā genly Vikramitras; dVā Vikr°.

³⁷ So cMt; dfgjmMt narah; emMt narā: other Mt bharah.

³⁸ So Vā, Bd; eVā catur-dasa.

³⁹ So Mt genly; cenMt ca for tu; dMt omits tu; bfgMt drā-trimśati; jMt sa drā-trimśat.

⁴⁰ Samabhl° in cMt; eMt Samambh°.

⁴¹ So Vā, Bd v=āpi.

⁴² So Mt genly; bcMt Samabhl°; kMt samā bhoktā°; jMt Samābhāg-ānugo.

⁴³ Vṛṣaḥ in bMt, adding an extra king.

⁴⁴ So Vā, Bd. Bh and Vś genly agree; cemBh Bhagarato.

⁴⁵ So Mt, eVā, Bd. Vā Kṣemabhūmih here but Deva° in the next list (l. 2). Vś Devabhūti. Bh Derabhūti iti śrutah; gBh °bhūr iti vis°, but °bhūti afterwards.

⁴⁶ In eMt raśuh.

⁴⁷ So dfgmnMt, dVā, Bd, and 2 MSS of CVā: a¹a²k1Vā and 4 MSS of CVā Śringa; bVā Ścūṅga. Vā genly tūṅga: eVā Śāṅka; cMt Śuddha; eMt Śrūḍha. Mt genly kṣudra: jMt trayodaś-Āṅga; kMt has this half line, ity ete dasa Maurāś tu [me]. Vś says—

ity ete dasa * Śuṅgā dvādaś-ottaram vasiṣṭatam pr̄thivim bhokṣyanti; tataḥ Kaṇvān¹ esā¹ bhūr yāsyati: where * lVś dvādaśa; ¹aVś das-; ¹lVś Kāṇvān; ¹kVś eyān. Bh has—

Śuṅgā * das-aite bhokṣyanti bhūmim¹ varṣa-śat-ādhikam tataḥ Kaṇvān iyam bhūmir yāsyaty alpa-guṇān, nrpaḥ: where *deBh Śuṅgā, hBh Sumbhā; ¹cehjklnBh dasa (marg. correction bhūmim in jBh).

daśaite Śuṅga⁴⁷-rājāno bhokṣyantīmām⁴⁸ vasundharām
śatam pūrṇam⁴⁹ daśa dve ca ⁵⁰ tataḥ⁵¹ Kāṇvān⁵² gamiṣyati⁵³.

Kānvāyanas (Śuṅgabhṛtyas).

Text—AMt 272, 32b-37; AVā 99, 343b-347; Bd iii, 74, 156b-160a.

Corresp. passages—CVṣ iv, 24, 12; GBh xii, 1, 19b-21.

The Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa give the whole; but they all differ in the last part, where the Matsya version is placed on the left, the Vāyu on the right, and the Brahmāṇḍa in the notes along with the concluding parts of the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata. The names Kāṇva, Kāṇva, and Kānvāyana are often sadly corrupted, and many of the variations are mentioned in the notes to show how simple and well-known names can be corrupted.

As regards MSS, *bdfgjlmMt* omit line 6; *gVā* has only the last line; *eVā* omits the whole here and inserts it long afterwards, out of place, after the first line about Viśvasphāṇi: *hpMt*, *hVā*, *hVṣ*, and *btBh* want the whole.

The duration of the dynasty is stated to be 45 years and agrees with the aggregate of the reigns.

Amātyo Vasudevas¹ tu bālyād vyasaninam nṛpam²

⁴⁸ In *dMt* °syante tām; *bMt* °syanty era; *jMt* bhojante te.

⁴⁹ In *bMt* śara-pūrṇa-.

⁵⁰ So *Vā*, *Bd*: *fmVā* darā dve ca; *bVā* tāśaraddava. *Mt* śate dve ca: *jMt* reads this line—

aṣṭā-trimś-ādhikā samyag varṣāṇām śata-pāñcakam.

⁵¹ So *Mt*. *Vā*, *Bd* tebhyaḥ.

⁵² *Bd* Kāṇvān; *eVā* Kāṇtho; *mVā* Kamga; *bVā* Kāṇvā; *dVā* Kamvo. *Vā* genly kiṁ vā: a³a⁴Vā Śaikām. *Mt* genly Śuṅgān; *nMt* Śuṅgam; *ceMt* tuṅgo; *dMt* Śuṅgād gāna: a¹blMt svargām, °gī, °ga; *fgMt* boldly read this half line, tatas te svarga-gāminah. Kāṇvān seems the correct word, if we read gamiṣyati.

⁵³ Mahī being understood, see p. 28, note²¹. But *blMt*, *eVā* bhaviṣyati; *cenMt* hanisyati, which would be good, if we read tataḥ Śuṅgān hanisyati.

¹ So *Mt* genly, *eVā*, *Bd*: dmMt Vās°; *bMt* Vasudevasya (omitting *tu*). *Vā* genly

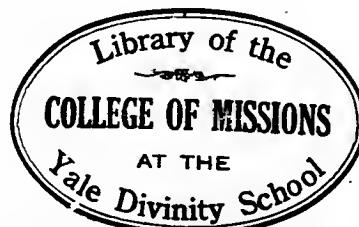
apārthivasudevas; CVā °devam; dVā °vah Sudevas. Vṣ says—

Devabhūtim tu Śuṅga-rājānam vyasaninam* tasyaiv-āmātyah Kāṇvo[†] Vasudeva-nāmā nipātya [‡] svayam avanīm bhoktā: where * kVṣ vyavaśinam; [†] lVṣ Kāṇvo, kVṣ Kāśvā; [‡] lVṣ Vasudeva-nām-āpatya. Bh has—

Śuṅgam hatvā Devabhūtim* Kāṇvo
mātyas[†] tu [‡] kāminam
svayam kariṣyate rājyam[§] Vasudevo
mahā-matiḥ:

where * hBh °bhūtim, lBh °hūtim; [†] dBh Kāṇv-āmātyas; [‡] kBh śu; [§] dBh ca bhok-
ṣyate rājyam, qBh kariṣye rājyam ca. See
p. 32, note⁴⁵.

² So *Vā* genly, *Bd*: fVā bālyā-vy°; *eVā* balad vyasaninam nṛpah; lVā bālyāmd vasati nṛpam. But a³a⁴cefgklnMt prasahya (cen, °hyā) vyasanī (n, °nīr; l, °nā) nṛpam (l, °pah; a³a⁴cek, °pa); where the true reading should be prasahya vyasanīm nṛpam, see Appendix I, § ii. CGVbMt corrupt it to prasahya hy avanīm nṛpah;



<p>Devabhūmim ath=ōtsādya³ Śauṅgas⁶ tu⁷ bhavitā nṛpah bhavisyati samā⁹ rājā nava¹⁰ Kāṇvāyano¹¹ dvijah¹² Bhūmitrah¹³ sutas tasya¹⁴ caturdaśa¹⁵ bhavisyati Nārāyanah¹⁶ sutas tasya¹⁷ bhavitā dvādaśaiva tu Suśarmā¹⁹ tat-sutaś²⁰ c=āpi bhavisyati daśaiva tu²¹ ity²² ete Śuṅga-bhṛtyāś²³ tu smṛtāḥ²⁶ Kāṇvāyanā²⁷ nṛpah</p>	<p>Devabhūmim⁴ tath=ōtpātya⁵ Śuṅgeṣu⁸ bhavitā nṛpah bhavīsyati samā⁹ dvijah¹² bhavitā dvādaśa samāś¹⁸ tasmān Nārāyanō nṛpah⁵ catvāras²⁴ Tuṅga-kṛtyāś²⁵ te nṛpah⁵ Kāṇvāyanā²⁸ dvijah¹</p>
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and *a²djm*Mt amend it to *prasahya vyasanātūram*. The expression *vyasanī nṛpah* occurs in *AVā* 88, 122.

³ So Mt genly: *cēMt Pkt ath=ōchādya*; *fgyMt tat=ōtsādya*.

⁴ So Bd. *Vā* °bhūmis wrongly: *bVā Dera-bhūmi*[samādeśādeśete]s. See p. 32, note⁴⁵.

⁵ So *a¹a³a⁴Vā*; *flmVā tat=ōtpātya*; *kVā +tathānpātya*; *dVā tathonyadya*, *bVā* °nya-dhā; *Vā* genly *tato* 'nyaś ca. But *eVā* *ath=ōddhṛtya* or °*dhatya*. *Bd* *tato hatvā*.

⁶ So *ACdmMt*: *jMt Sōngus*; *kMt Śuṅgah*; *cfgMt Suṅgah*; *elMt Sugah*; *eVā Śubhaḥ*; *bMt Saurah*: *nMt Śuṅgāñ*.

⁷ In *bceknMt*, *eVā sa*; *fgyMt sam-*.

⁸ So *a¹mVā*, *Bd*. *Vā* genly *Śrī*^o; *fVā Muñ*^o.

⁹ Altered in *dVā* to *haniṣyati sa vai*. This line occurs previously in Mt, see p. 21, note²⁴: *jMt* there *daśa* *sat* ca *samā*, here *dvijo* *daśa* *samā*; *kMt* there has this half line, *catvārimśat* *samā* *rājyam*.

¹⁰ So Mt, *Vā*: *bMt añva* here, but *nava* earlier. *Bd* *pañca*.

¹¹ So Mt genly here and in the earlier passage. *Bd*, *nMt Kan*^o. Corruptions are many, as *eMt Kāṇvāyata*; *kMt Kampāyana*, *Kanjhā*^o; *lMt Kanṭhāyana*, *Kanmā*^o; *fgyMt Kāṣṭhāyana*, *Kāṣṭā*^o; *dMt Kāsvāyate*; *bMt Kācāyate*. *Vā* genly, *cēMt Kāṇthāyana*; *dVā Kanṭa*^o; *bVā Kamtapanu*; *eVā Kanṭhāmanā*; *kVā Kañcayana*; *fmVā* and 2 MSS of *CVā Kāṅgāyana*; &c. *Vs*, *Bh* *Kanṛva*, see note¹.

¹² So *a¹a³cejkIMt*; *bdfgMt dvijah*: other Mt *nṛpah* redundantly, and so all Mt in earlier passage. *Vā*, *Bd* *tu sah*. *Vs*, *Bh svayam*.

¹³ So Mt genly, *Bd*, *Vs*. This line occurs previously in Mt, see p. 21, note²⁴; where *cēMt Bhūmiputraḥ*, *eMt* °*putraṁ*. *Vā*, *mMt Bhūmitrah*. *Bh*, *abVs Bhūmitra*; *cBh Bhūrm*^o: *IVs Bhūmiputra*.

¹⁴ In *nMt sutasya*; *mMt tatasya*. *Vs* adds *tat-putro*; *Bh tasya putras*.

¹⁵ So Mt. *Vā*, *Bd* *catur-viṁśad*.

¹⁶ *CēMt Nārāthanah*; *nMt Nārāyanā*. *Vs*, *Bh* agree; *gBh Pārāy*^o.

¹⁷ So *Bh tasya sutah*.

¹⁸ So *bdfmVā*, *Bd*. *Vā* genly *Pkt samā*.

¹⁹ So Mt genly, *Vā*, *Bd*. *Vs* agrees: *cjVs Susarman*; *dVā Suśainmatih*; *eVā Sudharmā*. *Bh* omits him, but *gBh* has preserved him thus (also mentioned as v.r. in *GBh*)—

Pārāyanasya bhavitā Suśarmā nāma viśrutah.

²⁰ In *IVs tasy=ōtmajah*; *kVā Nārāyanasya-anujah*.

²¹ So Mt. *Vā samā daśa*. *Bd catuḥ-samāḥ*.

²² In *bMt ya*.

²³ So Mt genly: *kMt Śrī*^o; *cgyMt Sun*^o; *lMt Sugah*^o; *jMt Cāṅga*^o or *c-Āṅga*^o (see p. 32, note⁴⁷); *bMt Muṅganṛtyāś*; *eMt Bhūmgaratyāś* (omitting *tu*).

²⁴ So *eVā*. *Vā* genly *caturas*: see Appendix I, § iv.

²⁵ So *Vā* genly; *bVā* °kr[trā]tyāś; *dVā* °lāmītyāś: *eVā* nearly correctly *Śuṅga-vṛtyāś*: see Appendix II, § iii. For *Bd*, *Vs*, *Bh* see note⁴⁸.

²⁶ In *eMt smutuh*; *mMt sthitāḥ*.

²⁷ With variations (see note¹¹), as *eMt Kāmījāy*^o; *lMt Kagvoyata*.

²⁸ Amended. *Vā Kanṭhāyanā* with vv. rr.

<p>catvāras tu ²⁹ dvijā hy ete ³⁰ Kaṇvā ³¹ bhokṣyanti vai ³² malīm catvārimśat pañca ³³ c/aiva ³⁴ bhokṣyant-imām vasundharām ete ³⁵ pranata-sāmantā bhaviṣyā dhārmikāś ca ye yeśām ³⁶ paryāya³⁷-kāle tu ³⁸ bhūmir Andhrān gāniṣyati ⁴⁰.</p>	<p>bhāvyāḥ pranata-sāmantāś catvārimśac ca pañca ca 10 teśām paryāya-kāle tu ³⁹ bhūr Andhrānām ⁴¹ bhaviṣyati ⁴².</p>
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Andhras.

Text—AMt 273, 1–17^a; AVā 99, 348–358^a; Bd iii, 74, 160^b–170.

Corresp. passages—CVś iv, 24, 12–13; GBh xii, 1, 22–28.

This dynasty is given in full by the Matsya, while the accounts in the Vāyu and Brahmānda are far from perfect. The Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu give a list of the kings though not completely, with some details at the beginning and end.

The defects in the MSS will appear from the following notices of the kings; but eVā, which stands midway between the Matsya and Vāyu, has misplaced the first portion down to Svāti, inserting it long afterwards, out of place, after the first line about Viśvasphāṇi: hMt have nothing; hVā omits ll. 1–21.

²⁹ So jMt. Mt genly catvārimśad; bdnMt
°sa: see Appendix I, § iv.

³⁰ But jMt omits hy; nMt omits hy ete:
bMt cite (for c-aite).

³¹ So Mt genly: CfgmMt Kāṇvā; nMt
Kāṇvo; eMt Kāvo; lMt Kagvo.

³² In lMt crp: jMt reads this half line,
bhokṣyante prthivīm imām.

³³ So Mt genly: bMt °rimśa naghām (or
nadyām).

³⁴ In jMt c-aite.

³⁵ So Mt genly: jMt gate.

³⁶ In bcdēfjklMt teśām.

³⁷ In lMt payoja.

³⁸ So Mt genly: eMt kāleṣu.

³⁹ So Vā genly: ClVā kāleṣu, bdVā kal°.

⁴⁰ So Mt genly; fMt An°: gMt Andhrān,
cMt °rā. This half line is in a²bnMt bhūmir
(n, mūmir) iddhā bhaviṣyati; lMt munir i
bh° (short); jMt bhūmiḥ sāndrā (for s-
Andhrā?) bh°.

⁴¹ All Vā readings are crp, and this is an
emendation. Bhūr is represented thus,

a³a⁴Vā tur; Ca²gjklVā tar; a¹Vā ter; fmVā
star; bdVā ster (altered to ter in d). Andhrānām, or rather its Pkt form Andhrāna, is represented thus, a¹fgmVā Andhrā nu; a³a⁴bdVā Andhā nu; Ca²jkVā Andhā tu. But eVā has Mt reading crp, bhūmir-Anān
gamiṣyati.

⁴² Bd and Bh have not got the concluding
lines (5 in Mt, 3 in Vā). Bd has—

Kāṇvāyanās tu catvāraś catvārimśac ca
pañca ca
samā bhokṣyanti prthivīm punar Andhrān
gamiṣyati.
Bh similarly—

Kāṇvāyanā* ime bhūmir catvārimśac ca
pañca ca
śatāni triṇi bhokṣyanti varṣāṇām[†] ca Kalau
yuge:
where *jlBh Kāṇ°; [†]qBh varṣāṇi. Vś says—
ete Kāṇvāyanā* catvārah pañca-catvārim-
śad-varṣāṇi bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti:
where *eVś Kāṇ°, kVś Kāśv°.

The Vāyu, Brahmānda, Bhāgavata, and Viṣṇu all say there were 30 kings, though they do not give 30 names. The Vā MSS name only 17, 18, or 19, and eVā which is the fullest names only 25; Brahmānda only 17; Bhāgavata 23; and Viṣṇu 24, or 22 and 23 in two MSS. The Matsya says there were 19 kings, but 3 MSS (*dgn*) actually name 30, and the others vary from 28 to 21. Before noticing the differences in them and the other authorities, it will be convenient to set out the list of the kings, of whom 30 are clearly named; and 30 is no doubt the correct number.

1 Simuka	11 Skandasvāti	21 Cakora
2 Kṛṣṇa	12 Mrgendra	22 Sivasvāti
3 Śri-Sātakarṇi (Śri-Mallak')	13 Kuntala	23 Gantamīputra
4 Pūrṇotsaṅga	14 Svātivarna	24 Pulomā
5 Skandhastambhi	15 Pulomāvi (Padumān)	[24a Sātakarṇi]
6 Sātakarṇi	16 Arīṣṭakarṇa	25 Śivaśrī
7 Lambodara	17 Hāla	26 Śivaskandha
8 Āpilaka (Divilaka)	18 Mantalaka or Patta-laka	27 Yajñaśrī
9 Meghasvāti	19 Purīndrasena	28 Vijaya
10 Svāti	20 Sundara Sātakarṇi	29 Caṇḍaśrī
		30 Pulomāvi

The lists in the MSS stand thus, omitting at present no. 24a who is mentioned only in eVā. Mt MSS name the following (fgmMt calling no. 15 Pulomāvi a second Meghasvāti), the numbers within brackets denoting those who are omitted:—*CGV* have 27 kings (nos. 2, 5, 15 omitted); *a¹a²a³a⁴* 28 (5, 15); *b* 27 (9, 20, 22); *c* 27 (2, 5, 20); *e* 25 (2, 5, 20, 23, 24); *f* 27 (24, 25, 29); *j* 24 (5, 7, 8, 18, 19, 29); *k* 21 (5, 9–11, 20–23, 29); *l* 20 (2, 5, 9, 12, 13, 20–24); *m* 27 (1, 2, 5); *n* 29 (20); *d* 30, and repeats 6–10; *g* 30, and repeats 10–14 and 15 (with correct name Pulomāvi); *h*pMt have nothing. All Vā MSS, other than *ehVā*, name nos. 1–3, 6–8, 15–23, 27–30; except that *Ca²a³f* omit no. 21; *k* no. 8; *l* 8, 21; *m* 21, 30; *h* has lost the first part and begins with no. 19: *a¹a⁴* apparently insert no. 8 twice; *m* repeats 3, 6 after no. 8. All these Vā name no. 20 Sundara merely as Sātakarṇi.

But eVā is peculiar and its list is broken up into three sets. It begins thus, nos. 11, 18, 19, 20 (calling him Sundara), 21; then reverting mentions 12–15, 24a, 25–30; and long afterwards (see p. 35) names 1–4, 6–10 (corrupting no. 9's name). It thus omits 5, 16, 17, 22–24, yet makes its total 25 by including 24a, who is considered further on.

Bd names 1–3, 6, 8, 15–20, 22, 23, 27–30. Vṣ mentions 1–4, 6–9, 15–30; but bVṣ omits 4, 6; kVṣ no. 21; lVṣ, 28, 29. Bh names 1–4, 7–9, 15–20; but bBh have nothing.

All the authorities keep the order of the kings as in the above list, except that 5 Mt MSS show three discrepancies. Two are small, namely, (1) dMt mentions 6–10 and immediately repeats them; (2) nMt inverts nos. 5 and 6, and mentions no. 19 twice, first after no. 13 and again in his proper place. The third discrepancy concerns nos. 10–15: gMt names these in their place and repeats them after no. 29; and bIMt omit them from their place and insert them (*l* omitting 12, 13) after no. 29. These discrepancies appear to be mere mistakes due to carelessness, or to lacunae or disarrangements of leaves in the MSS copied.

Every king in the list (except 24a) is mentioned by most of the MSS of at least two Purāṇas, except nos. 5, 10–14. No. 5 occurs only in Mt, but 5 MSS name him. Nos. 10–14 are mentioned only by Mt and eVā; but no. 14 appears in

them all ; nos. 10, 11 in all except *kMt* ; and nos. 12, 13 in all except *lMt*. They seem to be genuine, and help to constitute the total number 30. The general consensus then establishes the number, names, and order in the above list.

No. 24a, Śātakarnī, mentioned only in *eVā*, is not no. 20, who is called Śātakarnī merely in all other *Vā* MSS and in *Bd*, for *Mt*, *Vā*, *Bd*, and *eVā* agree that the latter reigned only one year (p. 41, l. 23), while the description of the former in *eVā* is l. 28 on p. 42, and assigns 29 years to him. There is no line like it except l. 32 about Yajñaśrī, but he is not apparently Yajñaśrī whom *eVā* mentions in his proper place. According to the *eVā* list he should come presumably either immediately after no. 15, or immediately before no. 25 Śivaśrī. The only indication I can find bearing upon this puzzle occurs in *IVs*, which regards Śātakarnī Śivaśrī as two, (1) Śātakarnī, (2) Śivaśrī (see p. 42, note¹), and so places a Śātakarnī exactly in one of the two positions required by *eVā*. If this Śātakarnī then be real, his place would be 24a. A line found in only one MS should not be rejected straight away (see *Introdn.* § 31), hence I have included him in the list in that position by l. 28 ; but, since his existence is vouched for by no other authority and he would raise the number of the kings to 31, that line is enclosed in brackets. If he is genuine, we may suppose that the total 30 is a round number.

Many of the kings bore the name Śātakarnī, and it is spelt in many ways, the first part as Śāti, Śānta, Śānti, Śita (with *s* often instead of *ś* in these forms), and the latter part as karṇi, karna, kona, varṇa, &c. It is needless to state all such variations in the text and notes, and the form Śātakarnī is adopted because it agrees best with the Pkt form *Sātakani* generally found on coins. The names *Svātikarna* and *Svātivarna* occur sometimes and seem to be merely variants of it (see notes^{57, 61, 65}). All these forms may obviously be Sanskritizations of that one Pkt name.

Prof. Rapson's 'Indian Coins, Andhras, &c.' elucidate this dynasty partially. I have not attempted, as it is not my function here, to identify the names in this list with those mentioned in inscriptions and on coins, except those of the first three kings who seem clear. The first king, whose correct name was Simuka Sātavāhana, is mentioned in Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, no. 1113 (*Epig. Ind.* x, Appendix) ; the second Kṛṣṇa or Kanha in *id.* no. 1144 ; and the third Śri-Śātakarnī in *id.* nos. 346, 1114. In other inscriptions the following kings are mentioned—Gotamīputra Siri Śātakāṇī, nos. 1123, 1125 ; Siri Sivamaka Sada, no. 1279 ; Sati (= Śakti ?) Sirimata, no. 1112 ; Vāsiṭhiputra Siri Pulumāvi, nos. 1106, 1124 (and probably 1100) ; Siri Pulumāvi, no. 1248 ; Vāsiṭhiputra Siri Pulumāyi, nos. 1122–3 ; Vāsatīputra Catarapana Satakāṇī, no. 1120 ; Gotamīputra Siri Śātakāṇī, no. 1123, and Sadakāṇī, no. 1125 ; Sivakhada (or Sadakhada) Nāga siri, no. 1186 ; Gotamīputra Siri Yañā, nos. 987, 1024, 1146, 1340 ; Vasiṭhiputra Cadasāta, no. 1341 ; and Mādhariputra Sirivira Purisadata of the Ikhākus, nos. 1202–4 (see note⁷⁸).

It may be noted that one line in certain *Mt* MSS differs from all the others in its expression, namely, l. 30 about Yajñaśrī (see note thereto). He is spoken of there in the present tense, *kurute* : see *Introdn.* § 21, note.

The total of the individual reigns (excluding no. 24a) is only $44\frac{1}{2}$ years, even if we take the longest periods wherever there is a difference ; but the whole duration is said to have been 460 years in *Mt*, 411 in *Vā*, and 456 in *Bd*, *Vs*, and *Bh*. The addition of no. 24a would increase the first total.

Kāñvāyanāṁ¹ tato bhṛtyāḥ²
 Suśarmāṇah⁵ prasahya⁶ tam⁷
 Śūngānām⁹ c̄aiva yac cheṣam¹⁰
 kṣapitvā tu¹³ balīyasah¹⁴
 Śiśuko 'ndhraḥ¹⁷ sa-jātiyah¹⁸
 prāpsyat-īmām vasundharām
 trayo-vimśat²⁰ samā rājā Simukas²¹ tu bhaviṣyati²²

Kāñvāyanam³ ath-ōddhṛtya⁴
 Suśarmāṇam prasahya tam⁸
 Śūngānām¹¹ c̄āpi yac chiṣṭam¹²
 kṣapayitvā¹⁵ balam tadā¹⁶
 Sindhu ko hy Andhra-jātiyah¹⁹
 prāpsyat-īmām vasundharām

¹ This line is in Mt. This name is often corrupted as in p. 34, note¹¹; and first vowel is long or short. In nMt *yanāṁ*; fMt *yanī*; Mt genly *yanāś*, which should be *yanāṁ*, as the accus. is required.

² So dfykJt; bMt *tadā*^o: jMt *tato bhṛtyān*. Mt genly *tato bhūpāh*. But eMt *tadodhṛtya*; cMt *tad-ōddhṛtya*; so nMt crp. *Bhṛtyāḥ* is prob. correct, cf. Vs, Bh; the plural here may refer to 'Simuka and his fellow-tribesmen' in l. 3. Vs says—

Suśarmāṇam Kanvām* ca bhṛtyo[†] balāt[‡]
 Śipraka[§]-nāmā hatvā^{||} Andhra[¶]-jātiyo vasu-
 dhām bhokṣyati:
 where * kVs *Kāñvām*, bVs *Kāñvāyanam*;
 † alVs *sa-bhṛtyām*, jVs *sva-bhṛtyo*, bVs *sad-
 bhṛtya-*, kVs *sa bhūtyām*; ‡ aVs *balat*, bVs
balām, lVs *vali*, jVs *balavān*, kVs *va!āksi*;
 § bVs *Chiptaka*, aVs *Śivika*, kVs *Pulaka*,
lVs Pucchaka; || bVs *hatva-r*; ¶ lVs *Āndha*,
bVs Aṁ[ptyām]pra, kVs *hy Andha*, jVs
Sūdhra. Bh says—

hatvā Kāñvām* Suśarmāṇam tad-bhṛtyo[†]
 vṛṣalo balī[‡]
 gām bhokṣyaty Andhra[§]-jātiyah kañcit^{||}
 kālam a-sattamah:

where * rBh *Kanvām*; † kBh *tadvratyo*;
 ‡ fBh *vṛgabho*^o (f strictly *vṛgabhorḍhalī*, cf.
 p. 25, note⁷); ¶ dBh *Andhri*, fBh *anya*;
 || cBh *kiñcit*.

³ This line in Vā, Bd. Bd *Kanvō*. Vā
 genly *Kāñhō*: other variations similar to
 those in p. 34, note¹¹. Bd, *Ca²a⁴eVā*
yanam; a¹a³bdfgklmVā *yanān*.

⁴ So *Ca²a⁴eVā*, Bd: a¹a⁴kVā *at-ōd*^o or *at-
 ḍvṛtya*; fgmVā *ato dhṛtya*; dVā *tat-ōdhṛtya*
 (Pkt).

⁵ In jMt *neḥ*; bcnMt *ṇam*; lMt *ṇa*;
 gMt *sarmāṇam*.

⁶ In a²nMt *pragṛhya*.

⁷ CbjMt *tām*; gMt *tān*; fMt *trān*.

⁸ In eVā *Sudharmāṁsam prasahyataḥ*.

⁹ So Mt; bMt *Sumnānām*; ceknMt *sutā*^o;
 jMt *Aṁgārā*.

¹⁰ In eMt *c-aiva dheṣam*; fMt *c-aiva
 sarvesām*.

¹¹ This line is in Vā, not in Bd. *Ca²a⁴Vā
 Śring*^o:

¹² In eVā *yac cheṣah*; fmVā defective.

¹³ So Mt mostly: dMt *kṣayitvā sa*; cēMt
kṣipitvā sa; lMt *jṛyitvā tu*: fgnMt *kṣapa-
 yitrā*, jMt *kṣep*^o, bMt *kṛp*^o.

¹⁴ In eMt *balāyasah*; jMt *mahiyasām*.

¹⁵ CVā *kṣayayitvā*.

¹⁶ In eVā *balī tathā*, dVā *°tadā*.

¹⁷ So Mt genly; dMt *°dhraḥ*; jMt *°ddhra*;
 nMt *°dhra*; kMt *°va*; bMt *°yah*: dMt
Śiśurko^o here, *Śiśukas* in next line; eMt
Śiśruk-Āndhraḥ; fgyMt *Śikhukas tu*; lMt
Kiṁśukrodhah. The correct name is *Simuka*
 (Rapson, 'Indian Coins, Andbras, &c.' pp.
 xviii, xlvi). It was misread as *Sisuka*, and
 then Sktzd (1) as *Śiśuka*, and (2) as *Śiśuka*
 whence *Śikhuka*, by dialectical variation of
s and *kh*. *Śimuka* could be misread as
Śipraka which Vs has, see note².

¹⁸ In kMt *sa-jāt*^o.

¹⁹ So Vā, Bd: eVā *Chismako* *hy a-jātī-
 yah*.

²⁰ So CdfgjMt, Vā, Bd. Mt genly *°vīṁśa*:
 eVā reads this line—

sa trayo-vimśati rājā bhavitā Chismakah
 samāḥ

²¹ I put the correct name here to combine
 Mt, Vā, Bd, which read it as above: eMt
Śiśukas; cMt *Śiśukah*.

²² So Mt. Vā, Bd *bhavitā tv atha*; dVā
 omits *tv*; mVā *°tv d[rka]thām*; gVā *bhavitā[s]*
tathā.

<p>Kṛṣṇo²³ bhrātā yavīyāṁs tu²⁴ aṣṭādaśa²⁷ bhaviṣyati Śrī-Śātakarṇir²⁹ bhavitā tasya putras³⁰ tu vai daśa³¹ Pūrnotsaṅgas³² tato³³ rājā varṣāny³⁴ aṣṭādaśaiva tu Skandhastambhis³⁵ tathā³⁶ rājā varṣāny³⁷ aṣṭādaśaiva tu pañcāśatam³⁸ samāḥ ṣaṭ ca³⁹ Śātakarṇir⁴⁰ bhaviṣyati daśa cāṣṭau ca⁴¹ varṣāni tasya⁴² Lambodaraḥ⁴³ sutah⁴⁴ Āpilako⁴⁵ daśa dve ca⁴⁶ tasya putro-bhaviṣyati</p>	<p>Kṛṣṇo²⁵ bhrātāśya²⁶ yarsāni so 'smād daśa²⁸ bhaviṣyati 5 Śātakarṇir²⁹ bhavitā tasya putras³⁰ tu vai daśa³¹ Pūrnotsaṅgas³² tato³³ rājā varṣāny³⁴ aṣṭādaśaiva tu Skandhastambhis³⁵ tathā³⁶ rājā varṣāny³⁷ aṣṭādaśaiva tu pañcāśatam³⁸ samāḥ ṣaṭ ca³⁹ Śātakarṇir⁴⁰ bhaviṣyati daśa cāṣṭau ca⁴¹ varṣāni tasya⁴² Lambodaraḥ⁴³ sutah⁴⁴ 10 Āpilako⁴⁵ daśa dve ca⁴⁶ tasya putro-bhaviṣyati</p>
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²³ Mt genly the Pkt nomin. form *Kṛṣṇa*; jMt *Kṛṣṇā*. Vs says—*Kṛṣṇa-nāmā tad-bhrātā*. Bh says—

Kṛṣṇa-nām-ātha tad-bhrātā bhavitā pṛthivī-patiḥ.

See Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. xix, xlvi.

²⁴ In fgMt *ca*.

²⁵ So *a¹a²a⁴dgVā*, Bd: *eVā Kṛṣṇā*; *bVā klyptau*: *a²Vā Tvaṣṭo*; *f^mVā Tvaṣṭro*; *CjklVā aṣṭau*.

²⁶ So *bdeVā*, Bd: *a¹-⁴fgkmVā*, 3 MSS of *CVā bhrātasya*; *iVā*, 2 MSS of *CVā bhrātaś ca*; 1 MS of *CVā smātasya*.

²⁷ So all Mt; but nMt *aṣṭān daśa*, see Introdn. § 40.

²⁸ So *a²-⁴bdfykmVā*, Bd: *iVā so smā d°*; *eVā so 'stād°*; *Ca¹jVā tasmād d°*; see Introdn. § 40.

²⁹ This name is spelt variously, see p. 37. Vā genly *Śātakarṇir*. Bd, Vs *Śāntakarṇir*. But *bcdeMt* *Maṅkarni*, *nMt* *kaṇē* (easy misreadings); Mt genly *Mallakarṇi*; jMt *Śālakarṇir*, kMt *parṇi*. Bh *Śāntakarṇa*, fBh *varaṇa*.

³⁰ Bh, IVs agree, *tasya putras*: *fgjMt putrās*.

³¹ So Mt genly; *bceknMt samāḥ*. Vā, Bd *mahān*.

³² This line is only in Mt, eVā. So Mt genly; fMt *Pūrnotsarga*; cMt *Pūrnāsaṅgas*, eMt *°sagas*: eVā reads this line—

Pūrnosantu ca varṣāni bhavit-āṣṭādaśaiva tu.

Vs *Pūrnotsaṅga*; jVs *°sam[mr]ga*; hVs *Pūrnēśaṅga*; IVs *Vasukarṇotsaṅga*. Bh *Paurṇamāsa*, and adds *tat-sutah*.

³³ *Tu* vai in *beenMt*.

³⁴ *Samā* in nMt.

³⁵ This line is only in *bdfgnMt*. So *fgMt*; dMt *°stabhis*; bMt *Svīrasrānis* (an easy

misreading); nMt *Śovastuti*, and inverts him and the next king.

³⁶ *Tapā* in nMt.

³⁷ *Samā* in nMt.

³⁸ So Vā, CcdemnMt; jMt *°satāḥ*. Bd, bfgMt *°sat tu*; AkM^t *°sat ca*.

³⁹ *Sat kar* in eVā; eMt *satu*; nMt omits *ca*.

⁴⁰ No marked variations in this name: nMt inverts him and the preceding king; mVā repeating the line reads *tasya putro*. Bh omits him.

⁴¹ *Daśa vāsairā* in bMt.

⁴² In eVā [*bhavitā*] *tasmāl*.

⁴³ This line only in Mt and eVā. Bh and Vs agree in the name.

⁴⁴ Bh agrees, *tat-putras*: eVā *nṛpah*.

⁴⁵ Mt genly *Āpitako*; cfgyMt *Apit^o*; eMt *Apit^o*; nMt *Apit^o* or *Apil^o*; bMt +Aryāñitako: eVā *Āpilako*. But gVā *Āpilavā*; fVā, 3 MSS of *CVā Āpol^o*; jVā *Apol^o*; 1 MS of *CVā Apal^o*; mVā *Ārpāl^o* or *Āryāl^o*; a¹-⁴Vā, 2 MSS of *CVā Āpādaba-*; bdVā *Āpiśtarā*. Bd *Āpolavo*. *Āpilaka* seems the best form: the third syll. *ta* in Mt names may be a misreading of *la*, and may be read either way in nMt. Vs genly reads *tasmād* before this name, and it was aptly often read as Pkt *tasmā* with the final *d* applied to the name; thus IVs *Dāpilaka* (though it interposes *ca*), and cdekVs (*tasmādīvilakah*) *Ivil^o* or *Divil^o*; hence agfVs *Divil^o*, CVs *Divil^o*: hVs *Divila*; jVs *Vilaka*; bVs *Divānika*. Bh genly (reading *d* in Gupta script as *c*) *Civilaka* or *Cibil^o*, aqsbh *°likā*; fBh *Cilibaka*, dBh *°bikā*; cBh *Cibiliaka*, *Vicilaka*; rBh *Vivilaka*, hBh *Yil^o* or *Ghil^o* and *Civil^o*. BBh *Vikala* aptly.

⁴⁶ So Mt; cenMt *tu*. Vā genly, Bd *dvādaśa vai*, which is equally good: a¹-⁴Vā, 2 MSS of *CVā †-ddhodāśa^o*.

<p>daśa cāṣṭau ca varṣāṇi Meghasvātir⁴⁷ bhaviṣyati Svātiś ca bhavitā⁴⁸ rājā⁴⁹ samāś⁵⁰ tv aṣṭādaśaīva⁵¹ tu Skandasvātis⁵³ tathā rājā saptāīva tu⁵⁴ bhaviṣyati Mrgendrah⁵⁵ Svātikarnas⁵⁷ tu⁵⁸ bhaviṣyati samāś trayah⁵⁹ Kuntalah⁶⁰ Svātikarnas⁶¹ tu⁶² bhavitāṣṭau samā⁶³ nṛpah eka-samvatsaram⁶⁴ rājā Svātivarṇo⁶⁵ bhaviṣyati ṣat-trimśad⁶⁶ eva⁶⁷ varṣāṇi Pulomāvir⁶⁹ bhaviṣyati bhavitāśāṭakarnas⁷⁰ tu varṣāṇām pañca-vimśatih⁷¹</p>	<p>Ātir bhaviṣyati nṛpo varṣāṇi dvādaśaīva tu⁵² Skandasvātih samāś tasmāt sapta⁵⁵ rājyam karisyati catur-vimśat⁶⁸ tu varṣāṇi Pulomāvir⁶⁹ bhaviṣyati catur-vimśat⁶⁸ tu varṣāṇi</p>
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⁴⁷ This line only in Mt, eVā. So Mt genly; jMt °svāmī; CMt Medhasvātir; nMt Samghasvāpni, an easy misreading; ceMt Samghas-cāpi. Vs, Bh Meghasvāti, jVṣ Maghas°; kVṣ Meghaghāti. The name has been corrupted in eVā which reads—
 daśa cāṣṭau ca bhavitā so 'ṣṭādaśa bhaviṣyati.

⁴⁸ This line only in Mt: blMt Svātir bhaviṣyate, nMt Svāmī bh°; gMt, in repeating the line, Svāmī bh°: ceMt sa eva bhokṣyate.

⁴⁹ In bMt ramyā.

⁵⁰ In cenMt samā: bMt manāś, so gMt in repeating.

⁵¹ In cenMt aṣṭau daśaīva (omitting tu).

⁵² This line is in eVā only. Introdn. § 40.

⁵³ So Mt, mostly. CMt °svātis misprinted as °racatis: bceMt and gMt (in repeating) Skandhasvātis, dMt °svāmis; lMt Skandhasvātrānis (an easy misreading).

⁵⁴ Misread as sam-aīva tra in gMt (repeated), °tvām in bMt; cenMt sapta c-aīva.

⁵⁵ This line in eVā only; thus, Skandasvātih samāt tasmā samā, where samā is misreading for sapta.

⁵⁶ This line only in Mt, eVā: bMt Bhangendrah; eVā Mahen°; jMt naren°.

⁵⁷ So Mt genly: fgMt °varṇas, but gMt repeats as in text; nMt Śātikarnas; eVā Śātakarnis.

⁵⁸ In eMt mu: after this nMt adds by mistake and superfluously varṣāṇi pañca-vimśati (from l. 19).

⁵⁹ In eVā samā-trayam.

⁶⁰ This line only in Mt, eVā: bMt Kuśalah; jMt Kṣettulah.

⁶¹ In nMt Śāntik°; eVā Śātakarnis.

⁶² Ca in ceMt, and gMt in repeating.

⁶³ In jMt °āṣṭā samo.

⁶⁴ But bclnMt °saṁvatsaro, eMt °se r°, gMt (in repeating) śakasainv°.

⁶⁵ This line only in Mt, eVā. So ACbdM: cejMt °karṇo; fgmMt °kono, gMt (in repeating) °varṇo; dMt °keno; eVā °ṣeṇo; kMt Syātiseno; nMt Śātikarno.

⁶⁶ This line is in Mt, except ACMt: lmMt ṣad-trimśad; gMt (in repeating) ṣad-vimśad; nMt ṣadgiṁśa (= ṣad-vimśa).

⁶⁷ So dmMt and gMt (in repeating): lMt deva; jkMt c-aīva; cenMt tv eva; bfgMt dre ca.

⁶⁸ So Vā, Bd: eVā °trimśat.

⁶⁹ This name has been greatly corrupted. So bdklnMt; gMt (in repeating) °vi: ceMt Pulomāvid; jMt Sulomānir (an easy misreading). In Vā: dgkVā Padumāvir (or, as it may be read in dgVā, Yadu°; and so a°a°IVā and 3 MSS of CVā): then by easy misreadings, bVā Patu° (or Ya°); eVā Patramātir (or Ya°); fVā Satumāvir; 4 MSS of CVā Sadu°; mVā Satu° or Sadu°; jVā Sadrarmāri; a°Vā and 2 MSS of CVā sat samā rai (by attempt at emendment). By regarding the final vi (in Pkt) as an expletive (= vai or api), hVṣ Padumān or Patu°; abcdegklVṣ Patu°; Bd Patumāniś ca; other Vṣ Padumān. Then arBh Vaṭamāna; Bh genly Aṭa°; nBh Aṭha°; mBh Aṁda°; dBn Ara°; sBh Raca°. For this name fmMt substitute (a second) Meghasvātir; and gMt Bhegha°.

⁷⁰ There is great variation in this name

tataḥ saṁvatsarān pañca ⁷² Hālo ⁷³ rājā bhaviṣyati	²⁰
pañca Mantalako ⁷⁴ rājā ⁷⁵	pañca Pattalako ⁷⁴ rājā ⁷⁶
bhaviṣyati samā nṛpah ⁷⁷	bhaviṣyati mahābalah ⁷⁸
Purīndraseno ⁷⁹ bhavitā	bhāvyah Purikasenās ⁸⁰ tu
tasmat̄ saumyo bhaviṣyati ⁸¹	samāh so 'py eka-viṁśatim ⁸²
Sundarah ⁸³ Śātakarnis ⁸⁴ tu	Śātakarnir ⁸⁵ varṣam ekam
abdam ⁸⁶ ekam bhaviṣyati	bhaviṣyati narādhipah
Cakorah ⁸⁷ Śātakarnis ⁸⁸ tu san̄ māsān ⁸⁹ vai bhaviṣyati ⁹⁰	

Vā genly *bhavitā Nemikṛṣṇas*; dVā °Nemikṛṣṇas; mMt °Nauvikṛṣṇas; dMt °Naurik°; jMt °Nārik°; kMt °Saurik°; fgMt °śtauvik°; eMt °Gaurak°; cMt °Gaurakṛtvas. ACMt *bhavit-Āriktavarṇas*; bMt °Āriktaκarnas; nMt °Āristakarnis. Vs *Aristakarmā*; so aBh. Bd *bhavit-Āniṣṭakarmā*. Bh *Aniṣṭakarmā*. It is impossible to extract the correct name out of this confusion, and I have adopted *Ariṣṭakarṇa* as the most central form.

⁷¹ So a'a'a'bdgVā: Vā genly, bMt, Bd °tīm. Mt *varsāni . . . tih*; jMt reads this half line, *san̄-māsān vai bhaviṣyati*.

⁷² So Mt. Vā, Bd *saṁvatsaram pūrṇam*.

⁷³ So all, except IVs *Hala*; Bh *Hāleya*; rBh *Hālela* or *Hālena*; cBh *Hālaya*.

⁷⁴ There is great variation in this name. ACbMt *Mandulako*; cMt *Mantalako*, eMt °lāinko; lMt *Menulake*; fgknMt *Mandalako*; dMt *Mandako*; mMt *Kundalako*. Then kVs *Pantala* or *Patt*°; Vs genly *Patti*°; lVs *Pitt*°; deVs *Putt*°; jVs *Paksal*°; aVs *Prabhul*° (or *Prattal*?). Bd *Pattallaka*. Bh, losing the first syll., *Talaka* (see Appendix II, § vi); aBh *Tanaka*; hBh *Halaka*; dBh *Śūl*°. Vā, by losing the third syllable, *Saptaka*; fVā *Saptamka*; bdVā *Masaka* (misreading of *Maptaka*?); eVā reads this half line, *pañc-aivabhā . . . ko rājā*. *Mantalaka* or *Pattalaka* seems the most likely form, from which the other readings might have been derived by misreadings. Bh says, *tasya c-ātmajah*.

⁷⁵ So Mt, eVā: bMt *rākṣo*.

⁷⁶ Vā, to compensate for the lost syllable in *Saptaka*, and by the meaning of *sapta*, reads *rājāno* and turns the two following words into plurals: mVā *rānā[mān]no*. Bd *nāma*. The correct reading must be *rājā*.

⁷⁷ So Mt, eVā, where *nṛpah* is redundant, cf. line 26.

⁷⁸ So Bd. Vā °ṣyanti mahābalāḥ.

⁷⁹ This line is in Mt. So Mt genly; CMt °seno or °senī; nMt *Purīndraseno* and *Purīdra*; bMt *Purānda*: hVs *Pulindrāsana* (for °drasena); akVs *dasena*; lVs *Pullas*°; Vs genly, eVā *Pravillas*°; deVs *Pravilas*°; jMt *Pravilis*°; where *pra* may be a misreading of *pu*.

⁸⁰ This line is in Vā, Bd. So a'a'fglmVā; bdVā *Purīkusenas*; kVs *Purikāṣṇas*; jVs *Purīkhenus*; CVā *Purikasenās*. Then dBh *Purīṣaseru* (where s and bh are much alike); arsBh °heru; eghjklmnpqBh °bhoru; other Bh, Bd °bhīru. These variations suggest the name *Puruṣasena*. A king *Puri-sadata* of the Ikhākus is mentioned, see p. 37.

⁸¹ So Mt genly: bMt *sāmyo*°; nMt *saimyo*°, °yau°; dMt *seno*°. *Saumyo* cannot well be a king, though the line says so on its face, because in this dynasty two kings are never put together in a single line without any mention of their reigns. *Saumyo bhaviṣyati* is probably a corruption, see Appendix II, § iii.

⁸² So Ca'fjkmVā, Bd; a'a'a'bdhlVā °tīh; gVā °ti: eVā reads this half line *saṁ dvādaśa bhū-tale*.

⁸³ This line is in Mt, eVā. Vs *Sundara*: fgMt *Sundharah*. Bh, lVs *Sunandana*.

⁸⁴ Usual variations, see p. 37.

⁸⁵ So Vā, Bd, with variations, but no personal name: 1 MS of CVā *Śāntakirttir*.

⁸⁶ In eVā *varṣam*; jMt .. tam.

⁸⁷ So Mt genly, eVā. Vā genly *Cakāra*. Vs, Bh *Cakora*; gpBh *Cakara*; hVs Cā[kā]. kāra. But cMt *Rājāda*; nMt *rājā vai*: bMt reads this half line *rājā varṇyo vikarnaś ca*: lVs merely *Śātakarni*.

astā-vimśati⁹¹ varṣāṇī Śivasvātir⁹² bhavisyati
rājā ca Gautamiputra⁹³ eka-vimśat tato⁹⁴ nrpaḥ⁹⁵
astā-vimśah⁹⁶ sutas⁹⁷ tasya Pulomā vai⁹⁸ bhavisyati
[ek-ōna-trimśatim bhāvyah Śātakarnīs tatho nrpaḥ]⁹⁹
Śivaśrī¹ vaj Pulomā tu² saptāiva³ bhavitā nrpaḥ⁴
Śivaskandhaḥ⁵ Śātakarnīr⁶ bhavitāsyātmajah samāḥ⁷
nava-vimśati⁸ varṣāṇī⁹ ek-ōna-vimśatim⁹ rājā¹⁰
Yajñaśrī¹¹ Śātakarnīkāḥ¹² Yajñaśrī¹² Śātakarnī atha¹³

⁹¹ So Vā, *cdefgijnMt*, Vṣ, with variations. Mt genly *Svātikarnas*. Instead of this name Bh genly *vātako yatra*; rBh *vātikā*; nBh (and BBh?) *navamo*; jBh *carako* altered to *vātako*; GgBh *bahavo*; dBh *batako* (or *satako*) *yasya*. Read *vātuko yasya*?

⁹² In *bdeMt māso*; eVā *sat samān*.

⁹³ So Mt. Vā genly *vai narādhīpaḥ*; eVā *bhavitā nrpaḥ*; kVā *vīta* *narādhīpaḥ*.

⁹⁴ So Mt, *bmVā*, Bd. Vā genly, jMt *°vīm-*
sat tu.

⁹⁵ So Mt, *dVā*, Bd. Vṣ, Bh agree: IVṣ *°svātih*; aVṣ *Śivāh Svātih*; fgMt *Śikhāsvātir*; kBh *Sīras*; jMt *Sīrahs*. *Ca-dīlVā Śiva-*
svāmī; a²-b²fghkVā *°svāmīr*; mVā *°svāmīr*. Bh calls him *arindamah*.

⁹⁶ In *bcMt, bVṣ Gotamīp*. Vṣ, Bh *Gomatīp*; IVṣ *Gomati*. Mt adds *hy*.

⁹⁷ So *dfgjMt, a³Vā; cnMt °vīmśa*. AmMt *eka-vimśaty ato*; CMt *aka-v* by misprint: bMt, a¹a²a³bdfghklmVā *eka-vimśattamo*; CjVā, Bd *°vīmśat samā*. *Eka-vimśattamo*, '21st king', can hardly be right, because he is not 21st in any list except AMt where two preceding kings are omitted; and he can only be made 21st by omissions.

⁹⁸ So Mt, *bdfghlmVā*, Bd, though it is redundant. *AjkVā nr̄ṣu*.

⁹⁹ This line only in Mt: *dgMt °sa*; *bjMt °sat*; *CMt °śati*.

¹⁰⁰ In *nMt tutas*; *jMt tatas*; *bMt samas*.

¹⁰¹ CbMt *Sulomā vai*; but *beMt Pulomā tu* in next line. Vṣ *Pulimān*; IVṣ *Pulī*; aVṣ *Kulī*. Bh *Purimān*; kBh *Puri*; fBh *Putri*. The name should no doubt be *Pulomāvir*. Vṣ adds, *tat-putrah*.

¹⁰² This line only in eVā: see p. 37.

¹⁰³ This line only in Mt, eVā. So Mt genly: *ceMt °śrī*; *nMt °śvā*; *bMt Sivasīr*; *jMt*

Śirogrīvaḥ (omitting *vai*). Vṣ *Śātakarnī Śivaśrī*; lVṣ makes this two kings, *tasyāpi Śātakarnīh tatas Śivaśrī* (see p. 37): dBh *Sacāśrā*; nBh *Midasirāh*; Bh genly *Medas*; kBh *Medas*; fBh *Medas*. This half line in eVā is, *Śirasī putra Āvis tu*.

¹⁰⁴ So Mt genly; cMt *°māḥ tu*; bgMt *°māsu*. But *jMt °māt tu*; CMt *Sulomāt tu*.

¹⁰⁵ In bMt *samaiva*; eVā *catasrc*.

¹⁰⁶ In eVā *samāḥ*.

¹⁰⁷ This line only in Mt, eVā. So Mt genly. Vṣ, afmnRbh agree: cBh *°skadhra*: *dfgMt*, Bh genly, hIVṣ *°skandah* (altered in sBh to *skandha*); bVṣ *°svanda*; kVṣ *°sunda*: jMt *Śiraskandho*, eVā *°skandah*.

¹⁰⁸ So *cdefgmnMt, eVā*; bMt *Sāmak*. ACIMt *Śātikarnīād*; kMt *Śalaiśkarṇīkā*; jMt *Nṛpaskando*.

¹⁰⁹ So *cdejnMt*; bMt defective *vin-āsya*; *fgMt bhāvī tasya*. ACIMt *bhavitā hy āt*: eVā *bhavisyati samā nrpaḥ*. No number is mentioned. Perhaps M̄t should read, *bhāvī tasmāt trayo samāḥ* (see Appendix I, § iii), and eVā *bhavisyati samās trayah*.

¹¹⁰ So Mt: jMt *°vīmśat tu*; fgMt *°śivāt tu*: bcelnMt read this line—

*nava varṣāṇī Yajñaśrī** kurute[†] *Śātakarnīkāḥ*[‡]:

where *bMt *°māḥ*; [†]bMt *kurune*, nMt *kusate*; [‡]ceMt *°karnīnā*, lMt *Sātavarnītā*, bMt *Śahsakarnīkāh*.

¹¹¹ So Vā, Bd: *bdfghVā °trimśatām*; kVā *trikonatrīśatām*.

¹¹² Mat genly *Yajñaśrī*; dlMt *°śrī*; jMt *Yajñāh Śrī*.

¹¹³ In kMt *Śātakarnīnā*.

¹¹⁴ So *Ca³ejVā*; mVā *Yajñāh Śrī*. Bd *Yajñāh Śrī*: a¹a²a³bfglVā *Yajuhśrī-h*; dhkVā *Yajuśrī-h*. Vṣ, Bh *Yajñaśrī* with

ṣad eva¹⁴ bhavitā¹⁵ tasmād¹⁶ Vijayas¹⁷ tu samā nr̄pah¹⁸
 Candaśrīḥ¹⁹ Śātakarnīṣ²⁰ tu²¹ Dandaśrīḥ²² Śātakarnī ca
 tasya putrah samā daśa tasya putrah samās trayah²³
 Pulomāvih²⁴ samāh sapta²⁵ anyas teṣām²⁶ bhavisyati 34
 ek-ōna-vimśatir hy ete²⁷ ity ete vai nr̄pās trimśad²⁸
 Āndhrā²⁹ bhokṣyanti vai mahīm
 teṣām varṣa-śatāni syus
 catvāri ṣastīr³² eva ca. Andhrā³⁰ bhokṣyanti ye³¹ mahīm
 samāh śatāni catvāri
 pañca ṣad vai tathāiva ca³³.

marg. alteration °sāra in aBh; sBh °sīla, altered to °śrī: kVṣ *Sūṅgaśrī*. Bh adds *tat-sutas*.

¹⁵ In eVā °api: 2 MSS of CVā Sāmakarny atha.

¹⁶ In eVā ete.

¹⁷ In jMt *nacidā* (misreading of *bhavitā* in old Bengali script?).

¹⁸ In bcnMt *yasmād*; eVā *vastu*.

¹⁹ So all: but dEVṣ *Vijaya*; bMt, jVṣ *Vijas*; eVā *driyajah yaśu* (omitting *tu*); bVṣ *Driyajna*; lBh *Vinaya*. Bh says, *tat-suto*.

²⁰ So Vā, Bd. Mt genly *samās tataḥ*; bcnMt *samām*^o; fgjMt [sa] *samā daśa*.

²¹ So Mt genly; cMt *Cadaśrī*; egMt *Vanda*^o; bMt *Candratī*. Vṣ genly *Candraśrī*; cVṣ *Cadra*^o: dBh *Candrasīja*, frBh °vīja, asBh °vīrya, Bh genly °vījñāh.

²² Mt genly *Śāntikarṇas*, with variations; bgMt *Samakarnī*.

²³ So Mt, eVā. Vā, Bd ca.

²⁴ So Vā. Bd *Danda-Śrī*.

²⁵ In eVā *samās trayam*; a¹Vā *samāśrayah*.

²⁶ So eVā, aVṣ; lVṣ °māvī. Bd °mārih. Vṣ genly °mācih; cdefjkVṣ °mārcih; hVṣ °mādi; bVṣ *Anulomāvih*. Bh genly *Salomadhih*; mBh *Sul*^o; kBh *Mal*^o (all easy misreadings).

²⁷ Mt genly *Pulomā sapta varṣāṇi*; CbdmMt *Sul*^o; where the last syll. of the name has been probably regarded as a particle and ousted by the change of Pkt *varṣā* to Skt *varṣāṇi*. Vā genly *Pulov-āpi*.

²⁸ So Mt, Vā genly: eMt *antyes*^o, nMt *antas*^o, cMt *amnyas*^o; all mistakes for *anyas teṣām*, probably the true reading, cf. p. 12, l. 22; p. 18, note 7. Ca²fVā *tanyesān ca* (f omits *ca*). Bd *tataś c-aiṣām*; eVā *san tasmād*.

²⁹ So Mt, genly: fgMt °śati^o; dMt °śatīs c-ete; jMt °śad ete ca; nMt *ek-ōnā-navatīm* hy ete, ceMt *tekānā-n*^o.

³⁰ So Vā, Bd: mVā omits this line.

³¹ So Mt genly: cfjnMt *Andhrā*; dMt *Andhrān*; bMt *nr̄pā*.

³² In eVā *akṣā*.

³³ So Vā. Bd, gVā vai.

³⁴ So Mt: nMt *ṣastīr*, bMt *ṣastīm*: jMt reads this line—

dvādaś-ādhikam eteṣām rājyam śata-
catuṣṭayam.

³⁵ This line is in Vā, Bd: not in mVā. So Vā genly: hVā *pañca ṣad va*^o: bdfgkVā °sat ca; eVā °sat *sapta c-aiva hi*. Bd *pañcāsat sat tathāiva ca*. Vṣ says—

evam ete trimśat* catvāry abda⁺śatāni
sat-pañcāśad⁺-ādhikāni prthivīm bhokṣyanti;
where *kVṣ omits *trimśat*; ⁺hVṣ *aṣṭa*; ⁺lVṣ *ṣas pañcādaśad*. Bh says—

ete trimśan* nr̄patayaś catvāry abda⁺
śatāni ca

sat pañcāśac ca prthivīm bhokṣyanti,
Kuru-nandana:

where *aBh has *vimśan* written above;
gBh *aṣṭa*.

Various Local Dynasties.

Text—AMt 273, 17^b–24; AVā 99, 358^b–365; Bd iii, 74, 171–179^a.

Corresp. passages—CVs iv, 24, 13–16; GBh xii, 1, 29–32b.

The account of these dynasties consists of three parts, the first of which summarizes the number of kings in each dynasty and the second states its duration, while the third adds certain subsequent kings. In the first part the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda agree generally, but in the second the Matsya has one version and the two others another. Here the dynastic matter in the Matsya ends, and the third part is found only in the two others. The Bhāgavata gives the first part in verses which are much like the texts of those Purāṇas, only the concluding portion of the second, and a very brief notice of the third. In the first part therefore the two versions are printed side by side. In the second part the Matsya version and that of the Vāyu and Brahmānda are compared side by side, but in the third there is only the text common to those two. The Bhāgavata statements in both these parts are given in the notes. The Viṣṇu in prose agrees closely with the Bhāgavata.

The Vā and Bd mention the dynasties in the second part in the same order that all three Purāṇas observe in the first part, but the Mt verses are disarranged in the second part, and are re-arranged here in that order for convenience. This involves no tampering with its text, because each line is complete in itself and independent, except ll. 12, 13 which compose a couplet forming verse 22 and which remain undisturbed; hence the Mt verses are placed here thus, 23^b, 24^a, 20^b, 21^b, 20^a, 21^a, 22^a, 23^a, 24^b.

The Mt is generally complete; but eMt omits ll. 12–14; fMt l. 8; gMt repeats ll. 3, 4 after l. 10; kMt omits ll. 4, 5; hMt have nothing. ACVā omit ll. 7, 8, but AVā mentions them in a note; most other copies give them; a⁴Vā omits ll. 7 (second half)–9 (first half); mVā ll. 1–3, but they are added in the margin. Of Bh versions j omits ll. 1–5, but they are added in the margin; bt have nothing.

These local dynasties are all classed together as more or less contemporaneous. The number of years assigned to them must be considered according to the remarks in Introdn. §§ 42 ff., and with reference to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. when the account was first compiled as preserved in the Mt, for the revised versions in Vā and Bd did not revise the periods¹. If those remarks be sound, the Śrīparvatīya Andhrabṛtyas had at that time reigned 52 years, or (if we read *dviḥ pañcāśatam*) possibly 100 roundly, according to Mt; while the Vā and Bd reading is no doubt corrupt and should perhaps be 112 or 102 years. The Ābhīras had then reigned 67 years, the Gardabhilas 72 years, the Sakas 183 years, the Yavanas 87 or 82 years, and the Tuśāras 7,000 or 500 according to the proper construction of the sentences but perhaps 107 or 105 is really meant. The 13 Gurundas or Murundas had then reigned half of the quadruple of 100 years, that is 200, according to Mt, or 350 according to Vā and Bd, but the latter is probably a corruption of the former

¹ Except in l. 6, if Mt reading *dvi-pañcā-* | to *daśa dve ca satam ca rai*; see Introdn. *satam* is right, and if we emend Vā and Bd | § 41.

reading, for Vṣ and Bh say precisely 199 years. The 11 Hūṇas or Maunas had then lasted 103 years.

Mention of these races is found in the inscriptions; thus Ābhīras in Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, nos. 963, 1137 (Epig. Ind. x, Appendix) and Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14; Śakas, Lüders' list, nos. 1123, 1135, 1137, 1148, 1149, 1162, and perhaps 1001–2, and FGI p. 14; Yavanas, Lüders' list, nos. 669, 965, 1093, 1123, 1140, 1154, 1156; Murundadevī, *id.*, pp. 128, 132, 138; Hūṇas, FGI, pp. 56, 148, 206. A Vākāṭaka prince Vindhyaśakti is mentioned in Kielhorn's Inscriptions of Northern India, no. 622 (Epig. Ind. v, Appendix).

Mt, Vā, Bd.

Andhrāṇām¹ saṁsthite rājye²
teśām bhṛty-ānvayā³ nr̄pāḥ⁴
sapt-aiv-Āndhrā⁵ bhaviṣyanti
daś-Ābhīrā⁷ tathā nr̄pāḥ⁸
sapta Gardabhīna⁹ cāpi
Śakāś cāṣṭādaś-aiva tu¹²

Yavan-āṣṭau¹⁶ bhaviṣyanti
Tuṣārāś tu¹⁹ caturdaśa

Bh (with Vṣ).

Sapt-Ābhīrā Āndhrabhrtyā⁵

daśa¹⁰ Gardabhīno¹¹ nr̄pāḥ
Śakāḥ¹³ śodaśa¹⁴ bhūpālā
bhaviṣyanty ati-lolupāḥ¹⁵
tato 'ṣṭau Yavanā¹⁷ bhāvyāś
caturdaśa ca Tuṣkarāḥ²⁰

¹ So *cfnMt*, *Vā*, *Bd*. *Mt* genly *Āndh*^o; *jMt sandh*^o: *eVā Arthānām*.

² So *cdefgknMt*; *jMt sāsthite*^o; *bMt sam-*
śrite^o; other *Mt saṁsthitā*^o: *eVā saṁsthite*
vamśe. *Vā*, *Bd* *saṁsthitāḥ pañca*; so *mVā*
(defective).

³ So *dfgkMt*, *eVā*; *lMt -atrayā*; *jMt*
tādy-ānvayā. *Mt* genly *bhrty-ānvaye*:
bMt -adyaso. But *fmVā vamśāḥ svayāḥ*
(for *vamś-ānvayāḥ*?), *Vā* genly *°samāḥ*. *Bd*
vamśyāś ca ye.

⁴ So *Mt*: *fmVā punāḥ*. *Vā*, *Bd* *punah*.

⁵ *Bh* genly *Āvabhrtyā*; *eBh Av*^o; *aBh*
°c=Av^o; *fBh Āvabhrthyā*. *Vṣ* rightly *An-*
dhra-bhrtyāḥ sapt-Ābhīrā; *lVs Āndh*^o.

⁶ So *Mt*; *eVā sapta c-Āndhrā*. *Vā*, *Bd*
sapt-aiva tu; *hVā °nu*.

⁷ So *Mt*, *Vā*, genly, *Bd*: *dVā °Ābhārāś*;
eVā dār-Ābhīrāś, *dMt var-*^o; *jMt var-*
Ābhīrā; *bMt nāv-Āmīrāś*; *lMt naiv-Ābhīrā*:
mMt, kIVā defective; *fgMt Ābhīrāś ca*.

⁸ So *Mt* mostly: *Vā*, *Bd* *tato*^o: *dnMt*
nr̄pāś tathā, *eMt bhrtāś*^o, *cMt mṛtāś*^o, *fgMt*
vṛṣāś^o; *jMt nr̄pāś tadā*.

⁹ So *Vā*, *bcknMt*, *Bd*: *eMt Mard*^o, but

when repeated *Gardabhīlāś* as in *Mt* genly:
lMt Kardabhīlā; *jMt Gatabhrtyā*.

¹⁰ *Vṣ* agrees.

¹¹ So *Bh* genly, *alVṣ*: *kVṣ °nā*; *pBh*
Garbhātīno. *Vṣ* geuly *Gardabhīlāḥ bhū-*
bhujo, *hVṣ °bhikā*^o: *qBh tāśārddagabhīno*;
jVs, eBh crp.

¹² So *Mt* genly; *jMt Śakāśāṣṭi*^o: *bMt Śakāś*
c-aiva das^o, *cenMt Śākyāś*^o, but *eMt* in
repeating reads as in text: *lMt tāśārddagabhīno*:
das^o. But *eVā tāth-āṣṭādaśa vai Śakāḥ*;
Vā, *Bd* *tato 'tha das*^o: *kVā* has *Thakāḥ*.

¹³ So *Vṣ*. *Bh Kāṅkāḥ*; *cBh Kān*^o.

¹⁴ *Vṣ* agrees.

¹⁵ So *Bh* mostly: *cegyiklnqBh ca lol*^o; *hBh*
na lol^o.

¹⁶ By double sandhi (= *Yavanāḥ aṣṭau*);
fmVā Yāv^o: *fgmMt Yavanāś ca*. This half
line is in *jMt aṣṭau tu Yavanā dhīrāś*, in
eVā tāth-aiva Yavanā aṣṭau.

¹⁷ *Vṣ* agrees: *jBh Javanā*.

¹⁸ In *jMt Tuḥkhārāś*; *cMt Tuṣāgāś*.

¹⁹ So *Vā*, *eMt*, *Bd*. *Mt ca*; *jMt* omits.

²⁰ So *BaeghjlmqBh*: *dsBh °Tuḥkharāḥ*,
rBh °Tuṣarāḥ, *nBh* and v.r. in *GBh °Puska-*

Mt, Vā, Bd.

trayodaśa {Guruṇḍāś}²¹
 {Muruṇḍāś} ca
 {Hūṇā²⁴ hy ek-ōna-vimśatih²⁵.}
 {Maunā²⁴ hy ekādaśaiva tu²⁶.}

Mat.

Āndhrāḥ²⁹ Śīparvatīyāś³⁰ ca
 te dvi-pañcāśatam³² samāḥ
 sapta-ṣaṭis³⁵ tu varṣāni³⁶
 daś-Ābhīrāś³⁸ tathāiva ca³⁹
 sapta Gardabhilā⁴¹ bhūyo⁴²
 bhokṣyantīmāṁ vasundharām⁴⁵
 satāni trīṇy asītim ca⁴⁷
 Sakā hy⁴⁹ aṣṭādaś⁵⁰ aiva tu

sāḥ. GbfkltBh Turuṣkakāḥ, cBh °karāḥ. CVś
 caturdaśa Tukhārāḥ, bcdēfghjVś °Tuṣārā,
 aVś °Tukhāvā, lVś °Kharā.

²¹ Both forms are well supported. Mt genly, Bd *Gurundāś*; nMt *Gar*^o. Vā genly, jMt *Mar*^o; jVā, mMt *Mur*^o; fVā *Mer*^o. Others, fgMt *Pur*^o; cdMt *Purandāś*; eMt *Purañjāś*: 4 MSS of *CVā Manāñjāś*, which ACVā adopt; eVā *Rāṇdāś* with *tu* for *ca*. *Guruṇḍā* occurs in Bhavisya iii, 5, 32, where it is said *Vraja-bhāṣā*, *Mahārāṣṭri*, *Yāvani*, and *Gurundikā* are the four Mlechcha bhāṣās. For *Murunda* see p. 45. Cf. notes ⁴⁵, ⁴⁶.

²² So Vś, dfgmBh and v.r. in GBh. Bh genly *bhūyo daśa*, an easy misreading; jVś omits.

²³ So Bh genly; dBh *Sur*^o: aBh *Surāṇḍāś*, sBh *Subā*^o. Vś *Munḍāś*, prob. error for *Murundāś*, which lVś has.

²⁴ Both names are well supported. Mt genly *Hūṇā*; jMt *Hūṇā*; lMt *Janā*; eVā *Yarunā*; Vā, Bd, bMt *Maunā*: nMt *smṛtā*. See note ⁷⁸.

²⁵ So Mt; dMt c-ēk^o: ceMt omit *hy*.

²⁶ So eVā, Bd. Vā *hy aṣṭādaś*^o.

²⁷ So Bh, Vś: hBh *Monā*; aBh *Maulā*.

²⁸ Vś agrees.

²⁹ In gMt *An*^o; dfMt *Andhā*: jMt *yuktā*; bMt reads this half line *Andhāksāḥ parvatīyāś ca*.

³⁰ So cdgyjkmnMt; lMt omits *Śrī*. ACMt

Bh (with Vś).

trayodaśa²² Guruṇḍāś²³ ca

Maunā²⁷ ekādaśaiva²⁸ tu.

5

Vā, Bd.

Andhrā³¹ bhokṣyanti vasudhām

sāte³³ dve ca śatām³⁴ ca vai

sapta-ṣaṭim ca varṣāni³⁷

daś-Ābhīrāś tato⁴⁰ nrpāḥ

sapta Gardabhīnāś⁴³ cāiva⁴⁴

bhokṣyantīmāṁ dvi-saptatih⁴⁶

satāni trīṇy asītim ca⁴⁸

bhokṣyanti⁵¹ vasudhām Śakāḥ

Śīpār^o; eMt °parvatīyāś.

³¹ In eVā *Randhrā*.

³² So ACbhklMt: cefgmnMt te dve pañca śatām, dMt dve pañca ca śatām: jMt ta dve pañca das-āpi ca for this half line.

³³ In fmVā śatām; kVā sāto. Read probably dasā; see Introdn. § 41.

³⁴ In kVā dva ca^o; eVā dve 'rddha-śatas.

³⁵ In ceMt °ti; nMt °ñi.

³⁶ In cenMt sahasrāni.

³⁷ This line is in a¹⁻⁸bdefghklmVā, Bd; first half in a⁴Vā, sapta-ṣaṭi śatān-īha. Not in ACjVā, but mentioned in note to AVā: a¹⁻⁸blVā °ṣaṭi^o; eVā tu for ca.

³⁸ In fmVā das-ābhīrāś, jMt °bhī...s: kMt Darbharomā.

³⁹ In bcnMt tatas tu vai.

⁴⁰ In eVā tatho.

⁴¹ In bcnMt bhino; jMt °bhṛto.

⁴² But better bcegnMt bhūpā.

⁴³ This line is in a¹⁻⁸bdefghklmVā, Bd. Not in ACjVā, but in note to AVā.

⁴⁴ In ekVā c-āpi.

⁴⁵ Sic: read dvi-saptatim?

⁴⁶ In eVā, Bd °tim.

⁴⁷ In bgjMt aṣṭiś ca; cenMt trīṇi ca tathā.

⁴⁸ In bāgVā °aṣṭiś ca; fmVā trīṇi 'ṣtiś ca; eVā trīṇi varṣāṇām: a⁴Vā omits this half line, see note ³⁷.

⁴⁹ Mt genly śatāny, jMt tathā hy, no doubt corruptions of Śakā hy, and I have

Mat.

Yavanāśṭau bhavīṣyanti⁵²
 sapt-āśitīm⁵⁴ mahīm imām
 sapta varṣā-sahasrāṇī⁵⁶
 Tuṣārāṇām⁵⁸ mahī smṛtā
 śatāny ardha⁶⁰-catuṣkāni⁶¹
 bhavitavyās⁶² trayodaśā⁶³
 Gurundā⁶⁵ Vṛṣalaiḥ⁶⁶ sārdham⁶⁷
 bhokṣyante⁶⁹ Mleccha⁷⁰-sambhavāḥ⁷¹
 śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyante⁷³
 Hūṇā hy⁷⁴ ekādaśaiva tu⁷⁵

Vā, Bd.

asīti dve ca⁵³ varṣāṇī¹⁰
 bhoktāro Yavanā mahīm
 pañca varṣa-śatānīḥa⁵⁷
 Tuṣārāṇām⁵⁹ mahī smṛtā
 śatāny ardha-caturthāni
 bhavitāras trayodaśā⁶⁴
 Murundā⁶⁸ Vṛṣalaiḥ⁶⁶ sārdham
 bhāvy-ānyā⁷² Mleccha-jātayah
 śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyante⁷³
 Maunā⁷⁶ ekādaśaiva tu⁷⁷

emended it so: *bclnMt* +*nava*; *eMt* +*naca*.

⁵⁰ So Mt genly: *bcenMt* *c-dṣṭau*^o; *lMt* *v-dṣṭau*^o; *jMt* *Andhā*^o.

⁵¹ In *a¹-sdefgmVā* ^o*te*.

⁵² Sic: better *ca bhokṣyanti*.

⁵³ So *behVā*; *a²gIVā* *asītir*^o: *mVā* *asītī*^o; *dVā*, *Bd* *asītī*^o; *fVā* *asītir*^o. *Ca¹a²ckVā* *asītīm* *c-aiva*.

⁵⁴ So *AlmMt*; *CbMt* ^o*ti*: but *cemnMt* *sam-dsītī-m*, *dMt* ^o*dsītīm*; see Introdn. § 40. Others, *gMt* *samsāsyanti*; *fMt* *samsās*^o; *kMt* *samsās*^o; *jMt* *prasās*^o (see p. 16, note⁷⁸).

⁵⁵ In *bMt* *varṣasyātu*; *lMt* *varṣāṇām* (one syll. short).

⁵⁶ So all Mt: read *śatānīḥa*?

⁵⁷ In *eVā* *śatānīkām*.

⁵⁸ In *jMt* *Tuhkhār*^o.

⁵⁹ In *eVā* *Tugānām* *tu*.

⁶⁰ *CcMt* ^o*ardhami*: *bMt* *śatam ardha-*; *kMt* *śat-ārdha-*.

⁶¹ In *bcjnMt* *caturthāni*.

⁶² In *cMt* ^o*vyām*; *jMt* *samaṁtāś ca*.

⁶³ In *mMt* *trayo nr̥pāḥ*; *bmMt* *caturdaśā*. This line and the next go together.

⁶⁴ See note²². This line and the next go together.

⁶⁵ *ACbMt* *Gurundā*; *nMt* *Gar*^o; *gMt* *Kur*^o; *mMt* *Mur*^o; *fMt* *Muc*^o; *lMt* *Puru*-[sā]ndā; *ckMt* *Puruḍā*; *dMt* *Su[dri]rūṇḍā*; *jMt* *Sudāṇḍā*.

⁶⁶ In *nMt* *dr̥s*^o; *ejVā* *pr̥s*^o; *blMt* *vṛṣabhaiḥ*.

⁶⁷ In *cMt* *sarvair*.

⁶⁸ *Bd*, *ghklVā* *Gurundā*; *a²dfmVā* *Mur*^o; *Ca¹a²bVā* *Mar*^o; *a¹Vā* *Pur*^o: *jVā* *Munujā*;

eVā Aṣaṇḍā. Regarding these Vṣ says—
*ete pr̥thivīm trayodaśā** *varṣa-śatāni*⁺ *nava*¹-*navaty-adhikāni* *bhokṣyanti*: where * this means the 13 Gurundas, and so *lVṣ ete trayodaśā pr̥thivīm*; yet it has affected *śatāni*; but *dVṣ ete pr̥thivīm Ābhīr-ādyā Maun-āntā ek-ōn-āśtir āttā* [sic] *śodasa*: [†] *kVṣ śata-varṣāṇī*: [‡] *dhylVṣ* omit *nava*. Bh, in consequence of the misreading *bhūyo daśa* (see note²²), says 10, and applies it wrongly to the period instead of to the kings—

ete bhokṣyanti pr̥thivīm daśa varṣa-śatāni

*ca nav-ādhikāni ca navatim **:

where * *cBh* omits this half line.

⁶⁹ In *fgMt* *slaukeyanē*.

⁷⁰ In *lMt* *muru*; *jMt* *vṛṣa*.

⁷¹ In *fgMt* *samyutāḥ*; *cMt* *jātayah*; *lMt* *jantavah*.

⁷² So *AflmVā* by double sandhi for *bhāryāḥ anyāḥ*: *jVā* *bhāry-ānnā*; *gVā* ^o*ānye*; *bhVā* ^o*ārtya*; *dVā* *bhāryās te*; *kVā* *bhāryā[nye]ste*, showing influence of both readings: *eVā tath-ānye*. *Bd* *bhokṣyante*.

⁷³ In *bcgnMt*, *Ca¹Vā*, ^o*ti*.

⁷⁴ All Mt *varṣāṇy* with no name: no doubt a corruption of *Hūṇā hy* (see l. 5), and I have emended it so.

⁷⁵ In *bMt* +*ekādaśāni* *ca*; *fgMt* *āśṭādaśaiva tu*: see l. 5.

⁷⁶ So *Bd*, see l. 5: *eVā Yaunās tv*. *Vā* genly *Mlecchā*. *CVā Snechchā* by misprint.

⁷⁷ Vṣ says—*tataś ca Paurā^{*} ekādaśa bhūpatayo bda[†]-śatāni trīṇi mahīm bhokṣyanti*:

Mat.	Vā, Bd.	
tes-ūtsanneṣu ⁷⁸ kālena ⁷⁹ tataḥ Kilakilā nṛpāḥ ⁸¹ .	tac-channena ca ⁸⁰ kālena ⁷⁹ tataḥ Kolikilā vṛṣāḥ ⁸² .	15

Vā and Bd.

tataḥ Kolikilebhyāś⁸³ ca Vindhyaśaktir⁸⁴ bhavisyati
samāḥ ṣaṇ-navatim⁸⁵ jñātvā⁸⁶ pr̄thivīm tu⁸⁷ sameṣyati⁸⁸.

Dynasties of Vidiśā, &c.

Text—Mt nil; AVā 99, 366–372; Bd iii, 74, 179^b–185.

Corresp. passages—CVṣ iv, 24, 17; GBh xii, 1, 32^b, 33.

The Vāyu gives the whole, and the Brahmānda all except line 7. The Viṣṇu is concise but not clear, and the Bhāgavata has only three obscure lines: they mention no names except where stated in the notes. Among MSS *a²f¹m*Vā omit l. 7; *e*Vā l. 11; *k*Vā and *b*Bh have nothing.

There are references to the people of Vidiśā, Vediśā, in Kielhorn's 'Inscriptions of Northern India' (Epig. Ind. v, Appendix), namely, Sāñchi inscriptions, nos. 187–524 *passim*; Bharaut inscriptions, nos. 712–885 *passim*. For Vindhyaśakti see p. 45; and as regards Pravīra, a successor of Vindhyaśakti, named Pravarasena, is mentioned with his five successors, *op. cit.*, no. 622. As regards Nakhavān, king

where * hVṣ Maunā, kVṣ Pauravā; ¹hVṣ aṣṭa. Bh says—

Maunā * ekādaśa ksitīm
bhokṣyanty abda¹-śatāny aṅga¹ trīni :
where * aBh Maulā, cBh omits this half
line; ¹gBh aṣṭa; ¹hBh aṁtra, altered in
dBh by later hand to śatān pañca; fBh
omits this line.

⁷⁸ So Mt genly; bMt tñaisu chatreṣu; cdjMt tes-ūtpanneṣu; gMt tes-ūcchinneṣu; fMt teṣu cch¹: kMt teṣ-ūtsaveṣu.

⁷⁹ In bcdefgnMt kāleṣu; eVā sarveṣu.

⁸⁰ So Vā genly; dVā tñachāsanāś ca: eVā tes-ūtsanneṣu. Bd teṣu cchinneṣu.

⁸¹ So Mt, eVā: lMt Kilak^o; fgMt Kili^o: dMt Kilakalā, jmMt ¹kilau.

⁸² So Vā genly; bVā Ko[li]lākikā^o, but
Kolikilebhyāś in next line. Bd Kilakilo
nṛpāḥ. Vṣ says (hVṣ omits)—

teṣu channeṣu* Kailakilā¹ Yavanā bhū-
patayo bhavīyanti :

where * deVṣ cchinneṣu, bVṣ putreṣu, jVṣ

kṣetresu, fgkVs tes-ūcchanneneṣu, lVṣ^o utsan-
neṣu; blVṣ add ḷunaḥ, kVṣ purāḥ: ¹akVṣ
Keli^o, lVṣ Kaikilā, bVṣ Kaisilānā. Bh
says—

taiḥ samsthite * tataḥ
Kilikilāyām¹ nṛpatayo:

where * eBh ¹taiḥ, gBh ¹taṁ, fBh omits this
line: ¹apsBh Kili^o, emBh Kalik^o, lBh

Kaliṁk^o, hBh Kimlimk^o, fBh Kinkilāyām.

⁸³ So Vā: eVā Kel^o; Bd Kilak^o: kVā
Pholikolabhyāś.

⁸⁴ Vṣ agrees,—mūrdh¹-abhiṣiktas tesāṁ
Vindhyaśaktih¹: where * lVṣ a-mūrdh^o;
lVṣ Vinda^o. Bh omits.

⁸⁵ In bVā samā . yayāvati; kVā samān
parṇamatim.

⁸⁶ In eVā bhūtrā. Bd c-aiva.

⁸⁷ So dfghkmVā, Bd; bVā nu. Vā genly ca.

⁸⁸ But 2 MSS of CVā sa bhokṣyati; kVā
merely saḥ, but adds moṭāmpāmnām (for
Maunānām?) samāpti: eVā reads this half
line pr̄thivī tu gamīṣyati.

Nahapāna (see note ¹¹) is mentioned, *id.* nos. 1099, 1131-5, 1174; Purikā in nos. 782, 812, 837-9, and JRAS, 1910, p. 445. Bhogin may perhaps bear some allusion to Bhogavardhana, nos. 264, 266, 373, 572, 797. For Nahapāna see JRAS, 1910, p. 820; 1912, p. 785.

Nṛpān¹ Vaidisakāmś² cāpi³ bhavisyāmś tu⁴ nibodhata
 Śeṣasya Nāga-rājasya putraḥ para-purañ-jayah⁵
 Bhogī bhavisyate rājā⁶ nṛpo Nāga⁷-kul-ōdvalah⁸
 Sadācandras⁹ tu Candrāmśo¹⁰ dvitīyo Nakhavāmś tathā¹¹
 Dhanadharma¹² tataś cāpi caturtho¹³ Vaṅgarah¹⁴ smṛtaḥ¹⁵ 5
 Bhūtinandas¹⁶ tataś cāpi Vaidisē tu¹⁸ bhavisyati
 Śūngānām¹⁷ tu kulasyāntē¹⁸ Śiśunandir¹⁹ bhavisyati
 tasya bhrātā²⁰ yavīyāmś tu namnā Nandiyāśāḥ²¹ kila
 tasyānvaye bhavisyanti²² rājānas te trayas²³ tu vai
 dāuhitrah²⁴ Śiśuko²⁵ nāma Purikāyām²⁶ nṛpo 'bhavat²⁷ 10

¹ So Bd, a¹-s²bdeghVā and 1 MS of CVā: other Vā vṛṣān.

² Vaidisik^o in eVā; a¹Vā Vaidesik^o: gVā ca dīśak^o.

³ Bd c-dīha; eVā c-aiva.

⁴ So bdফVā, Bd, mVā crp. Vā genly ca.

⁵ So a¹a²bdeghVā, 2 MSS of CVā: other Vā svara-pur^o. Bd sura-pur^o. Vs tataḥ Purañjayah, i.e., after Vindhyaśakti: IVs tataḥ param Pur^o; abkVs °Para-pur^o; hVs Purampur^o.

⁶ In eVā °syati nrpo, a³Vā °tato.

⁷ In bdফVā Nāma.

⁸ This half line in eVā is Nāga-loka-samudbhavaḥ.

⁹ In a¹Vā putras C^o: eVā Dāmadhandras. Vs Rāmacandra; bhVs Vāma^o.

¹⁰ So Vā genly. Bd °āṁsur; jVā °āso; eVā °ābo: dVā Vāmāmśo.

¹¹ In bdফVā tataḥ; gVā tu saḥ: eVā Nakhapāna-jah (see above), which may be the true reading.

¹² In eVā Vakhampīta. Vs Dharmah; lVs Dharmavarmā.

¹³ In bghjVā °the; dVā °thāṁ or °tho.

¹⁴ Vā genly Viṁśajah; jVā viṁśah bhūmī (with excess syll.). Bd, lVs vāṁśajah: eVā, cVs Vaṅgavah: bfgjVs Vaṅgara; lVs °garā; uVs °gāra; dBh °gari; rBh °gira; Bh genly °giri; aBh °kiri: mBh (misreading v as tr) Trāngiri, eBh (Va) Tuṅgiri; cBh Bhrāngiri:

hVs Vagara; kBh Vāgiri. Vs genly Va-
 rāṅga: kVs Urddara (or Dur^o). Vaṅgara seems the most central form.

¹⁵ So Vā, Bd: eVā Bhūmi^o. Bh genly Bhūtananda (inverting him and Vaṅgara), lVs °nandi, pBh °māndā: qBh Bhṛthananda: kVs Kṛtanandi, Vs genly °nandana.

¹⁶ So Bd. Vā genly vai desē tu (bVā nu): a³Vā vāṁśe sa tu; eVā tvaśoqaiśo or vāśig^o.

¹⁷ So a¹a²a³ghlVā: eVā Śūnkā^o; bdVā Śrīngā^o. Vā genly Aṅgā^o (see p. 32, note ⁴⁷).

¹⁸ So eVā. Vā genly nakulasyāntē: CjVā nandanasy^o, which AVā adopts.

¹⁹ So eVā; akVs, Bh agree: cVs Śuṣi^o; gVs Śuṣir^o. Vs genly Suṣi^o; lVs Suṣu^o; bhVs Sukhi^o. Vā Madhu^o.

²⁰ So bhklVs, Bh, tad-bhrātā.

²¹ So Vā, Bd, Vs genly: fmVā Mandiy^o; dVs Nandriy^o; hVs Randiy^o; bVs [Ra]Nandiy^o: jVs Nandipāśāḥ. Bh Yaśonandi; hBh Yaśi^o.

²² In eVā tasyānvavāye bhavitā.

²³ In mVā tāṁ trayas; bdVā tatra yas; hVs tan-nayas.

²⁴ In bdVā dāuhitryah: CVā dohitrah, fVā dāih^o.

²⁵ So Vā; Vs agrees. Bd Śiśiko; jVs Śibhuka; kVs Śuṣika; lVs Śukra.

²⁶ So Vā genly: dVā °kāyā, eVā °kāyo.

Bd Purikāyām; gVā Ripuk^o: see above.

²⁷ In dVā bhavet.

Vindhyaśakti²⁸-sutaś cāpi Pravīro²⁹ nāma vīryavān³⁰
 bhokṣyate³¹ ca samāh sāstīm³² purīm Kāñcanakām ca vai³³
 yakṣyate³⁴ vājapeyaiś³⁵ ca samāpta-vara³⁶-dakṣinaiḥ.
 tasya putrās tu³⁷ catvāro bhavisyanti narādhipāḥ³⁸.

Dynasties of the Third Century, A.D.

Text—Mt nil; AVā 99, 373–382a; Bd iii, 74, 186–193.

Corresp. passages—CVś iv, 24, 17, 18; GBh xii, 1, 34–37b.

The Vāyu gives the whole, and the Brahmanḍa all except the last three lines. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata are condensed and not clear; but they are fuller about Viśvasphūrji, and the Bhāgavata version is placed on the right side by side with the Vāyu and Brahmanḍa version in ll. 10–14.

Among MSS *a²f^mVā* want ll. 17–19; *eVā* gives ll. 1–10, then inserts the last part of the *Early Contemporary Dynasties* (p. 23), all the Nandas, Mauryas, Śungas, Kānvāyanas and the first 12 lines of the Andhras, by reason of a large displacement, and then gives ll. 12–19 here, omitting l. 11: *kVā* and *btBh* have nothing.

Bāhlikas are mentioned in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 141; Pusyamitras, *id.* p. 55; Māhisatī (=Māhismatī), pp. 375, 497–8, 501, and JRAS, 1910, pp. 444, 867. For other geographical information my Translation of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa (Index) may be consulted.

Vindhyaśakti¹ kule² tīte³ nr̥pā vai Bāhlikās⁴ trayah⁵
 Supratiko⁶ Nabhirāś⁷ ca⁸ samā bhokṣyanti⁹ trimśatim¹⁰

²⁸ *Vimdhīś* in *gVā*; see p. 45.

²⁹ So *Vā*, *Bd*. *Vś* says *Śisuka-Pravīrau ca*; *lVś* *Śukra-Pravīraś ca*. *Bh* merely *Pravīrakah*. See p. 48.

³⁰ *Vś* adds—ete^{*} varṣa-śatam śad[†] varṣāṇi bhavisyanti: where **lVś etasmād*; [†]*lVś* *saś pañca*. *Bh* says—

ity ete vai[‡] varṣa-śatam bhavisyanty adhi-kāni sāt:

where [‡]*cBh* *ity evam te [ya]*, *arBh* *bhokṣyanty ete*, v.r. in *GBh* *yuktā ete*.

³¹ So *bdfghmVā*, *Bd*. *Vā* genly *bhokṣyanti*, *eVā* [°]*te*, which may apply to Śisuka and Pravīra; plural instead of dual, cf. next dynasties, l. 2.

³² In *bdfVā* *sāstik*.

³³ In *bdfVā* *puri*[°]; *mVā* ends *nau*: *eVā* *Pulakāmś Calakāmś ca vai*.

³⁴ So *Bd*. *CVā* [°]*ti*. *Vā* genly *yakṣyante*,

⁴ *jVā* [°]*ti*. The sing. is clearly right, but see note ⁵¹.

⁵ In *eVā* *vājimedhaiś*.

⁶ In *eVā* *saṃapte bahu-*

⁷ In *eVā* *ca*; see p. 48.

⁸ In *eVā* *su-mūrtayah*. *Vś* *tataḥ tataḥ putrāḥ trayodaśa-ava* (*lVś* =*ite*). *Bh* *teṣāṁ trayodaśa sutāḥ*.

¹ In *eVā* *Karmakānām*.

² So *Vā* genly: *fVā* *kulīnīte*; *mVā* *kulīnā-tena*. *Bd* *kulān-āmte*, Pkt for *kulānām ante*.

³ So *CeghmVā*. *Bh*, *lVś* agree: *kBh* *Vah*[°]. *Vś* genly *Bāhlikās*: *cjlBh* *Bāhlikāḥ*; *dkVś* *Vāhlikāḥ*. *AbdjVā* *Vāhnikās*; *fVā* *Vāhri*[°]; *Bd* *Vāhī*[°]; *hBh* *Vāhṇī*[°].

⁴ *Vś* agrees.

⁵ In *hVā* [°]*tāko*; *dVā* *Suprako*.

Śakyamānābhavad¹⁰ rājā Mahiśinām¹¹ mahī-patiḥ
 Puṣyamitrā¹² bhavīṣyanti Paṭumitrās¹³ trayodaśa¹⁴
 Mekalāyām¹⁵ nrpāḥ sapta¹⁶ bhavīṣyant-īha saptatim¹⁷
 Kośalāyām¹⁸ tu¹⁹ rājāno bhavīṣyanti mahābalāḥ²⁰
 Meghā iti²¹ samākhyātā²² buddhimanto nav-aiva tu
 Naiṣadhāḥ²³ pārthivāḥ sarve bhavīṣyanty ā-Manu-kṣayāt²⁴
 Nala-varṇa-prasūtās te vīryavanto mahābalāḥ²⁵

5

⁶ In bdVā *Nabhāras* (altered in d to *Nabha*^o) ; eVā *Nnaratīvās*. Bd *Gāthāras*.

⁷ So bdefghmVā, Bd. Other Vā tu.

⁸ CVā, Bd *bhokṣyati*.

⁹ So Ca¹jVā, Bd : a²⁻⁴fgmVā °iḥ ; bdhVā °iḥ (altered in d to viṁśatiḥ) : eVā viṁśatim.

¹⁰ In a¹⁻⁴Vā and 3 MSS of CVā Śakyamānāmā vai: other MSS divide it into two. For first part, fVmVā Śakyamānā, ghVā Śakyā^o, dVā Śakyā^o, bVā Śikyā^o; 3 MSS of CVā Śakyamānā ; eVā Sākṣonāmānā: Bd Śākamānā. For second part, Bd, eVā bhavad; ghlmVā and 3 MSS of CVā bhavo; bVā bhavī; fVā savo or tavo; dVā vīya. From all these variations I have adopted Śakyamānā-bhavad.

¹¹ Bd, a¹Vā and 3 MSS of CVā Māhō; IVā Mahiś^o; eVā Mahiśyānām.

¹² Vā genly, Bd Puṣpa^o; a⁴Vā Putra^o: eVā Pundramindrā.

¹³ Ca⁴Vā Paṭa^o; a³Vā Patu^o; gVā Patu^o or Padu^o; hVā Yadu^o; a¹Vā Puṭa^o; bVā Paḍa^o; fVmVā Saṭṭi^o; eVā Padumindrās. Bd saṭṭi *Srimitrās*. Others short, dVā Yāmitrās, a⁴Vā ṣaṇ m^o, jVā Sadamīs. Paṭumitrās seems the most central form.

¹⁴ In gVā tath-aiva ca. Vs says—
 tataḥ* Paṭumitrā-Paṭumitrās[†] trayodaśa[‡]:

where *bVs adds castrayah; *IVs Puṣya^o, aVs Puṣā^o; *klVs Paṭa^o, bjVs Yadu^o, hVs Pahu^o, aVs Paṭumitr-ādyās, CVs Padhumitra-Padmamitrās; *hVs sarva-varṇeṣu balavān jayo bhavīṣyati trayodaśa, as if trayodaśa belongs to the following words. Bh says—

Puṣpamitro* 'tha rājanyo Durmitro* 'syā tath-aiva ca:

where * dfBh Puṣya^o; *dBh Damitro; *ahBh 'īha.

¹⁵ In gVā Mekalāyā, bdVā Mik^o; hVā Mikalyā.

¹⁶ Vs says—Mekalās* ca sapta[†] Kośalāyām[‡] tu nav-aiva[‡] bhūpatayo bhavīṣyanti : where * dVs Mekalyās, hVs Meka[kā]lāḥ; * IVs sapt-Āndhrāḥ, hVs °Āndhra, kVs °ātra, and hklVs add tatas ca; * IVs sapta Kauśalāḥ; * IVs nava, hVs tath-aiva, hVs tayera. Bh says, agreeing with some of these readings—

eka-kālā ime bhūpāḥ* sapt-Āndhrāḥ[†] sapta Kauśalāḥ[‡]:

where * dBh bhūmeḥ; * cmBh Āmbhrāḥ, kBh Āmprā; * arsBh Koś^o, fBh Kaus^o, dBh Koś^o. Cf. eka-kālā here with the error Mekalālāḥ in hVs.

¹⁷ So eVā; Bd °syanti ca saptatih. But a¹⁻⁴bdghlVā °syant-ēti santatih; fVmVā °syanti santatih (short); CjVā °syanti ca sattamāḥ, and CVā mentions santatih.

¹⁸ So eVā; dVā Koś^o. Vs, Bh agree, see note ¹⁶. Vā genly, Bd Kom^o.

¹⁹ Ca in eVā.

²⁰ In gVā narādhipāḥ.

²¹ In hVā Medyā; eVā either; a⁴Vā Medhātithi-.

²² In eVā °khyātō.

²³ Vs says—Naiṣadhās* tu tāvanta[†] eva[‡] bhūpatayo bhavīṣyanti :

where * kVs Śaisarās; * IVs tata; * bklVs stop here: hVs omits the whole. Bh says—

Vaidūra*-patayo bhāvā Naiṣadhās[†] tata eva hi:

where * cjBh Vaidūrya, GBh Vidūra; * GBh Niṣadhās. See p. 50.

²⁴ In eVā °syanti manusyayāt.

²⁵ In gVā mahāyāsāḥ, Pkt plural.

Māgadhānām²⁶ maha-vīryo
 Viśvasphānir²⁸ bhavīsyati
 utsādya pārthivān sarvān
 so 'nyān varṇān³¹ kariṣyati
 Kaivartān³³ Pañcakāmś³⁴ c-aiva
 Pulindān brāhmaṇāṁs tathā
 sthāpayīsyati³⁷ rājāno³⁸
 nānā⁴¹-deśeṣu te janā⁴²
 Viśvasphānir⁴⁵ mahā-sattvo
 yuddhe Viṣṇu-samo bali⁴⁸
 Viśvasphānir⁵⁰ nara-patiḥ klīv-ākṛtir iv-oocyate⁵¹

Māgadhānām tu²⁷ bhavitā
 Viśvasphūrjih²⁹ puraṇ-jayah³⁰ 10
 kariṣyaty aparān³² varṇān
 Pulinda-Yadu³⁵-Madraṅkān³⁶
 prajāś c-ābrahma³⁹-bhūyiṣṭhāḥ⁴⁰
 sthāpayīsyati⁴³ durmatiḥ⁴⁴
 vīryavān kṣatram⁴⁶ utsādya⁴⁷
 Padmavatyām⁴⁹ sa vai puri

15

²⁶ In *bdfghmVā Mag°*; *eVā Magadhāyān*.²⁷ In *adbh ca*.²⁸ So *a²a³fglmVā*, Bd. Vā genly °sphānir here, but °sphānir in l. 14; *bhVā °sphīnir*; *eVā °sphāciḥ*; *jVā Viṣyaphānī*.²⁹ So Bh genly: *gBh °sphūrjih*; *rBh °sphurjih*; *ahBh °sphūrtti*; *cBh °skurtsih*; *nBh Viśva[va]spharjji*. Vs says—

Māgadhāyām* Viśvasphaṇīka-sañjño 'nyān varṇān kariṣyati :

where *acfyhjkVs Mag°.

³⁰ In *dBh paran-tapah*.³¹ Defective in *dVā*, *pārthivān sāsvarṇān*, altered to *pārthivān so va kīrṇān*.³² So *dekmpqsBh*; *GafBh aparo*: *ghjnrBh* °ti paro; *cBh °ti puro*. For Vs see note²⁹.³³ In *hVā °varttyān*; *fVā °vaittyān*.³⁴ So *Vā*; *jVā Nañc*. Bd *Madraṅkāmś*: *eVā Yapumānś* (or *Papu*).³⁵ In *cBh Yadra*; *kBh Yadru* (or *Padru*): *hBh Pulindāyaru*.³⁶ Vs says—Kaivarta-Yadu*-Pulinda-brāhmaṇān' rājye sthāpayīsyaty utsādya-ākhila-kṣatra-jātim:where *bfhVs *Yadu* or *Padu*, *gVs Yadu* or *Padu*, *dVs Paṭu*, *kVs Paṭīā*, *lVs Vaṭuḥ*, *aVs Kaṭu*, *cVs Kaḍhu*: *†CafVs brāhmaṇyān*, *bVs Pulind-ābrāhmaṇān*: **kVs uchādyośesa*.³⁷ So *eVā*. Vā genly, Bd °syanti. The sing. is required by the sense and is corroborated by Vs and Bh; the plural is prob. a mistake through misunderstanding *rājāno*.³⁸ So *Vā*, Bd: *eVā rājā tu*. Hence *rājāno* is obviously not a nomin., but the Pkt accus. plural and = *rājñāḥ* (see Pischel's

Prakrit Grammar, § 399), because Viśvasphānī had, as said above, overthrown all kings and it was he who created these miscellaneous kings. *Rājāno* should have been Sanskritized as *rājñāḥ* with some expletive for the lost syllable, but was mistaken for the nomin. and so remained unchanged.

³⁹ C-ādharma in dBh.⁴⁰ Bhūmiṣṭhā in aBh.⁴¹ Nānā wanting in *eVā*.⁴² So *bdhjVā* (altered in *d* to °janāḥ). Here *te janā* are obviously not the nomin. but the Pkt accus. plural and = *tān janān* (Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 363, 425), because they refer to the Kaivartas, &c. Not being fully understood they appear Sanskritized as *te janāḥ* in Bd; while they were mistaken for the nomin. and were Sanskritized as *te janāḥ* in *a¹-a⁴dfglmVā*. *CeVā* read *tejasā* (an attempted emendation?) which *AVā* adopts.⁴³ But *qBh °syanti*.⁴⁴ Bhūpatiḥ in *fBh*.⁴⁵ Vimvasphātiḥ in *eVā*.⁴⁶ Kṣetram in *aBh*; *dBh akṛm*.⁴⁷ But *asBh utsārya*; *fBh utpātya*.⁴⁸ Bd °sama-prabhaḥ; *fjVā °prabho*; *mVā °prabha*. After this line *dVā* inserts—

Viśvasphīti Kaivartyānām Chakāmś c-aiva Pulindakān.

⁴⁹ Padmāv° in *cBh*: see p. 53, notes^{1, 2}.⁵⁰ So Bd, *bVā*. Vā genly °sphānir; *eVā °sphātīr*.⁵¹ So *Vā* genly, Bd; *a¹Vs ih-ēcyate*; *eVā ath-ōc°*: *gVā +klīvāvikṛtiocaye*; *hVā +klī-*

utsādayitvā kṣatram tu ⁵² kṣatram anyat karisyati
devān pitṛīns ca viprāmś ca tarpayitvā sakṛt punah ⁵³
Jāhnavī-tīram āsādyā ⁵⁴ śarīram yamṣyate ⁵⁵ balī⁵⁶
sannyasya ⁵⁶ sva-śarīram tu ⁵⁷ Śakra-lokam gamiṣyati.

Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth Century.

Text—Mt nil; AVā 99, 382b–388a; Bd iii, 74, 194–200a.

Corresp. passages—CVś iv, 24, 18; GBh xii, 1, 37c–40.

The Vāyu and Brahmānda give the whole of this passage except ll. 12–15. The Viṣṇu gives the whole fully in prose. The Bhāgavata has ll. 3, 4 (condensed into one) and 12–17, and agrees closely with the Viṣṇu. Ll. 12–15 are taken from it and placed on the right, to supplement the account given by the Vāyu and Brahmānda; and they appear to be old ślokas because they agree closely with the older prose account of the Viṣṇu. Among MSS eVā has only ll. 1–6; hVā and bhBh have nothing.

As regards Naiṣadhas and Kosalas see p. 51; and for other peoples and countries my translation of the Mārkanḍeya Purāṇa may be consulted.

Nava Nākās¹ tu bhokṣyanti purīm Campāvatīm² nrpāḥ
Mathurām ca purīm ramyām Nāgā³ bhokṣyanti sapta vai⁴
anu-Gaṅgā⁵ Prayāgam ca Sāketam⁶ Magadhām⁷ tathā
etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante Gupta-varṇa-jāḥ⁸

vāttatirorācyate; bVā +klivāmratirācyate
(short); dVā kīrvāsanatir ucyate.

⁵² Uccādayitvā tat kṣatram in eVā: see note ⁵⁸.

⁵³ Satsut punah in hVā; bVā sasat^o; dVā sat^o; eVā yathākramam.

⁵⁴ But dVā Jāhnavā-tīre prāsādya.

⁵⁵ Vā genly yasyate: a³Vā nyasate; eVā nyasya vai; dVā yāsyu, altered to yasma-jveta; gVā tyakṣate: tyakṣyate is suggested in CVā but it anticipates the next line. Yamṣyate seems the best emendation.

⁵⁶ So Vā genly: bdVā sa ny^o; hVā samy^o; gVā sa y^o; eVā nikṣipya: lVā reads this half line sasya sva-śarīram rūpam.

⁵⁷ In hVā nu.

¹ So Vā. Bd Nāgās; eVā Rāndhās.

² Padmāvatīm in eVā: see l. 8. This line

and the next refer to different cities and dynasties, but Vś, reading Nāgas in both, condenses the two lines and the preceding mention of Padmavatī (p. 52, l. 14) into one statement--

nava Nāgāḥ Padmāvatyām* Kāntipuryām[†]
Mathurāyām[‡]: where * lVś Padmav^o nāma puryām, jVś Pasāṁvanyām; cVś Kātīp^o, ajkVś Kāntāp^o, bhVś Kāntyām; † hVś Medhurāyām. Bh nil.

³ But dVā Nākā; hVā Nāmā; bVā Nānā; eVā Yaunā.

⁴ In bVā sapta vi; dVā saptatim.

⁵ So a^{1–4}bdefghlmVā, Bd. CjVā °Gaṅgam.

⁶ So a³dVā, Bd. CbfghmVā °tum; a¹a²a³jVā °tu; eVā Sāketa.

⁷ In bVā Madhyagās; eVā Makhagās.

⁸ So Vā genly: eVā Gupa^o; bVā Guhya^o. Bd sapta; lVā Maṇidhānya-jāḥ. Vś says—

54 CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES OF EARLY FOURTH CENT.

Naiṣadhan⁹ Yadukāṁś¹⁰ c̄aiva Śaisītān¹¹ Kālatoyakān¹² 5
 etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante¹³ Maṇidhānya-jāh¹⁴
 Kośalāṁś¹⁵ c̄-Āndhra-Pauṇḍrāṁś¹⁶ ca Tāmraliptān sa-sāgarān¹⁷
 Campāṁ c̄aiva¹⁸ purīṁ ramyāṁ bhokṣyante¹⁹ Devarakṣitāh²⁰
 Kaliṅgā Mahiśāś c̄aiva Mahendra-nilayāś ca ye²¹
 etān janapadān sarvān pālayisyati vai Guhaḥ²² 10
 Strīraṣṭram²³ Bhokṣyakāṁś²⁴ c̄aiva bhokṣyate Kanak-āhvayah²⁵
 | Saurāṣṭr-Āvanty-Ābhīrāś²⁶ ca
 | Śūdrā²⁷ Arbuda-Mālavāḥ²⁸

snu-Gaṅgā Prayāgam Māgadhā* Guptāś^t
 ca^t bhokṣyanti:

where * hVṣ Māgadhān, kVṣ Māgadhā, jVṣ Magadhā Suhmā; ^t lVṣ Guptāṁś, aVṣ omits Guptāś ca; ^t here bVṣ adds Māgadhān, kVṣ Magadhā. Bh says—

anu-Gaṅgām ā-Prayāgam guptām* bhokṣyati^t medinīm^t:

where * fBh goptā; ^t hBh bhokṣyanti correctly; fBh vai mahīm.

⁹ Niṣadhan in Ca^djVā.

¹⁰ In dghVā Yudakāṁś or Pud^o; eVā Yadumāṁś.

¹¹ In bdVā Śaiṣjān; gVā Śaisikān; eVā Śeṣikān; hVā Śauṣītān.

¹² A Vā °topakān (misreading y as p).

¹³ Ca^jVā bhokṣyanti.

¹⁴ So Vā; mVā °ja; Bd °jān: eVā Mālādhānyagah. Vṣ similarly—

Naiṣāda*-Naimiṣika^t-Kālatoyān^t janapadān^t Maṇidhāra^{ll}-vamśā bhokṣyanti^t:

where * bhlVṣ Naiṣadha, kVṣ Śaiṣara (see p. 51, note²³); ^t hVṣ Naimika; ^t abhVṣ °yakān, lVṣ °yakā; ^t lVṣ °padā; ^t kVṣ °dhāraka, deVṣ °dhāna, lVṣ °dhānya, aVṣ °dhānaṅka, bVṣ °dhānavaka, cVṣ °dhā, hVṣ Maṇadhānyaka; ^t acfkVṣ vamśyā^o, lVṣ vamśo bhokṣyati. Bh, jVṣ omit this.

¹⁵ In fVā Kos^o; dgVā Kośalāś; bhVā Chośalāś.

¹⁶ So ClVā, Bd: a¹a²a⁴jVā Pauḍ^o; dVā Pondaś; a³Vā Pāṇḍyāś: hVā c-Ādhra-Podaś, bVā °Potāś: mVā c-Ādha-Paudrāṁś, fVā °Pauṇḍrāś: gVā c-ānupādāś.

¹⁷ In fmVā Tāma^o: dVā Tāmralipt-ānusāgarān, bhVā Tāma^o, lVā Nāma^o.

¹⁸ In bhVā [Pāṁ]Caṁpāṁ cīca; dVā Paṁcapāṁci.

¹⁹ Ca³a⁴jVā °syanti; hVā °syate.

²⁰ So a¹a²glmVā; bdVā Daiva^o. Ca³a⁴jVā Devarakṣitām, hVā Daiva^o. Vṣ similarly—

Kośal*-Audra^t-Pūṇḍraka^t-Tāmraliptān^t samudrataṭa-purīṁ ca Devarakṣito rakṣiṣyati^t:

where * hVṣ Kośalam, egVṣ Koyāl, IVṣ Kaulpa; ^t hVṣ Udra, jVṣ Ēdra, kVṣ Ôtra, IVṣ Loddhra; ^t lVṣ Pūṇdra, bōVṣ Pūḍraka, wanting only in dejVṣ; ^t acgjklVṣ Tāma^o; ^t lVṣ rakṣati. Bh nil.

²¹ In gVā tathā.

²² Vṣ similarly—

Kaliṅga*-Mahiśikat-Māhendrabhaumā^t Guhām^t bhokṣyanti:

where * bVṣ puts naṣatra before Kaliṅga; ^t defjkVṣ °saka, lVṣ °sa, hVṣ Māheya-Kaccha; ^t hVṣ °drān, lVṣ °drabhaumān correctly, jkVṣ °drabhaumām; ^t blVṣ Guhā correctly, jVṣ Guhān, hVṣ omits. Bh nil.

²³ So Ca³jVā; Bd °stra-: a¹a²a⁴bdfghlmVā Strīraṣṭam. AVā Sri by misprint.

²⁴ So bdflmVā; gVā Bhoḍhya^o; IVā Bhoṅga^o; ACjVā Bhaṅgya^o: Bd Bhoja^o.

²⁵ In jVā °āhvaya. Vṣ says—

Strīraṣṭa*-Trairāja^t-Mūṣika^t-janapadān Kanak-āhvaya^o bhokṣyanti^t:

where * alVṣ omit; ^t so CgkVṣ, but bhlVṣ, °rājya, aVṣ Tepirājya, cfVṣ omit; ^t cVṣ Mūṣivā, hVṣ Mūkhika, lVṣ Muṣita, akVṣ Mṛṣika; ^t lVṣ °devayo bhokṣyati. Bh, dejVṣ omit this.

²⁶ So Bh. Vṣ similarly—

Saurāṣṭr-Āvanti^t-Śūdrān^t Arbuda-Marubhūmi^t-viṣeyāmś ca vrāty-ādvij^t-Ābhīra^{ll}-śūdr-ādyā bhokṣyanti:

where * hVṣ Surāṣṭr-Āvaśca; ^t fVṣ Śūdra, abVṣ Śūdr-(aVṣ Śūr-)Ābhīrān, hVṣ Bhadr-Ābhīrā, kVṣ Sur-Ābhīr-Ārb^o; ^t hVṣ °bhū, bVṣ Maru, kVṣ Mevabhūmi; ^t or vrātyā dvij-, bhVṣ vrātya dvij-, aVṣ vrajñē^o, kVṣ

tulya³⁴-kālam bhaviṣyanti
sarve hy ete mahikṣitah
alpa-prasādā hy anṛtā³⁸
mahā-krodhā hy adhārmikāh.

vrāty-Ādvijā²⁹ bhaviṣyanti
śūdra-prāyā janādhipāḥ
Sindhos tatām Candrabhāgām³⁰
Kauntīm³¹ Kāśmīra-mandalam
bhokṣyanti śūdrā vrāty-ādyā³²
Mlecchāś cābrahma³³-varcasah¹⁵
tulya-kālā ime³⁵ rājan
Mleccha³⁶-prāyāś ca bhūbhṛtah³⁷
ete³⁹ 'dharm-ānṛta-parāh⁴⁰
phalgu-dās tivra-manyavah.

Evils of the Kali Age.

Text—AMt 273, 25-34; AVā 99, 388b-412; Bd iii, 74, 200b-224.

Corresp. passages—CVś iv, 24, 18-29; GBh xii, 1, 41-2, 23.

After having thus brought the dynasties down to the early part of the 4th century A.D., these Purāṇas launch out into a prophetic description of the future evils of the Kali age, and the Vāyu and Brahmanānda deal with them at great length. It is unnecessary to set out these passages, because they merely embody gloomy brahmanic forecasts, which were no doubt based on actual calamities, but which have no historic value except in so far as they may portray, more or less really, miseries which the country underwent in lawless times. But the first portion of the description appears to depict the unsettled condition of the country in the early part of the 4th century, and this alone is presented here. The references for it are—AMt 273, 25, 26^a; AVā 99, 388b-393^a; Bd. iii, 74, 200b-203; CVś iv, 24, 18, 19;

rājye 'bhiṣikt- ; || jVś Ā[ñ]bhīra, aVś Ātira.
But IVś has only Saurāstrā; dEVś nil.

²⁷ So Bh, except GcrBh Sūrā.

²⁸ In fBh Abhyuda-Pālavāh.

²⁹ Or vrātyā dvijā.

³⁰ So Bh. Vś similarly (IVś omits)—
Sindhuataṣa-Dārvikorvī*-Candrabhāgā-

Kāśmīra^t-viṣayān^t vrātyā^s Mlecch^{ll}-ādayah
śūdrā bhokṣyanti:

where * fVś Dārvikorvī, cVś °kovī, jVś °kevī,
gVś °kocanī; aVś Dārvikorvī, kVś Davī^o,
bVś Deva^o; hVś Davakorthā: ^tkVś Raśmīva:
°fjhkVś viṣayam ca, cVś viṣaya: ^tabcfjhVś
vrātya-, kVś rājyā: || bhVś Mleccha-śūdr,
kVś Mlekṣa-śūdr.

³¹ In gmrBh °t: cBh Kaute; dBh Kau-
cīm; fBh Kāmīci.

³² In eBh vrātyās te, cf Bh °ca: dBh śūdrāś
c-āntyā (one syll. short).

³³ In afraBh Mlecchā abr^o.

³⁴ So Va, Bd: IVś kalpa.

³⁵ Vś similarly—

ete ca tulya-kālāh sarve prthivyām bhū-
bhṛto bhaviṣyanti *:

where * IVś bhokṣyanti.

³⁶ Mlekṣa in cBh.

³⁷ In rBh bhūpateh.

³⁸ In dVā a-nṛpā; bVā hi nṛpāh.

³⁹ In fBh nṛpā.

⁴⁰ So Bh; so jBh, altered from dharmā
nṛpatayah: fBh dharmaparāh. Vś says—

alpa-prasādā vr̥hat-kopāḥ sarva*-kālam
anṛt-ādharma-rucayah:
where * ejVś sarve.

GBh xii, 1, 41–43. Of this account the Matsya contains only lines 1, 10; the Brahmānda omits ll. 4–6. The Vāyu contains the whole, but *fVā* omits ll. 4–6; *fjkMt* omit l. 10; *hpMt*, *kVā* have nothing. *Vṣ* has nothing corresponding to ll. 1–3.

A further description of the evils is given afterwards, see p. 57.

Bhaviṣyantīha¹ Yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ
nzaiva mūrdh-ābhīṣiktās te² bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ
yuga-dosa-durācārā³ bhaviṣyanti nṛpās tu te
strīnām bāla⁴-vadhenzaiva hatvā czaiva parasparam
bhokṣyanti Kali-śeṣe⁵ tu vasudhām pārthivās tathā⁶
udit-ōdita-vamśās⁷ tu⁸ udit-āstamitās⁹ tathā¹⁰
bhaviṣyantīha¹⁰ paryāye kālena¹¹ pr̄thivikṣitāḥ
vihinās tu¹² bhaviṣyanti dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ
tair vimiśrā janapadā¹³ Āryā Mlecchās ca¹⁴ sarvaśah¹⁵
viparyayena vartante¹⁶ kṣayam esyanti¹⁷ vai prajāḥ.

5

10

¹ In *dehjVā* °syanti ha.

² In *eVā* tu.

³ In *eVā* °dosā durātmāno.

⁴ In *Ca³Vā bāla*: *eVā strī-bāla-go-vadham krtvā, dVā °bāla-bandhanais c-aiva.* *Vṣ* similarly—

stri-bāla-go-vadha-kartārah* para-sv-
ādāna*-rucayo† 'lpa-sārāḥ:
where * *kVṣ °bālāmāradhā-rucayo*; † *hVṣ °ādātāro, kVṣ parabhyādānaka, jVṣ paras-para-dāma*; ‡ *hVṣ °śucayo*. Bh says—

stri-bāla-go-dvija-ghnāś ca para-dāra-
dhan-ādṛtāḥ*:

where * *dhlBh °āhṛtāḥ, eBh °dvṛtāḥ*.

⁵ In *eVā bhaviṣyanti Kali-śeṣam*.

⁶ In *gVā tada*.

⁷ In *eVā uditiiditi-vamśyās*. *Vṣ* says—
udit-āstamita-prāyāḥ ev-alp-āyuso mahe-
cchā aty-alpa*-dharmāś ca[†] bhaviṣyanti:
where * *efVṣ °ch-āty-alpa, hVṣ °ch-dlpa, IVṣ °chāś c-alpa*; † *jVṣ* inserts *na*. Bh says—

udit-āstamita-prāyā alpa-sattv-ālpak-
āyusāḥ

a-saṁskṛtāḥ kriyā-hinā rajasā tamas-
āvṛtāḥ.

⁸ *Ca²jlVā te*.

⁹ In *eVā uditi-dst*°.

¹⁰ In *bdljVā °syanti ha*.

¹¹ In *fVā kālam na*.

¹² In *eVā vihitās te; dVā vihatās tu*.

¹³ In *lMt samādānu*.

¹⁴ So Mt genly; *bfMt, eVā Ārya-M°; lMt varsā M°; a¹Mt Mleccha-prāyāś ca; jMt ā-Mlecchāś c-aiva.* *Vā* genly, *Bd Mlecchācārāś ca, fVā °āvārāś°, dVā °āvānāś°. CVā Snechh°* (misprint). *Vṣ* says—

tais ca vimiśrā janapadās tac-chilavartino rāj-āśraya-śuṣmiṇo Mlecchāś c-Āryāś‡ ca viparyayena vartamānāḥ prajāḥ kṣapayiṣyanti :

where * *IVṣ vimiśrātā; IVṣ chūl-ānuvart°*;

‡ *kVṣ Mlecch-ācāryāś, lVṣ °ācārāś; hVṣ omits all after Mlecchāś.* Bh says—

prajāḥ te bhakṣayiṣyanti Mlecchā rājanya-
rūpiṇāḥ
tan-nāthāḥ te janapadās tac-chil-ācāra-
vādināḥ
anyonyato rājabhiś ca kṣayam yāsyanti
pīḍitāḥ.

¹⁵ In *a¹bgjkMt sarvataḥ*.

¹⁶ In *cMt °ta; gnMt, dgVā °taḥ*: *eVā* reads this half line, *paryāyai vartamānānām*.

¹⁷ So Mt: *gMt kṣapayiṣyanti*. *Vā, Bd nāśayiṣyanti*.

Chronological and Astronomical Particulars.

Text—AMt 273, 35–52^a; AVā 99, 413–430; Bd iii, 74, 225–243.

Corresp. passages—CVś iv, 24, 30–42; GBh xii, 2, 24–34.

Concluding passages containing chronological and astronomical particulars about the Kali age are found, more or less full, in all the five Purāṇas. Here the Viṣṇu relinquishes its prose, and both it and the Bhāgavata adhere to an old śloka version (which the Viṣṇu introduces with the phrase *atr-ōcyate*), similar to the version of the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda, but containing some verses not found in those three Purāṇas. Hence it is convenient to divide this subject into three parts.

The first part contains matter which is common to those three Purāṇas, and which the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata give partially. The passages are these—AMt 273, 35–45^a; AVā 99, 413–423; Bd iii, 74, 225–236^a; CVś iv, 24, 30–33; GBh xii, 2, 24–28^a. The Vāyu and Brahmānda give the whole, the Matsya all except the first two lines, and the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata have ll. 1, 2, 4–6, 18–20, 22.

Then those three Purāṇas insert 8 or 9 lines alluding to the evils of the age, which may be omitted, and eVāyu omits most of them. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata offer instead other verses giving further particulars, and these constitute the second part, namely—CVś iv, 24, 34–39; GBh xii, 2, 28^b–32. The verses in the Bh have been slightly re-arranged to correspond to the Vś.

The Purāṇas all unite again in the old śloka version and this forms the third part. The passages are—AMt 273, 49^b–52^a; AVā 99, 428^b–430; Bd iii, 74, 241–243; CVś iv, 24, 40–42; GBh xii, 2, 33–34. All give the whole, except that the Bhāgavata omits ll. 39, 40; but as there is considerable divergence, the Mt version and that of Vā and Bd are printed side by side, and the Vś and Bh versions are given in the notes.

As regards MSS cMt omits ll. 21–23; eMt ll. 21–23, 39 (second half)–41 (first half); jMt ll. 15–17, 19; kMt ll. 6–9, 18; lMt ll. 12–15; nMt ll. 13, 14; a²Vā ll. 11–14; eVā l. 16; hVā ll. 1, 2 (first half); mVā ll. 11, 13, 15, and places 12 after 14; hpMt, kVā, and tBh have nothing.

It is no part of the scope of this edition to discuss these chronological and astronomical particulars, beyond what is noticed in the Introdn. § 25, and in the notes to the translation of this passage, *infra*.

Yadā candraś¹ ca sūryaś ca tathā² Tisya³-Brhaspati
eka-rāśau⁴ sameṣyanti⁵ tadā Kr̥ta-yugam bhavet⁶

¹ In mVā *vamśa vamśas*.

² In jVś *yathā*; bVś, fBh *yadā*.

³ Šukra in hVś.

⁴ Ca^{2–4}bfgjhvā rātre; mVā *rāvē*: hVś *etair aṁśegu*.

⁵ So eVā, Vś, Bh; lVś *sah-ēṣyanti*. Vā

genly, Bd *bhaviṣyanti*; CVś *bhariṣyanti* (misprint).

⁶ So Vā, Bd: eVā, Vś, arBh *bhaviṣyati* *tadā* (*bdefgjhvā tataḥ*) *Kṛtam*; hVś gives the line twice and ends first *kṣayam* and then *Kalih*. Bh *tadā bhavatī tat Kṛtam*.

58 CHRONOLOGICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL PARTICULARS

<p>esa⁷ vamśa⁸-kramah kṛtsnah⁹ kīrtito yo¹⁰ yathā-kramam¹¹ atītā vartamānāś ca tathāivānāgatāś¹² ca ye¹³</p> <p>Mahāpadm¹⁴-ābhisekāt tu¹⁵ yāvaj janma¹⁷ Parīkṣitāḥ evaṁ¹⁸ varṣa¹⁹-sahasram tu jñeyam²⁰ pañcāśad-uttaram²¹</p> <p>Pulomāś tu²² tathāndhrāś tu²³ Mahāpadm-āntare²⁵ punah²⁶ antaram tac²⁹ chatāny³⁰ aṣṭau śat-trimśat³¹ tu³² samāś tathā³³ tāvat³⁴ kāl-āntaram bhāvyam³⁵ Andhr-ānt-ādyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ³⁶</p>	<p>yāvat Parīkṣito¹⁶ janma yāvan Nand-ābhiseceanam⁵</p> <p>pramāṇam vai tathā vaktum²⁴ Mahāpadm-āntaram²⁷ ca yat²⁸</p>
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⁷ So Vā, Bd, bcdenMt. ACfgjklmMt evam.

⁸ In eVā eva.

⁹ So Mt, bdehvā. Vā genly kṛtsnam; eMt kṛtah praśnah, cMt kṣataḥ.

¹⁰ So Mt genly; cenMt 'yam: eVā vā. Vā, Bd vo.

¹¹ Mt mayā kramāt.

¹² So CfgjMt, Vā, Bd, Vś. Mt genly reads the whole line in the nomin. sing., and bMt the first half in locat. sing. Bh says—

ye 'titā vartamānā ye bhavishyanti ca pārthivāḥ:
but deBh ye bhavishyanti pārthivāḥ for the second half.

¹³ In fgMt tu ye. After this line Vś inserts this line—

ete vamśeṣu bhūpālāḥ kathitā muni-
sattama.

Bh inserts this line—

te ta uddeśataḥ proktā vamśiyāḥ* Soma-
Sūryayoh:

where *fBh vamśayoh, adrsBh vamśa-jāḥ.
¹⁴ This line is in Mt, Vā, Bd. So Mt. Bd Mahānand-, Vā Mahādev-, which both no doubt = Mahāpadm-; see l. 7.

¹⁵ Bd ṣek-āntam.

¹⁶ This line is in Vś, Bh. So Vś. Bh ārabhya bhavato equivalently.

¹⁷ So Mt. Vā, Bd janma yāvat.

¹⁸ So Mt, eVā: lnMt ekaṁ; kVś ete: others etad.

¹⁹ In celnMt eva; bMt eka.

²⁰ Bh śatam; jBh satam.

²¹ So Mt genly, Vā, Bd: cejMt °śat-ottaram, bMt °śato trayam: lnMt, bIVś pañca-śat-ottaram. But eVā, Vś, Bh pañcadas-ottaram.

²² This line is in Mt. So fjmMt; bcdenMt °te; gMt Pulobhāś tu; eVā also Pulomā ca. ACdklMt Paulomāś tu. The correct reading

would seem to be Pulomāt tu, referring to the last Andhra king.

²³ So ACdklM; bMt °Āndhrāś tu; fgMt tato 'ndhrāś tu; jMt tathāndhrāś tu; nMt tathā c-Āndhra; cMt tathārv-Āndhrā; eMt tathārvākāḥ. The correct reading seems to be tathāndhrāt tu.

²⁴ This line is in Vā, Bd. So a¹a²a³d⁴f⁵ghlVā, Bd; mVā °vaktu; 3 MSS of CVā °vaktam (= Pkt vuttam?); a²jVā, 3 MSS of CVā °c-ōkiam: eVā (see note ²⁹) tato vaktum; bVā yathā vaktur. Vuttam is most prob. the original Pkt word, and all these are attempts to Sanskritize it without infringing sandhi.

²⁵ In bMt -ottare.

²⁶ In jMt purah.

²⁷ So Vā, Bd -ottaram.

²⁸ In eVā yataḥ.

²⁹ So Vā, Bd °ca. Mt genly anantaram; jMt antare śat. This half line in lMt is nā[nā]ntaram pakṣatāny aṣṭau; in bMt tanamitastāṣṭanāmatyau.

³⁰ In eMt śatā.

³¹ So also nMt śadimśat (= śat-trimśat); dMt śastrō: bMt, a²bVā śad-vimśac, dVā śad-vō; hVā śatrimśac or śadrō.

³² So Mt. Vā, Bd ca.

³³ So Mt. Vā, Bd smṛtāḥ.

³⁴ So Mt. Vā, Bd etat.

³⁵ So Mt, efmVā, Bd; cMt bhāvya. Vā genly bhāvya.

³⁶ So a²-fghmVā, Bd; bdVā c-Ānō. Ca(j)Vā Andhr-āntā ye (l omits ye) praō; eVā sandhān bhāvyaḥ praō. Mt genly Āndhr-āntād ā-Parīkṣitāḥ; fgMt Andhrō, cenMt kṣatrō: bMt tāmbhrātrādāyarākṣināt, jMt athādyā dīpitās tataḥ. Mt reading is corrupt, because from Parīkṣit to the end of the Andhras comprises the two periods in

CHRONOLOGICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL PARTICULARS 59

Bhaviṣye ³⁷ te prasaṅkhyātāḥ ³⁸ purāṇa-jñaiḥ śrutarśibhiḥ ³⁹	10
saptarśayas tadā ⁴⁰ prāṁśu ⁴¹	saptarśayas tadā prāhuḥ ⁴²
pradīpten-agninā ⁴³ samāḥ ⁴⁴	Pratīpe rājñi ⁴⁵ vai śatam ⁴⁶
sapta ⁴⁷ -vīṁśati-bhāvyānām ⁴⁸	sapta-vīṁśaiḥ śatair ⁴⁹ bhāvyā ⁵⁰
Āndhrān-ānte ⁵¹ 'nvagāt ⁵² punah ⁵³	Āndhrān-ānte ⁵⁴ 'nvayāḥ ⁵⁵ punah ⁵⁶
saptarśayas tu vartante ⁵⁷	sapta-vīṁśati ⁵⁸ -paryante ⁵⁹
yatra ⁶⁰ nakṣatra-mandale	kṛtsne nakṣatra-mandale

ll. 5–8. The reckoning is from the end of the Andhras onwards into the future.

³⁷ So Mt: cMt °syai; lMt omits. Vā, Bd *bhavisiyais*; bVā *na divyais*.

³⁸ So Mt genly: celnMt °samākhyātāḥ; jMt, eVā *tat prasāṅkhyātam*. Ca'a'a'jVā, Bd *tatra saṅkhyātāḥ*; a'Vā °khyātām; bdফ়lMvā °khyānām: bMt *naṣṭa-saṅkhyā-nāḥ*.

³⁹ In lMt [su]śrū[sa]tārgibhiḥ; bMt *surarśibhiḥ*; jMt *mahaṛśibhiḥ*: ceMt *purāṇe śruti-sarpibhiḥ*.

⁴⁰ In bedefgjnMt *tathā*.

⁴¹ This line is in Mt. So ACdkmMt: eMt pāṁśru (or yā^o); cMt pāśu; nMt prāgyuh or prāpuḥ; bMt āyuh; fgMt te syuh; jMt vācyāḥ. These readings and Vā, Bd readings appear to be crp. It seems necessary to the sense of this whole passage that some lunar constellation should be meant here, and the true reading may perhaps be *Puṣye*. Pusya as the constellation in Pratīpa's time might tally with Maghā in Parīkṣit's time (see ll. 22, 24) about a century and a half later; see JRAS, 1910, p. 28.

⁴² So Vā; gVā prāhu. Bd prāptāḥ: eVā [ca] tathākhyāś ca.

⁴³ So Mt genly: dMt *pradīpen*^o; kMt *pratapten*^o; jMt *pradīptā-c-agni* vai. Mt appears to be crp.

⁴⁴ So ACImMt: cdefgknMt *samam*; bMt *samam*; jMt *sase*.

⁴⁵ So Vā genly; hVā °rojñi; eVā °rājāḥ: dVā *Pratipam rījñi*, altered to *Pratipā-rājñi*. Bd *pitrye Parīkṣite* (omitting vai).

⁴⁶ In fVā *vīṁśatam*; eVā *sāṁsthite*. All the readings of this line in Mt, Vā, and Bd are no doubt attempts to Sanskritize an old Prakrit śloka, which was obscure. Perhaps the true reading should be, having regard to the forms of letters in the old scripts—

saptarśayas tadā Puṣye Pratīpe rājñi vai
samam:

cf. *samam* in l. 19; or *śatam*, see l. 22.

⁴⁷ This line is in Mt: cMt *saptā*; bnMt *asiā*.

⁴⁸ So ACKMt: cdefgjnnMt *bhāvyena*; bMt *bhāvena*.

⁴⁹ So Vā genly, Bd: dVā °vīṁśati tair; bVā °vīṁśatair (short): eVā *saptā-vīṁśe* sate, prob. the true reading.

⁵⁰ In eVā *bhāvye*.

⁵¹ So ACmMt for first 3 syll.: dMt *Andh*^o fgMt *Adh*^o: bceM Mt *astrānām*; jkMt *astrenām*. For last syll. cefgjknMt *te*; ACbmMt *tu*; dMt *tvaṁ*. The whole is clearly *Āndhrān-ānte*, see note ⁵⁴.

⁵² In kMt 'nvagā, ceMt °gāt, nMt °gat: fMt 'ndhakāt; gMt *dhakāt*; jMt 'stakā; ACMt *yadā*; bdmMt *tataḥ*. The correct word seems to be 'nvagāt (aorist of *anugā*) or 'nugāḥ, the former meaning '(the cycle) followed on again', and the latter '(the Seven R̄sis were) following on again'. The readings are thus equivalent, but the former seems preferable, because the *v* appears to be original, and was easily misread as *dh* in the Gupta script, while *yadā* and *tataḥ* are obvious emendations.

⁵³ In jMt *sudhāḥ*.

⁵⁴ For first 3 syll. Vā, Bd *Āndhrānām*, hVā °nā; eVā *mantrānām*. For fourth syll. Vā, Bd *te*. The whole is clearly *Āndhrānānte*, which means *Āndhrān-ānte*, Pkt for *Āndhrānām ante*, as the sense shows. But mVā reads this half line *Adhā saṅkhyayā smṛtam*, which belongs partly to l. 15.

⁵⁵ So a'hVā, Bd; and dVā (altered from *tvayāḥ*); gVā 'nvayā; eVā 'nvayah. Vā genly *tvayā*.

⁵⁶ In bVā *punat*; gVā *yutāḥ*; a'Vā *śubhāḥ*.

⁵⁷ This line is in Mt. So CGVa'a'mMt; dMt °pravartante: jMt *saptarśay-ēti paryante*: a'a'bMt *sapta-vīṁśati-paryante*, ceMt °paryantaḥ, kMt °paryataḥ, fgMt °parjanyo.

⁵⁸ This line is in Vā, Bd: eVā °vīṁś-ēti or vīṁśe 'ti.

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saptarsayas tu tiṣṭhanti⁶¹ paryāyena⁶² śatam śatam⁶³
 saptarsīṇāṁ yugāṁ hy etad⁶⁴ divyayā saṅkhyayā smṛtam⁶⁵ 15
 māśā⁶⁶ divyāḥ⁶⁷ smṛtāḥ⁶⁸ śat ca⁶⁹ divy-ābdāni tu⁷⁰ sapta hi⁷¹
 tebhyaḥ⁷² pravartate kālo⁷³ divyāḥ saptarśibhis⁷⁴ tu vai⁷⁵
 saptarsīṇāṁ⁷⁶ tu⁷⁷ yau pūrvau⁷⁸ dr̄syete⁷⁹ udītau niśi⁸⁰
 taylor madhye tu nakṣatram⁸¹ dr̄syate yat⁸² samāṁ divi⁸³
 tena saptarśayo⁸⁴ yuktā jñeyā⁸⁵ vyomni śatam samāḥ⁸⁶ 20
 nakṣatrāṇāṁ ṛśināṁ ca⁸⁷ yogasya-aitan⁸⁸ nidarśanam

⁶¹ In dVā paryate; bVā payate.⁶² In bcdefgjMt kṛtsne.⁶³ In bMt bhidyanti.⁶⁴ In fMt paryāye sā.⁶⁵ In fMt śatam śatam; dMt śataḥ śatam; a¹a²a³d⁴f⁵g⁶Vā śatāc chātam; b¹Vā śatān śatam; m²Vā śatā śatam: a¹bMt śatam samāḥ.⁶⁶ So Vā; eVā hy ete; Bd tv etad; fgMt yuge hy etad, kMt °ete: bhVā sugāṁ hy etad. But bMt tu paryanta, cenMt °paryāye. Mt genly upary etat.⁶⁷ So Vā, Bd: cenMt tat smṛtam divya-saṅkhyayā: kMt smṛtam vai divya-saṅkhyayā, ACMt °sañjñayā: fgMt smṛtam divyām tu saṅkhyayā; bmMt °sañjñayā, and dMt crp.⁶⁸ So Bd. Vā genly sā sā; jVā sāṣā; mVā sāpa; hVā sayā; fVā sā[sā]ya. Mt samā; nMt samo; eMt kṣado; cMt tado. Instead of this line eVā has two other lines— ṣaṣṭir daivata-yugānāṁ c-aika saptabhir
 epi catrimśac c-ānyāni varṣāni smṛtāḥ saptarsi-
 vatsarah.⁶⁹ So Mt, Bd. Vā divyā: nMt ditās; ceMt ditvāt.⁷⁰ Vā smṛtā; bcefglnMt tathā.⁷¹ So Bd. Mt, Vā ṣaṣṭir erroneously.⁷² So ACjklMt; cnMt °ca; eMt divy-āstāni ca. Bd divy-ābdāś c-aiva. Vā divy-āhnāś c-aiva: bdmMt °dhāni tu (b, ca), fgMt °dhāniś ca.⁷³ So Bd: cdefgnMt, gVā saptati-h; other Mt, Vā genly saptabhiḥ; jVā saptāmih: bhVā saptaśanabhiḥ, where in bVā ḥabhiḥ represents tebhyaḥ in next line.⁷⁴ So Vā, Bd, bceklMt: eVā ebhyaḥ; other Mt ebhiḥ: dVā reads this half line pravartate mahān kālo.⁷⁵ In kMt pravartitaḥ, dMt pravartane°; bMt °tite kāle.⁷⁶ In cenMt saptarśitas.⁷⁷ So Mt, eVā. Vā, Bd tahi.⁷⁸ In fgMt saptā-śrṣṭam.⁷⁹ In ACdkmMt, Vṣ genly, aBh ca.⁸⁰ So CGVa⁴mMt, Bd, Vṣ, Bh, arBh pūrvau yau. Vā ye pūrvā (altered in dVā to yau pūrvau), akVṣ °pūrve: a¹⁻³bcdefglnMt, eVā yah pūrvān, kMt °pūrva, jMt °pūrve. The dual is right as there are two stars, and see next line.⁸¹ So CGVa⁴mMt hy udītau niśi; eVā hy udito°. Vṣ, Bh udītau divi; aVṣ °bhyudītau°; jkVṣ, jBh udito°; gBh udīte°. Vā, Bd uttarā-diśi.⁸² So Mt genly, Bd; fgMt °madhye 'ti°; eVā °madhye ca [tañ]°; bMt °mādhye tu rajataṁ. Bh, bVṣ tayos tu madhye nakṣatram; Vṣ °madhya-nak°; kVṣ °madhyamam kṣatram. In a²Vā tato madhye ca nakṣatram; Vā genly °madhyena ca kṣetram; bdhVā °cakṣetram (altered in d to ca nakṣatram); mVā crp.⁸³ In nMt yah; eVā, bVṣ, dfkqBh tat; ceMt sa; bMt ca.⁸⁴ Vṣ, Bh niśi.⁸⁵ Bh ten-aita ṛṣayo; aberBh ten-aiva°; fBh tena vai°.⁸⁶ So Vā, Bd; lVā °yayā. Mt genly jñeyā yuktā, jMt °muktā, bdMt °bhuktā; lMt devā yuktā. Vṣ, Bh yuktās tiṣṭhanty, aVṣ mu-ktaś°; kVṣ muktāsthityanty; fBh yuktā bhavanty.⁸⁷ In bVā śate°. Vṣ, Bh abda-śatam nrnām; hVṣ, gBh aṣṭa-ś°; kVṣ aka-ś°.⁸⁸ In eVā ca sarveśāḥ.⁸⁹ So Mt, Vā genly: bdgVā yogyasy°. Bd

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saptarṣayo Maghā-yuktāḥ⁸⁹ kāle Pārikṣite⁹⁰ śatam⁹¹
Andhr-ānte⁹² tu⁹³ catur-vimśe⁹⁴ bhaviṣyanti⁹⁵ śatam samāh⁹⁶.

<i>Viṣṇu.</i>	<i>Bhāgavata.</i>
te tu Pārikṣite kāle Maghāsv āsan ⁹⁷ dvijottama	te tvadīye dvijāḥ kāle adhunā cāśritā ⁹⁸ Maghāḥ yadā devarṣayah sapta Maghāsu vicaranti hi
tadā pravṛttaś ca ⁹⁹ Kalir dvādaś-ābda ¹ -śat-ātmakah yadāiva bhagavad-Viṣṇor amśo yāto ³ divam dvija ⁴	Viṣṇor bhagavato ² bhānuḥ Kṛṣṇ-ākhyo 'sau ⁵ divam gataḥ
Vasudeva-kul-ōdbhūtas tadāiva Kalir āgataḥ ⁶	tadāviśat Kalir lokam pāpe yad ramate janah ⁷
yāvat sa pāda-padmābhyaṁ pasparś-ēmāṁ vasundharāṁ tāvat pr̥thvī-pariṣvānge samartho nābhavat Kalih gate sanātanasy-āmśe ¹⁰	yāvat sa pāda-padmābhyaṁ sprśann āste ⁸ Ramā-patiḥ tāvat Kalir vai pr̥thivīm parākrāntum na cāśakat ⁹
Viṣṇos tatra bhuvo ¹¹ divam ¹² tatyāja s-ānujo rājyaṁ Dharma-putro Yudhiṣṭhirah	30

bhogasy[°]: hVā yogyasya tan; bMt tu yogasy=ēti; nMt reads this half line yāgasy-ēti darśayan.

⁸⁹ Bd hy ath-āyuktāḥ: fgMt mayā hy uktāḥ, dMt may-āpy[°]; eVā mayā proktāḥ.

⁹⁰ In jMt this half line is kālēna paritoṣitāḥ, kMt °tam.

⁹¹ In nMt śrutam; bMt kṣutam; fgMt same; mMt divi.

⁹² So a¹a⁴ghVā; lVā Andh[°], bVā Adhm[°], dVā Adhry[°]; eVā Andhāñ-ānte (omitting tu) in Pkt form, see note⁹⁴. Ca²jmVā, Bd Andhr-āmśe, fVā Adhr[°]. Mt genly brāhmaṇās (= saptarṣayah¹); CMt ḷnas; fgMt °nam.

⁹³ So Mt genly; jMt ca. Vā genly, Bd sa-.

⁹⁴ CbfgMt °sa; jMt, dVā °śo; nMt °śad.

⁹⁵ In fMt, dVā °yati.

⁹⁶ So Mt, Bd; fMt satam[°]; dVā sate[°]

(altered to gate[°]): jmMt, fVā sate mama,

bhMt °manā, gMt °matā: eVā śatam tadā; lVā same matā. AVā mate mama.

⁹⁷ In bVs Maghāś c-āsan; kVs +Maghā- dyāsan; ajVs crp.

⁹⁸ In qBh hy āśritā.

⁹⁹ So Vs. Bh tu.

¹ In hVs, gBh ḷṣṭa; lVs ḷtma.

² In dBh Viṣṇus tu bhagavān.

³ In abVs jāto; kVs amśa-jāto.

⁴ In kVs dvijottama.

⁵ In sBh sa: dBh Kṛṣṇo 'sau; eBh

+Kṛṣṇasyotsau apptly.

⁶ In blVs °aiv-ātr-āgataḥ Kalih.

⁷ In dBh manah.

⁸ In fBh āśid.

⁹ In fBh v-āś[°]; kqrBh c-āśakrt.

¹⁰ In deVs -ānte.

¹¹ In kVs tvayo; aVs divo.

¹² In ahVs diri.

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<i>Viṣṇu.</i>	<i>Bhāgavata.</i>
<p>viparītāni drṣṭvā ca nimittāni sa Pāñḍavah yāte Kṛṣṇe cakār-ātha so 'bhiṣekam Parikṣitah¹³ prayāsyanti yadā cāite Pūrv-Āśādhām maharṣayah tadā Nandat¹⁵ prabhṛty¹⁶ esa¹⁷ Kalir vṛddhim gamiṣyati¹⁸.</p>	<p>yadā Maghābhyo¹⁴ yāsyanti Pūrv-Āśādhām maharṣayah 35</p>

<p>yasmin Kṛṣṇo divam yātas¹⁹ tasminn eva tad-āhani²⁰ pratipannam Kali-yugam²¹ tasya saṅkhyām nibodhata²² catuh-śata²³-sahasram tu varṣāṇām²⁴ vai²⁵ smṛtam budhaiḥ²⁶ saṣṭi-varṣa²⁸-sahasrāṇi saṅkhyātam²⁹ mānuṣena tu³⁰</p>	<p>sahasrāṇām śatāṁ-īha trīṇi mānuṣa-saṅkhyayā²⁷ saṣṭim cāiva sahasrāṇi varṣāṇām tālcyate³¹ Kalih³² 40</p>
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¹³ So all Vā, but CVś. °kṣite.

¹⁴ In bBh °bhyām; dBh Maghāto.

¹⁵ In jVś °Nanda, eBh °Namītāt; dBh tadā tada: rBh tato Nandat.

¹⁶ In deVś prabhūm.

¹⁷ In bjkVś, eBh eva.

¹⁸ In cBh kariṣyati.

¹⁹ In eVā divā jāta: jMt reads—
yadā Kṛṣṇas chavi yātah śuklo Nārāyaṇas tathā.

²⁰ So Mt, eVā, Vś, Bh. Vā, Bd. tadā dine, altered in dVā to tad-āditah.

²¹ So Mt, eVā, Vś, Bh. Vā, Bd. °pannah yugah.

²² So Vā, Bd. Vś °nibodha me. Mt pramāṇām tasya me śrnu; lMt prapannam°. Bh iti prāhuḥ purā-vidaḥ; dBh iti-r-āhuḥ, see Appendix I, § ii.

²³ So Mt; jMt śatā; eMt śatī: a²Mt saṣṭi; dmMt ṣaṭ (one syll. short).

²⁴ In bMt varṇāṇi: eMt reads this half line tadā sandhyā pravartate.

²⁵ In cMt yat; fgjklMt tat; dMt tu; bMt na (for nu?).

²⁶ In jMt tathā.

²⁷ So Vā, Bd.

²⁸ So bjklnMt; a¹⁻³dmMt saṣṭir°; cfgMt saṣṭim. ACMt catvāry aṣṭa-

²⁹ In bfgnMt °khyātā; dMt °khyāte.

³⁰ In jMt tat.

³¹ So Bd, fVā; gVā tyūc°; bVā tuc°; dVā tucyāta, altered to tu smṛtaḥ; mVā rūvyate (for r-ucyate?), see Appendix I, § ii. Vā genly ucyate.

³² Instead of this and the preceding line Vā has these lines—

trīṇi lakṣāṇi varṣāṇām* dvija mānuṣa-saṅkhyayā
saṣṭim cāiva sahasrāṇi bhaviṣyatye esa vai Kalih:

where * hVś varṣāṇi; [†] lVś varṣāṇān dvija. Bh omits this statement.

³³ In gMt divya-. CVā divye.

³⁴ So a³a²cfgklmnMt: CGVa¹a²bdMt °saṅkhyā°; jMt tathā sandhy-āpav°, unless it = °sandhyā prav°.

³⁵ So Vā genly: fmVā °āṁsam hi kirtite, Bd °āṁse°; jVā °sandhyā sīhā kirtite. But glVā °sandhy-āṁsa hi kirtite, a¹a³Vā °sandhyā sā hi°, bhVā °sandhyā sā hi [tā]°: dVā for this half line (with clerical errors uncancelled) saṁvedhiś ca iti tathā saṁdhyā saṁdhy-āṁsa sahita kirtite; eVā sa-sandhy-āṁsam udāhṛtam. For this line Vā reads—

śatāni tāni divyāni sapta pañca ca saṅkhyayā*:

where * hVś divyayā; but sandhyayā appears to be the correct word since 1200

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divyam varṣa-sahasram tu
tadā sandhyā pravartate ³⁴
nihśeṣe tu ³⁶ tadā ³⁷ tasmin ³⁸ Kṛtam vai pratipatsyate ³⁹.

divine years include the two sandhyās. Bh
says—

divy-ābdānām * sahasr-ānte caturthe tu †
punah Kṛtam :
where * gkpBh ḍāḍānām ; † eBh caturthena.
** This line is in Mt, Vā, Bd, Vṣ. So Mt,
eVā. Vā, Bd °ca; dVā naihśeṣe ca. Vṣ
nihśeṣena, jVṣ °seṣanām.

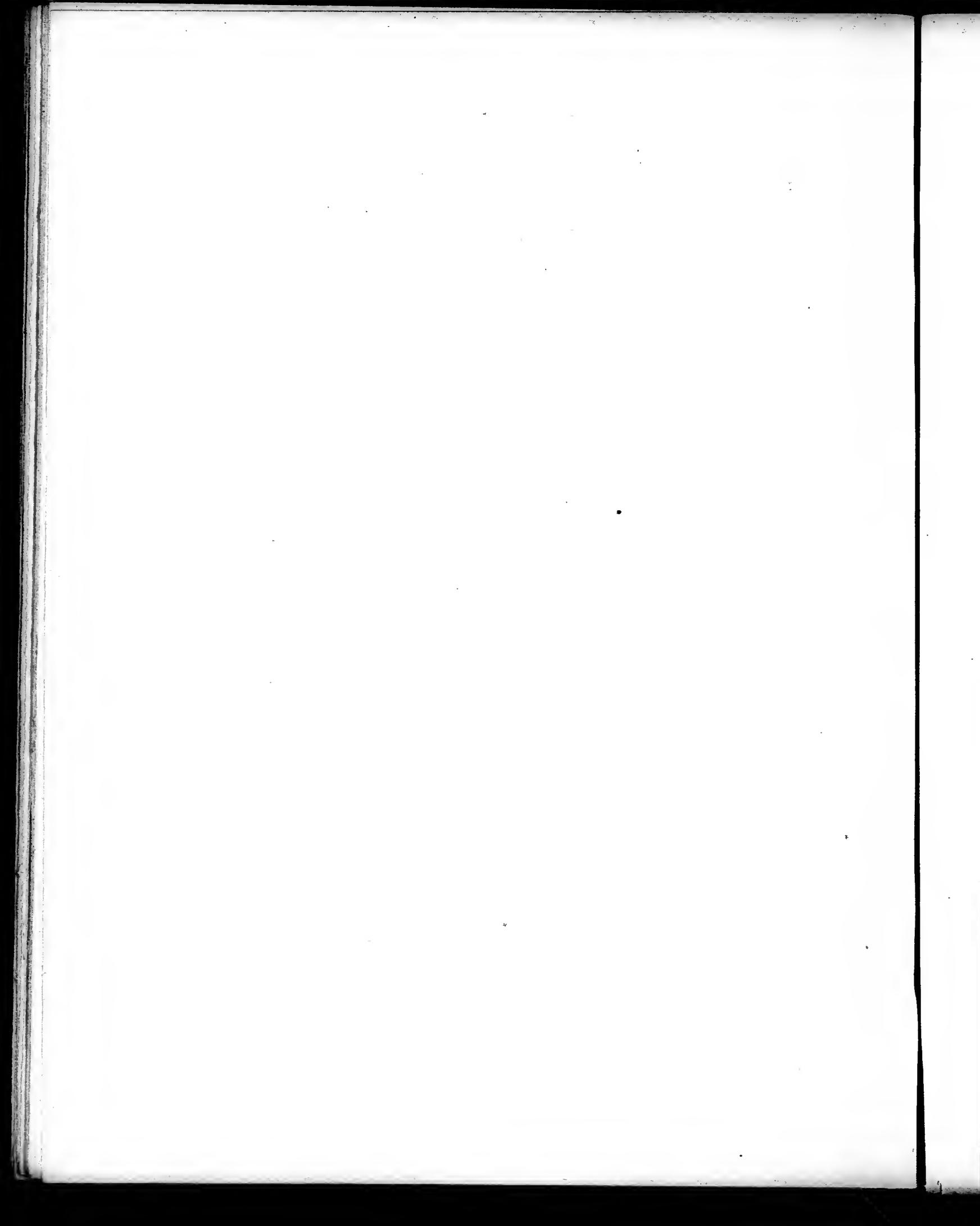
divyam ³³ varṣa-sahasram tu
tat-sandhy-āṁśam prakīrtitam ³⁵

nihśeṣe tu ³⁶ tadā ³⁷ tasmin ³⁸ Kṛtam vai pratipatsyate ³⁹.

³⁷ Vṣ tatas.

³⁸ In jMt tasya.

³⁹ So Mt, Vā, Bd. Vṣ bhaviṣyati punah
(aVṣ tadā) Kṛtam. Bh adds—
bhaviṣyati yadā * nṛṇām mana ḫma-
prakāśakam †:
where * adqrBh and v. r. in GBh tadā ; † cBh
ātm-āp°.



TRANSLATION

This translation is close to the original though not absolutely literal, and generally combines the various versions where they supplement one another. Words in italics are not expressed in the original but are supplied to complete the meaning. The notes deal only with the salient points, and for the rest reference must be made to the notes to the original text.

Preface.

Listen as I narrate all future events, as Vyāsa, unwearied in work, proclaimed to me formerly, both the future Kali age and the manvantaras also. Thus I will first declare now the kings who are to be, both those descended from Aila¹ and the Ikṣvākus and also the kings descended from Sudyumna², among whom the splendid kṣatriya stock of the families of Aila and Ikṣvāku is brought to an end. I will proclaim all those kings as mentioned in the Bhavisya Purāṇa. Moreover there will be other kings besides them, who shall arise, kṣatriyas, pāraśavas³, śūdras, and others who will be foreigners; Andhras, Śakas and Pulindas, Cūlikas and Yavanas, Kai-vartas, Ābhīras and Śavaras, and others who will be of Mlechha origin; Pauravas, Vitihotras, Vaidiśas, five⁴ Kośalas, Mekalas, Kośalas⁵, Paundras, Gaunardas, and Svasphrakas, Sunidharmas, Śakas, Nīpas and others who will be of Mleccha race. I will declare those kings according to the total of their years⁶ and by name.

Pauravas.

Abhimanyu's son by Virāṭa's daughter Uttara was Parīksit. Parīksit's son was king Janamejaya who was very righteous. From Janamejaya was born valiant Śatānika. Śatānika's son was valiant Aśvamedhadatta.

From Aśvamedhadatta was born a victorious son, righteous Adhisimakṛṣṇa⁷, who now reigns great in fame.

Adhisimakṛṣṇa's son will be king Nicakṣu⁸. When the city Hastināpura is carried away by the Ganges, Nicakṣu will abandon it and will dwell in Kauśāmbī.

¹ That is the Pauravas.

² See p. 2, note¹⁶.

³ A mixed caste said to be descended from a brahman father and śūdra mother.

⁴ This would seem to be meant for Pañcālas.

⁵ The people of Mahākosala apptly.

⁶ Or Mt, 'according to their succession'.

⁷ Or Aśimakṛṣṇa.

⁸ Or Virakṣu. Vā Nirvaktra. Bh Nemi-cakra.

He will have eight sons of great might and valour. His eldest son *will be* Uṣṇa¹; after Uṣṇa Citraratha is remembered; after Citraratha Śucidratha²; and after Śucidratha Vṛṣṇimat³; and after Vṛṣṇimat Suṣena will be a pure king. After Suṣena Sunītha⁴ will be king; after Sunītha will be Ruca⁵; after him will be Nṛeakṣus⁶. Nṛeakṣus' heir will be Sukhibala⁷; and Sukhibala's son will be king Pariplava⁸; and Pariplava's son will be king Sunaya⁹. His heir Medhāvin will be king; and Medhāvin's son will be Nṛpañjaya. Durva¹⁰ *will be* his son; and Tigmātman his son. After Tigma will be Bṛhadratha; after Bṛhadratha Vasudāna¹¹; after Vasudāna Śatānika; after him will be Udayana¹²; and after Udayana will be the warrior king Vahīnara¹³; and Vahīnara's son will be Dāṇḍapāṇi¹⁴. After Dāṇḍapāṇi Nirāmitra¹⁵; and after Nirāmitra Kṣemaka.

These 25 kings will exist born of Pūru's race. In this connexion this genealogical verse was sung by ancient brahmans—‘The race honoured by gods and rishis, from which sprang brahmans and kṣatriyas, will verily on reaching Kṣemaka reach its end in the Kali age.’ Thus has been correctly proclaimed this Paurava race, *the offspring of Pāṇḍu's wise son, high-souled Arjuna.*

Aikśvākus.

Next I will declare *the race of the high-souled Iksvākus*. Brhadbala's heir was the warrior king Bṛhatkṣaya¹⁶. His son was Urukṣaya¹⁶; after Urukṣaya was Vatsavyūha¹⁷; after Vatsavyūha Prativyoma¹⁸.

His son is Divākara¹⁹ who now rules the city Ayodhyā in Madhyadeśa.

Divākara's successor will be famous Sahadeva. Sahadeva's heir *will be* high-minded Brhadaśva²⁰; his successor will be Bhānuratha²¹; and his son will be Pratītāśva²²; and Pratītāśva's son will be Supratīka²³. His son *will be* Marudeva²⁴, and his son Sunakṣatra. After Sunakṣatra will be victorious Kinnarāśva²⁵; and Antarikṣa will be Kinnarāśva's great son. After Antarikṣa *will be* Suparna²⁶; and

¹ Mt *Bhūri*.

² Bh *Kaviratha* and *Kuv*°.

³ Or *Vṛṣṭimat*. Vā *Dhṛtimat*.

⁴ Vā *Sutīrtha*.

⁵ Vā *Rca*.

⁶ Vā *Tricakṣa*.

⁷ Vā *Sukhābala*. Bh *Sukhīnala*.

⁸ Or *Paripluta* or *Pariṣṇava*.

⁹ Mt *Sutapas*.

¹⁰ Mt *Urva*. Vā *Mṛdu*. Gr *Hari*.

¹¹ Mt *Vasudāman*. Gr *Sudānaka*. Bh *Sudāsa*.

¹² Gr *Udāna*. Bh *Durdamana*.

¹³ Or *Mahīnara*. Vā *Ahīnara*.

¹⁴ Vā *Khaṇḍapāṇi*.

¹⁵ Vā *Naramitra*. Bh *Nimi*.

¹⁶ For the variations in these names see p. 9.

¹⁷ Mt *Vatsadroha*. Bh *Vatsavṛddha*. Vā inserts a king *Vatsa* before him.

¹⁸ Vā *Prativyūha*.

¹⁹ Bh *Bhānu Divārka*.

²⁰ Mt *Dhruvāśva*.

²¹ Bh *Bhānumat*. Mt erp.

²² Mt *Pratīpāśva*. Bh *Pratīkāśva*. Gr *Pra-*
tīvya.

²³ Mt *Supratīpa*. Vā *Supratīta*. Gr *Prati-*
tītaka.

²⁴ Vā *Sahadeva*.

²⁵ Or *Kinnara*. Bh *Puskara*.

²⁶ Mt *Suṣena*. Vā *Suvarṇa*. Bh *Sutapas*.

after Suparṇa Amitrajit¹. His son will be Br̥hadbhṛāja². Dharmīn³ is remembered as his son. Dharmīn's son will be Kṛtañjaya. Kṛtañjaya's son will be wise Rañjaya⁴; and after Rañjaya will be Sañjaya, a warrior king. Sañjaya's son will be Śākyā. After Śākyā will be king Śuddhodana⁵. Śuddhodana's son will be Siddhārtha; Rāhula⁶ will be his son. After him will be Prasenajit⁷. After him will be Kṣudraka. After Kṣudraka will be Kulaka⁸. After Kulaka Suratha is remembered; and Suratha's son Sumitra will be the last king.

These Aikśvākus have been declared, who will exist in the Kali age; born in Br̥hadbala's lineage they will enhance their family, being warriors and learned, true to their word, self-restrained. These kings who were ancient have been all declared. In this connexion this genealogical verse was sung by ancient brahmans—'This race of the Ikśvākus will terminate with Sumitra; on reaching king Sumitra it will indeed reach its end in the Kali age.' Thus has been declared the kṣatriya stock descended from Manu, and that descended from Aila.

Bārhadrathas.

Next I will declare the Bārhadrathas of Magadha, who are kings in Sahadeva's lineage in Jarāsandha's race, those past, those existing and also those who will exist. I will declare them according to their prominence: listen as I speak.

When the Bhārata battle took place and Sahadeva was slain, his heir Somādhi⁹ became king in Girivraja; he reigned 58 years. In his lineage Śrutasravas was 64 years¹⁰. Ayutāyus reigned 26 years¹¹. His successor Niramitra enjoyed the earth 40 years¹² and went to heaven. Sukṣatra¹³ obtained the earth 56 years. Br̥hatkarman¹⁴ reigned 23 years.

Senājit¹⁵ is now enjoying the earth the same number of years¹⁶.

Śrutasravas will be for 40 years, great in strength, large of arm, great in mind and prowess. Vibhu will obtain the earth 28 years¹⁷; and Śuci will stand in the kingdom 58 years. King Kṣema will enjoy the earth 28 years. Valiant Suvrata¹⁸ will obtain the kingdom 64 years. Sunetra will enjoy the earth 35 years¹⁹ (or

¹ Mt calls him Sumitra also.

² Mt, Vs, Bh Br̥adhrāja. Vā Bharadvāja.

³ Mt crp.

⁴ Gr Dhanastraya. Vā apptly inserts a king Vrāta before him.

⁵ Vs Kruddhodana.

⁶ Vs Rātula. Gr Bāhula. Bh Lāṅgala. Mt Puskala.

⁷ Gr Senajit.

⁸ Vā Kṣulika. Vs Kūndaka. Gr Kudava. Bh Ranaka.

⁹ Bd, some Vs, Gr Somāpi. Vs genly Somāmi. Bh Mārjāri.

¹⁰ Vs Śrutavat. Bd, many Vā, 67 years.

¹¹ Mt Apratipin. Mt, some Vā, 36 years.

¹² Vā, Bd, 100 years.

¹³ Vā Sukṛta. Mt Surakṣa. Bh Sunakṣatra.

¹⁴ Bh Br̥atsena. Gr Bahukarmaka.

¹⁵ Bh Karmajit.

¹⁶ That is, 23 years. Mt, 50.

¹⁷ Vs, Bh Vipra. Vā, Bd merely nrpa, and say 35 years.

¹⁸ Vā genly Bhurata. Mt Anuvrata.

¹⁹ Some Mt, 25 years.

Dharmanetra¹ will be 5 full years). And Nirvṛti² will enjoy this *earth* 58 years. Trinetra will next enjoy the kingdom 28 years (*or* Suśrama's³ sovereignty will last 38 years). Dr̥dhasena will be 48 years⁴. Mahinetra⁵ will be resplendent 33 years (*or* Sumati will next obtain the kingdom 33 years). Sucala will be king 32 years⁶. King Sunetra⁷ will next enjoy the kingdom 40 years. King Satyajit will enjoy the earth 83 years⁸. And Viśvajit will obtain this earth and be 25 years⁹. Ripuñjaya¹⁰ will obtain the earth 50 years.

These 16 kings are to be known as the future Br̥hadrathas; and their kingdom will last 723 years¹¹. And these 32 kings are the future Br̥hadrathas; their kingdom will last full 1000 years indeed.

Pradyotas.

When the Br̥hadrathas, Vīthihotras and Avantis have passed away, Pulika¹² will kill his master and anoint his own son Pradyota, by force¹³ in the very sight of the kṣatriyas. He (Pradyota) will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him and be destitute of good policy¹⁴. He, an excellent man¹⁵, will be king 23 years. Pālaka will then be king 24 years¹⁶. Viśakhayūpa will be king 50 years¹⁷. Ajaka¹⁸ will have the kingdom 21 years¹⁹. His son Nandivardhana will be 20 years²⁰.

Those 5 kings after enjoying the earth 52 years perished ²¹ .	Those 5 sons, the Prādyotas, will en- dure 138 years ²² .
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Śiśunāgas.

Śiśunāga will destroy all their prestige and will be *king*. Placing his son in Benares he will make Girivraja his own abode²³. Śiśunāga will reign 40 years. His son Kākavarna will obtain the earth 36 years²⁴. Kṣemadharman will be king next 20 years²⁵. Kṣatrujas will obtain the earth 40 years²⁶. Vimbisāra will be

¹ Bh *Dharmasūtra*. Vs, Gr *Dharma*.

² Vā, Bd, merely *nṛpati*.

³ Bh *Śama*. Vā *Suvrata*.

⁴ Mt *Dyumatsena*. Vā, Bd, 58 years, cyp.

⁵ Some Mt, merely *Netra*.

⁶ Mt *Acalā*. Vs, Bh, Gr *Subala*. Vā, 22 years; Bd, 40.

⁷ Vs *Sunīta*. Bh *Sunītha*. Gr *Nūta*.

⁸ Mt, 80 years.

⁹ Vā *Virajit*, 35 years.

¹⁰ Vā, Bd *Arinjaya*. Gr *Iṣuñjaya*.

¹¹ See p. 17, note ²⁹.

¹² Vā *Muniča*. Vs *Suniča*. Bd, Bh *Śunaka*.

¹³ Or 'Pulika's offspring'. Mt has the

name *Bālaka* for Pradyota.

¹⁴ Or (some copies) 'will not act righteously'.

¹⁵ Or (some copies) 'sickly in mind'.

¹⁶ Mt, 28 years.

¹⁷ Mt, 53 years.

¹⁸ Bh *Rājaka*. Vs *Janaka*. Mt *Suryaka*.

¹⁹ Vā, 31 years.

²⁰ Vā *Vartivardhana*. Mt, 30 years.

²¹ So Mt; some copies, 152 years.

²² So Vā, Bd, Vs, Bh.

²³ So Mt. Vā, Bd seem to mean the same.

²⁴ Vā *Śakavarna*. Mt, 26 years.

²⁵ Mt, 36 years.

²⁶ Bh *Kṣetraji*. Mt *Kṣemajit*, 24 years.

king 28 years¹. Ajātaśatru will be king 25 years². Darśaka will be king 25 years³. After him Udayin⁴ will be king 33 years. That king will make as his capital on the earth Kusumapura on the south bank of the Ganges in his fourth year⁵. Nandivardhana will be king 40 years⁶. Mahānandin⁷ will be 43 years.

These will be the 10 Śaiśunāga kings⁸. The Śiśunāgas will endure 360 (or better, 163⁹) years, being kings with ksatriya kinsfolk.

Early Contemporary Dynasties.

Contemporaneous with these *oforesaid* kings there will be other kings; all these *following* kings will endure an equal time: *namely*, 24 Aiksvākus¹⁰, 27 Pañcālas¹¹, 24 kings of Kāśi, 28 Haihayas¹², 32 Kalingas, 25 Aśmakas, 36 Kurus¹³, 28 Maithilas, 23 Śurasenas, and 20 Vīthihotras. All these kings will endure the same time.

Nandas.

As son of Mahānandin by a śūdra woman will be born a king¹⁴, Mahāpadma (Nanda¹⁵), who will exterminate all ksatriyas. Thereafter kings will be of śūdra origin. Mahāpadma will be sole monarch, bringing all under his sole sway¹⁶. He will be 88 years on the earth¹⁷. He will uproot all ksatriyas¹⁸, being urged on by prospective fortune¹⁹. He will have 8 sons, of whom Sukalpa²⁰ will be the first; and they will be kings in succession to Mahāpadma for 12 years.

A brahman Kauṭilya will uproot them all; and, after they have enjoyed the earth 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas.

¹ All vary in this name. Bd 38 years. After him Mt erroneously inserts the first two Kāṇvāyana kings: see *Kāṇvāyanas, infra*.

² Mt, 27 years.

³ Bd, Vs, Bh *Darbhaka*. Mt *Vaṁśaka*, 24 years.

⁴ Vs *Udayāśva*. Mt *Udāsin*. Bh *Ajaya*.

⁵ This statement is in Vā, Bd.

⁶ Vā, 42 years.

⁷ Bd *Sahānandi*.

⁸ Many copies of Mt say 12, because of the mistake mentioned in note¹.

⁹ So Mt according to its real meaning apptly: corrupted by Bd and Bh to 360; by Vā and Vs to 362.

¹⁰ For their list, see p. 65.

¹¹ Vā, Bd, 25.

¹² Vā, Bd, 24.

¹³ For their list, see p. 64, prob.

¹⁴ Mt says apptly, he will be 'born as a portion of Kali'. Vā and Bd say, he will be 'enveloped by Fate'.

¹⁵ So Vs and Bh.

¹⁶ Vs, Bh, 'his rule will be untransgressed'.

¹⁷ Vā, Bd, 'he will protect the earth 88 (or some copies, 28) years'.

¹⁸ Vs, Bh, 'like a second Paraśu-Rāma'.

¹⁹ Vā, Bd, 'urged on by predestination', apptly.

²⁰ Or *Sahalya*. Vs *Sumātya*. Bh *Sumālyā*.

Mauryas.

Kauṭilya will anoint Candragupta as king in the realm. Candragupta will be king 24 years¹. Vindusāra will be king 25 years². Aśoka will be king 36 years. His son Kunāla will reign 8 years³.

Mt and eVā.

Kunāla's son Bandhupālita will enjoy the kingdom 8 years⁴. Their grandson Daśona will reign 7 years⁵. His son Daśaratha will be king 8 years. His son Samprati will reign 9 years. Śaliśūka will be king 13 years⁶. Devadharman will be king 7 years⁷. His son Śatadhanvan will be king 8 years⁸. Br̥hadratha will reign 70 years⁹.

These are the 10 Mauryas¹⁰ who will enjoy the earth full 137 years. After them it will go to the Śungas¹¹.

Vā genly and Bd.

Kunāla's son Bandhupālita will enjoy the kingdom 8 years. Bandhupālita's heir Indrapālita will reign 10 years.

Devavarman will be king 7 years. His son Śatadhanus will be king 8 years. Br̥hadratha will be king 7 years¹².

These 9 Mauryas will enjoy the earth full 137 years. After them will go the Śunga¹³.

Śungas.

Pusyamitra the commander-in-chief will uproot Br̥hadratha and will rule the kingdom as king 36 years¹⁴. His son Agnimitra will be king 8 years. Vasujyeṣṭha¹⁵ will be king 7 years. His son Vasumitra will be king 10 years. Then his son Andhraka¹⁶ will reign 2 years. Pulindaka will then reign 3 years. His son Ghoṣa¹⁷ will be king 3 years. Next Vajramitra will be king 9 years¹⁸. Bhāgavata¹⁹ will be king 32 years. His son Devabhūmi²⁰ will reign 10 years.

These 10 Śunga kings will enjoy this earth full 112 years. From them the earth will pass to the Kanvas.

¹ Mt wants this statement.

² Mt omits. All except Vs vary this name.

³ Mt omits. Vs, Bh mention *Suyaśas* instead.

⁴ Mt, 'his (*i.e.* Aśoka's) grandson', but the text is crp.

⁵ Mt wants this statement.

⁶ So also Vs, Bh: eVā Śatadhanus. Mt, 6 years.

⁷ Vā *Vṛhadraśva*, but *Vṛhadratha* at beginning of next dynasty.

⁸ So Mt genly; eVā, 87.

⁹ So also Vs, Bh: eVā, 9.

¹⁰ But eVā, 'after them will be the Śunga'.

¹¹ Or, 'the earth will go to the Śungas'.

¹² Vā, Bd, 60 years.

¹³ Vā, Bd, Vs, Bh *Sujyestha*.

¹⁴ Mt *Antaka*. Bd, Bl *Bhadra-ka*. Vs *Ārdraka*.

¹⁵ Vs *Ghoṣavasu*. Mt crp *Yomegha*.

¹⁶ Bd, 7 years. Vā no term.

¹⁷ Mt *Samābhāga* apptly, but text crp.

¹⁸ Vā *Kṣemabhūmi* here, but *Devabhūmi* in next dynasty.

Kānvāyanas (Śuṅgabhṛtyas).

The minister Vasudeva, forcibly overthrowing the dissolute king Devabhūmi because of his youth, will become king among the Śuṅgas¹. He, the Kānvāyana, will be king 9 years². His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years³. His son Nārāyaṇa will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign 10 years⁴.

These are remembered as the Śuṅgabhṛtya Kānvāyana kings. These 4 Kānva brahmans will enjoy the earth; for 45 years they will enjoy this earth. They will have the neighbouring kings in subjection and will be righteous. In succession to them the earth will pass to the Andhras.

Andhras.

The Andhra Simuka⁵ with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kānvāyanas and him (Suśarman), and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this earth. Simuka will be king 23 years. His younger brother Kṛṣṇa will next reign 10 years⁶. His son Śrī-Śātakarṇi will reign 10 years⁷. Then Pūrṇotsaṅga will be king 18 years⁸. Skandhastambhi will be king 18 years⁸. Śātakarṇi will reign 56 years; his son Lambodara 18 years⁸. His son Āpilaka⁹ will reign 12 years. Meghaśvāti will reign 18 years⁸. Svāti will be king 18 years¹⁰. Skandasvāti will be king 7 years⁸. Mṛgendra Svātikarna will reign 3 years⁸. Knntala Svātikarna will be king 8 years⁸. Svātivarna will be king one year⁸. Pulomāvi will reign 36 years¹¹. Ariṣṭakarṇa¹² will reign 25 years. Then Hāla will be king 5 years¹³. Mantalaka¹⁴ will be a powerful king 5 years. Purikasena will reign 21 years¹⁵. Sundara Śātakarṇi will reign one year. Cakora Śātakarṇi will reign 6 months. Śivasvāti will reign 28 years. King Gautamiputra will be king next 21 years. His son Pulomā¹⁶ will reign 28 years⁸. [Śātakarṇi will be king 29 years¹⁷.] Śivaśrī Pulomā¹⁸ will be king 7 years⁸. His son Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi will be king three¹⁹ years⁸. Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇika will reign 29 years²⁰.

¹ Mt, 'will become the Śaunga king'.

² Bd, 5 years.

³ Vā, Bd, 24 years.

⁴ Bd, 4 years.

⁵ This is the name emended. Mt Śisuka.

Vā, Bd *Sindhuka*. Vṣ *Śipraka*.

⁶ Mt, 18 years.

⁷ Vā, Bd, no number.

⁸ This sentence is not in Vā genly nor Bd.

⁹ Much variation in this name.

¹⁰ Or Āti, 12 years. Not in Vā, Bd.

¹¹ Vā, Bd, 24 years. Much variation in

this name.

¹² Much variation in this name.

¹³ Vā, Bd, one year.

¹⁴ Or *Pattalaka*. Bh *Talaka*. Vā *Saptaka*.

¹⁵ Mt *Purindrasena*, but no number.

¹⁶ Properly *Pulomāvi*.

¹⁷ A doubtful line found only in eVā.

¹⁸ Or 'after Puloma Śivaśrī'.

¹⁹ Conjectural emendation; no number mentioned.

²⁰ Vā, Bd, 19 years.

After him Vijaya will be king 6 years. His son Cañdaśrī Sātakarnī will reign 10 years¹. Another² of them Pulomāvi will reign 7 years.

These 30 Andhra kings³ will enjoy the earth 460 years⁴.

Various Local Dynasties.

When the kingdom of the Andhras has come to an end *there will be* kings belonging to the lineage of their servants: 7 Āndhras⁵, and 10 Ābhīra kings; also 7 Gardabhīns⁶, 18 Śakas⁷. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tuṣāras⁸, 13 Murundas⁹, 11 Mannas¹⁰.

The Śrīparvatīya Āndhras will endure 52 years¹¹; the 10 Ābhīra kings 67 years; the 7 Gardabhīns will enjoy the earth 72 years¹²; the 18 Śakas¹³ 183 years. The 8 Yavanas¹⁴ will enjoy this earth 87 years¹⁵. The earth is remembered as belonging to the Tuṣāras 7000 years¹⁶. The 13 future Murundas¹⁷ along with low caste men, all of Mleccha origin, will enjoy it half 400 years¹⁸. The 11 Maunas will enjoy it 103 years¹⁹. When they are overthrown by Time there will be Kilakila kings²⁰.

Then after the Kilakilas Vindhyaśakti²¹ will reign. He will enter upon the earth after it has known *those kings* 96 years²².

Dynasties of Vidiśā, &c.

Hear also the future kings of Vidiśā. Bhogin, son of the Nāga king Sesā, will be king, conqueror of his enemies' cities²³, a king who will exalt the Nāga family. Sadācandra²⁴, and Candrāṁśa who will be a second Nakhavant²⁵, then Dhanadharman²⁶,

¹ Vā, Bd *Dandaśrī*, 3 years.

² Or 'the last'.

³ Mt, 19.

⁴ Bd, 456; Vā crp, but aptly the same.

⁵ Bh and Vā *Andhra-bhṛtyas*.

⁶ Or *Gardabhilas*.

⁷ Vā, Bd, 10. Bh, Vā, 16. Bh calls them *Kaṅkas*.

⁸ Or *Tukhāras* or *Tuskaras*.

⁹ Mt, Bd, Bh *Gurundas*. Vā *Mundas* (for *Murundas*).

¹⁰ Vā genly, 18. Mt, 19 *Hūnas*.

¹¹ Or possibly 'twice 50'. Vā, Bd crp but probably 112 or 102.

¹² Mt *Gardabhilas*, but no term.

¹³ Vā and Bd no number.

¹⁴ Vā and Bd, 82.

¹⁵ Vā, Bd, 500; but prob 107 and 105 are meant respectively.

¹⁶ See note⁹.

¹⁷ That is, 200 years; Vā, Bh say 199. Vā, Bd erroneously, 350.

¹⁸ Mt *Hūnas*.

¹⁹ Vā says they were Yavanas.

²⁰ Vā says he was a Kilakila.

²¹ This seems to be the meaning; but literally, 'he after having known 96 years will enter upon the earth'. But perhaps *sameṣyati* may mean 'he will come to an end' (= *samsthāsyati*, see p. 8, note⁸), for, though *sam-i* does not have that meaning, yet *samaya* has it. The sentence would then be, 'After having known the earth 96 years he will come to his end.'

²² Vā treats the word *purañjaya* as his name.

²³ Vā *Rāmacandra*.

²⁴ Or 'Nakhapāna's offspring' in eVā.

²⁵ Vā *Dharma*.

and Vāngara¹ is remembered as the fourth. Then Bhūtinanda will reign in the Vaidiśa kingdom.

When the family of the Śungas² ends, Śiśunandi³ will reign. His younger brother was named Nandiyāśas⁴. In his lineage there will be 3 kings. His daughter's son named Śiśuka was king in Purikā.

Vindhyaśakti's valiant son, named Pravīra, will enjoy the city Kāñcanakā 60 years, and will sacrifice with vājapeya sacrifices replete with choice largesse. His 4 sons will be kings.

Dynasties of the Third Century, A.D.

When the family of the Vindhyaśakas has passed away, there will be 3 Bāhlika kings. Supratīka and Nabhiṛa⁵ will enjoy the earth 30 years. Śakyamāna⁶ was king of the Mahiśis. There will be 13 Puṣyamitras⁷ and Paṭumitras⁸. In Mekalā 7 kings⁹ will reign 70 years. In Kosalā there will be 9 very powerful and wise kings celebrated as 'Meghas'. All the kings of Niṣadha¹⁰, born in the family of Nala, valiant and very powerful, will exist till the termination of the Manus¹¹.

Of the Magadhas the king will be very valiant Viśvasphāṇi¹². Overthrowing all kings he will make other castes *kings*, namely, Kaivartas, Pañcakas¹³, Pulindas, and brahmans. He will establish those persons as kings in various countries. Viśvasphāṇi the magnificent will be mighty, Viṣṇu's peer in battle¹⁴. King Viśvasphāṇi is called eunuch-like in appearance. Overthrowing the kṣatriya caste he will create another kṣatriya caste. After gratifying the gods, the pitṛs and brahmans once and again, he will resort to the bank of the Ganges and subdue his body; after resigning his body he will go to Indra's world.

Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth Century.

Nine Nāka¹⁵ kings will enjoy the city Campāvatī; and 7 Nāgas will enjoy the charming city Mathurā. Kings born of the Gupta race will enjoy all these territories, namely, along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa, and the Magadhas. Kings born from Maṇidhānya¹⁶ will enjoy all these territories, namely, the Naiṣadhas, Yadukas, Śaiśitas¹⁷, and Kālatoyakas. The Devarakṣitas will enjoy the Kośalas, Andhras¹⁸,

¹ Bh *Vāngiri*. Vs *Varāṅga*. Vā *Vimśaja*. Bd, 'born in the race'.

² Many Vā *Āṅgas*.

³ Vs genly *Suśinandi*. Vā *Madhun*^o.

⁴ Bh *Yaśonandi*.

⁵ Bd *Gabhiṛa*.

⁶ Bd *Śaṅkamāna*.

⁷ Or *Puṣpamitras*. Bh names one of them as *Durmitra*.

⁸ Vs adds *Padmamitras*.

⁹ Bh says *Andhras*.

¹⁰ Bh calls them 'lords of Vaidūra' also.

¹¹ Or perhaps, 'as long as Manu's race'.

¹² Bh *Viśvasphāṇji*. Vs *Viśvasphāṇika*.

¹³ Bd *Madrakas*. Vs *Yadus*. Bh both.

¹⁴ Bh says his city will be Padmavatī.

¹⁵ So Vā; but Bd, Vs *Nāgas*.

¹⁶ Vs *Maṇidhāra*.

¹⁷ Or *Śaiśitas* or *Śaiśikas*. Vs *Naimiṣikas*.

¹⁸ Vs *Odras*.

and Paundras, the Tāmraliptas and coast-folk and the charming city Campā¹. Guha will protect all these territories, *namely*, the Kalingas, Mahisas, and the inhabitants of the Mahendra mountains. He who is named Kanaka will enjoy Strīrāṣṭra² and the Bhokṣyakas³. The Saurāṣṭras, Āvanyas and Ābhīras, the Sūdras⁴, Arbudas and Mālavas⁵, *there* the kings will be outcaste dvijas and non-dvijas, mostly sūdras. Sūdras, outcaste dvijas and others, and Mlecchas destitute of Vedic holiness will enjoy the Sindhu's bank, the Candrabhāgā, Kauntī⁶ and the Kāśmīra realm.

All these kings will be contemporaneous, niggards in graciousness, untruthful, very irascible and unrighteous.

Evils of the Kali Age.

There will be Yavanas here by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed, but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruption of the age. Massacring women and children⁷ and killing one another, kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali age. Kings of continual upstart races, falling as soon as they arise, will exist in succession through Fate. They will be destitute of righteousness, affection, and wealth. Mingled with them will be Ārya and Mleccha folk everywhere⁸: they prevail in turn; the population will perish.

Chronological and Astronomical Particulars.

All the Purāṇas.

When the moon and the sun and the constellation Tiṣya and Brhaspati shall come together in the same zodiacal sign, then may the Kṛta age be.

This is the entire series of genealogies which has been declared in due order—the kings who have passed away, and those who exist now, and those who are future.

Now from Mahāpadma's⁹ inauguration to Parīkṣit's birth, this *interval* is indeed known as 1050 years¹⁰. Moreover in the interval which elapsed from the last Andhra king Pulomāvi to Mahāpadma—that interval was 836 years. An equal space of time is still future; subsequent kings beginning from the end of the

¹ Vs *Samudrataṭa-purī*.

says ‘they will ravish other people's wives and riches’. Vs similarly.

² Or *Strīrājya*.

⁸ Vs adds ‘they will be audacious through royal support’.

³ Bd *Bhojakas*. Vs *Muṣikas*.

⁹ Bd *Mahānandī*. Vs, Bh *Nanda*. Vā *Mahādeva*.

⁴ Or *Sūras*.

¹⁰ Vs, Bh, 1015 years.

⁵ Vs *Marubhūmi*.

⁶ Vs *Dārvikorvī* in various forms.

⁷ Bh adds ‘cattle and brahmans’; and

CHRONOLOGICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL PARTICULARS 75

Andhras are declared *therein*. They have been enumerated in the Bhavisya Purāna by śrutarsis who knew the ancient stories.

The Great Bear¹ was situated equally with regard to the lunar constellation Puṣya² while Pratīpa³ was king. At the end of the Andhras, who will be in the 27th century afterwards, the cycle repeats itself⁴. In the circle of the lunar constellations, wherein the Great Bear revolves⁵, and which contains 27 constellations in its circumference⁶, the Great Bear remains 100 years in (*i.e.* conjoined with) each in turn. This is the Cycle of the Great Bear, and is remembered as being, according to divine reckoning, 6 divine months and 7 divine years. According to those constellations divine time proceeds by means of the Great Bear. The two front stars of the Great Bear, which are seen when risen at night⁷, the lunar constellation which is seen situated equally between them in the sky⁸, the Great Bear is to be known as conjoined with that constellation 100 years in the sky. This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar constellations and the Great Bear. The Great Bear was conjoined with the Maghās in Parīkṣit's time 100 years. It will be in (*i.e.* conjoined with) the 24th constellation⁹ 100 years at the termination of the Andhras.

Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata.

The Great Bear was in (*i.e.* conjoined with) the Maghās in Parīkṣit's time; then began the Kali age comprising 1200 divine years¹⁰. When the portion of the lord Viṣṇu, which was born in Vasudeva's family and named Kṛṣṇa, went to heaven, then the Kali age set in. As long as he touched the earth with his lotus-feet, so long the Kali age could not encompass the earth. When that portion of the eternal Viṣṇu had departed from earth to heaven, Dharmā's son Yudhiṣṭhīra with his younger brothers relinquished his kingdom. That Pāṇḍava, beholding the adverse omens when Kṛṣṇa had departed, performed Parīkṣit's inauguration. When the Great Bear will pass from the Maghās to Pūrvā Āśādha, then, starting from Nanda¹¹, this Kali age will attain its magnitude.

¹ Called the 'Seven Rishis'.

² Or 'was in (*i.e.* conjoined with) Puṣya 100 years'. These readings are emendations, see p. 59, note⁴⁶.

³ Ancestor of Parīkṣit in the seventh degree, see JRAS, 1910, p. 28.

⁴ This statement read with the preceding statements would imply that some 814 years are allowed for the interval between Pratīpa and Parīkṣit: thus Pratīpa to Parīkṣit 814 years, Parīkṣit to Mahāpadma Nanda 1050 years, Mahāpadma to the last Andhra king 836 years—total 2700 years. Thus the period from Pratīpa to the end of the Andhras comprised a complete cycle of the Great Bear, and then the cycle began again.

⁵ So Mt: explained in subsequent statements.

⁶ So Vā, Bd.

⁷ Or 'in the sky'; or 'in the northern region'.

⁸ That is, according to the commentators, 'the constellation which is situated equally on a line drawn south and north between the two front stars (the two Pointers) of the Great Bear'.

⁹ Apptly, either no. 24 in the order of reckoning the lunar constellations, or the 24th after the Maghās.

¹⁰ Including the twilights.

¹¹ That is, the Great Bear was conjoined with Pūrvā Āśādha in Mahāpadma Nanda's time.

76 CHRONOLOGICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL PARTICULARS

All the Purāṇas.

On the very day, on which Kṛṣṇa departed to heaven, the Kali age arrived. Hear its reckoning. It is remembered by the wise, as computed according to human reckoning, to be 360,000 years¹ or 1000 divine years. Then the twilight sets in. When that is completely finished, the Kṛta age will then arrive.

¹ Mt, 460,000 years.

APPENDIX I

The Account was originally in Prakrit.

Proof is offered here of the statement made in the Introduction, § 15, that the Sanskrit account as it stands in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda is a Sanskritized version of older Prakrit ūlokas, as indicated by these peculiarities: *first*, certain passages violate the ūloka metre, whereas in Prakrit form they would satisfy the metre; *secondly*, certain Prakrit forms actually occur, especially where they are required by the metre, which the corresponding Sanskrit forms would violate; *thirdly*, Sanskrit words occur at times in defiance of syntax, whereas the corresponding Prakrit forms would make the construction correct; *fourthly*, mistaken Sanskritization of names and words; *fifthly*, the copious use of expletive particles; *sixthly*, irregular sandhi. Those three Purānas will be dealt with first, and along with them such portions also of the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu as have preserved the old ūlokas uncondensed; but the main portions of these two Purānas consist almost entirely of a condensed redaction, and their character will be considered afterwards.

i. As an illustration of the first peculiarity, the Mt and Vā¹, when naming the last Paurava king, end the line thus (p. 7)—*Nirāmitrāt tu* (or *ca*) *Ksemakah*, ‘after Nirāmitra was Kṣemaka’; where the *tu* or *ca* in the fifth syllable should be short but is long by position before *kṣ*. No one composing in Skt could end a ūloka line with *Kṣemaka*, but its Pkt form *Khemaka* satisfies the metre perfectly. There can be no doubt therefore that this line was composed in Pkt originally, and that the Skt redactor restored the Pkt name to its Skt form and in so doing overlooked the fact that the change violated the metre. The fault was however noticed afterwards, because *eVā* corrects it by altering the half line to *bharitā Kṣemakas tathā* (p. 7, note ⁷¹). Precisely similar is the mistake in the line that ends with *saṁ bhoksyanti triṁśatim*², where no difficulty would occur in Pkt since *triṁśati* would drop its *r* there³.

Again the Mt reads at the end of a ūloka line, *aṣṭāvimiṁśatir Haihayāḥ*⁴, where the fifth syllable is long by position contrary to rule; and here the literary Pkt form *vīṁśati* without a termination would fit the metre. The Vā and Bd read instead *caturviṁśat* (or *-viṁśas*) *tu Haihayāḥ* and avoid the irregularity by reducing *viṁśati*

¹ The Bd has lost this line in a large lacuna.

² P. 50 (*Dynasties of the 3rd Cent.*), l. 2; the differences of reading there do not affect this point.

³ The phrase *ā-Manu-ksayāt* in the Vā and Bd at the end of a line (p. 51, l. 8) does

not militate against this view, because the *kṣ* in the middle of this expression would have been *kkh* in Pkt.

⁴ P. 23, l. 4: bMt avoids the fault by reading *aṣṭāvimiṁśati*, keeping as near to Pkt as possible.

to *vimśat* or *viṁśa* and replacing the lost syllable by a superfluous *tu*, which is the nearest approach to it. This expedient is very common as will be seen in the notes.

Next may be cited cases where a half line has a syllable too much, which would disappear in Pkt, and the significance of these cases lies in the fact that the superfluity was unnecessary since good Skt equivalents were available, if the verse had been composed directly in Skt. Thus the Bh has a śloka prophesying Viṣṇu's incarnation as Kalki thus—

dharma-trāṇāya sattvena Bhagavān avatariṣyati¹.

The second half line has a syllable too much, but the Pkt verb *otariessati* would exactly suit the metre and was no doubt the word used originally, as dBh (an old MS of 1407) shows by reading *Bhagavān vatarisyati*, where *n* and *va* are separate letters. Many two-syllabled equivalents for *bhagavān* were available to suit the metre. Again *eVā* has for the first half of a line, *sapta varṇāni Devadharma*², where *varṇāni* is obviously a misreading of *varsāṇi*, and there is a syllable too much; but the Pkt form *varsā* or *vassā* satisfies the metre. To one composing in Skt *samāk* would have avoided all difficulty. Similarly *bMt* has the first half of a line, *aśāvīmśati tathā varsā* with a syllable too much³, but the Pkt *aṭṭhāvīsaṁ* would rectify the metre; whereas one composing in Skt could have written simply *aśāvīmśati-varṣāṇi*, which is indeed the general reading of the Mt now. This instance may give us an insight into the process of Sanskritization, if, as the *bMt* reading suggests, the original Pkt was *aṭṭhāvīsaṁ tathā vassā*.

ii. Actual Pkt forms occur rather often. First may be cited the Vā and Bd line⁴—

sthāpayisyati rājāno nānā-deśeṣu te janā:

where *rājāno* and *te janā* are Pkt accusatives after the verb. They were misunderstood as nominatives, and the verb was altered to the plural in all copies of the Vā except *eVā*, and in the Bd. Similarly the Bh introduces the Bāhradratha dynasty with the old line⁵—

atha Māgadha-rājāno bhavitāro vadāmi te.

Here *rājāno* and *bhavitāro* are accusatives, hence the line is not Skt but is actually good Pali. BrBh correct the faults by altering *bhavitāro* to *bhāvino ye*. Again the Mt has a half line *prasahya hy avanīm nr̥pah* in many copies, and *prasahya vyasanī nr̥pam* in some copies, while the corresponding reading of the Vā and Bd is *bālyād vyasaninām nr̥pam*⁶. The Mt reading should evidently be *prasahya vyasanīm nr̥pam*, and points to a Pkt original something like *pasajjha* (or *pasayha*) *vasanīm napam*; but this when Sanskritized became *prasahya vyasaninām nr̥pam* with a syllable too much, and so was adjusted in two ways, (1) the half-Pkt form *vyasanīm* was used as an accus. in many copies and became corrupted to *hy avanīm*; or (2) the half line was emended to *prasahya vyasanātūram* in some copies. The Vā and Bd may have substituted *bālyād* (or *balād*?) for *prasahya* to rectify the metre.

Next may be cited a number of actual Pkt or half-Pkt words. All such forms cannot be deemed original, because the copyists, who were not always sufficiently literate, did write Pkt forms sometimes instead of Skt forms, but such deviations are

¹ Bh xii, 2, 16; omitted from p. 57.

² P. 29, l. 11, and note^{ss}.

³ P. 19, note²⁸.

⁴ P. 52, l. 13 and notes.

⁵ P. 14, note¹.

⁶ P. 33, note².

⁷ This would be the correct accus. in Pkt, see Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 405.

trivial and obvious mistakes¹. It is different however when the Pkt forms violate grammar or sandhi, or suit the metre, and such are these—*uccādayitvā* (p. 53, note ⁵²), *mahāyaśāḥ* as a nomin. plural² (p. 51, note ²⁵) and *varṣā* (see p. 78). There are also instances of the Pkt genit. plural in *āṇī* (p. 35, note ⁴¹), and of its blending with *ante* into *ān-ānte*, namely *kulāñānte* (p. 50, note ²) and *Andhrāñānte* (p. 59, notes ^{51, 54}; p. 61, note ⁹²). Other words appear to be Pkt survivals and not copyists' errors, such as *atītrīṁśat* (p. 19, note ⁴¹), *athōchādyā* (p. 34, note ³), *teśucchannēsu* (p. 48, note ³²), *samā* for *samās* before *tasmāt* in Vā genly (p. 34, note ¹⁸), and *Aśakāḥ* in Vā and Bd (p. 24, note ¹⁵). In an old verse tBh has *papannān uharisyati* (p. 26, note ³⁶), which seems more than a mere clerical error. Mistakes precisely like these are found in Buddhist Skt.

The Bhāgavata has an old verse—

yasmai Kṛṣṇo divam yātas tasminn eva tadāhani
pratipannām Kaliyugam iti prāhuh purāvidah.

The Mt, Vā, Bd, and Vś all have this verse, but read the last half line *tasya sainkhyām nibodhata* or in equivalent words³. The Bh reading appears to be the oldest version, because its verse is complete in itself and is obviously an old saying, whereas the last half line in the other authorities was evidently substituted to connect this statement with the following verse when this collective account was drawn up: the reverse is hardly credible. Further, one old Bh MS (*d*Bh, dated 1407) reads *iti-r-āhuh purāvidah*, and this with its euphonic Pkt *r* is no doubt the original form, which in the process of Sanskritization was amended to *iti prāhuh* as in all the other Bh copies; here also the reverse is hardly credible. *Iti-r-āhuh* is the Pkt *iti-r-āhu*⁴. There are one or two other instances of an *r* inserted, which seems to be euphonic⁵; and it may possibly be that the final *r* in the nominatives of numerals is sometimes as much a euphonic Pkt *r* as a Skt *r* by sandhi⁶.

Similarly no doubt are to be explained the Bd reading of p. 62, l. 40 and the Vā readings in note ³¹ thereto. The reading in literary Pkt would have been something like *vassāna uccate Kali* or rather *vassāna-r-uccate Kali*. Turned into Skt, *varṣāñām ucyate Kalih* was good and sufficient, yet notwithstanding, the desire for an expedient to prevent the hiatus persisted in the Sanskritization, for mVā has preserved the euphonic *r*, and *bdfgVā* inserted *tu* instead. These were no doubt the original forms of the Sanskritizations, but it was perceived that no such expedient was wanted, hence most copies of the Vā dropped it. The reverse is not credible.

Most common is the use of numerals with the Pkt freedom from case-terminations, as well as only half Sanskritized, such as—*aṣṭāśiti* and *aṣṭāśiti*⁷, and *viṁśati* often both in the text and in the notes. Some of these instances might be due to the carelessness of copyists in omitting visarga or anusvāra, but that does not account for all such peculiarities, since they are found in carefully written MSS and are sometimes obligatory for the sake of the metre. Thus the Vā and Bd read as the last half line of a śloka, *aṣṭāviṁśati Maithilāḥ*⁸, and this was no doubt the

¹ E.g. see p. 2, note ¹⁶; p. 43, note ²⁷: and these are found even in Bh MSS, see p. 46, note ²⁷.

² This is possible only in Pkt and does actually occur, see Pischel, *op. cit.* § 409.

³ P. 62, ll. 37, 38 and notes.

⁴ See Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 353, 518.

⁵ See *hatva-r* in p. 38, note ².

⁶ As in p. 43, l. 36, where the accusative would be proper.

⁷ P. 25, l. 5 and note ¹⁷.

⁸ P. 24, l. 6.

original reading because *fgMt* have it also; but the Mt has generally altered *viṁsatī* to *viṁśās* (or *'sat* or *'śa*) *tu*. The Skt form *viṁsatir* would violate the metre, and the Mt has avoided the difficulty of Sanskritization by substituting *tu* for the final syllable. This is the converse of the first irregularity noticed above (p. 78), and many similar instances of *tu* substituted for a final *ti* will be found in the notes.

iii. Of the third class of peculiarities the following are instances. As the last half line of a śloka the Vā and Bd have in one place *varṣāṇi bhavitā trayah*¹, and in another *tasya putrah samās trayah*²; and the Mt has in another place *bhavisyati samās trayah*³. In all these passages grammatical concord is violated, because (1) these are accus. expressions denoting duration of time, and (2) *varṣāṇi* is neuter, *samās* feminine, and *trayah* masculine and nomin.; but, if the Pkt *tao* be substituted for *trayah*, concord is established, because *tao* is both nomin. and accus. in all three genders⁴, and the metre also is satisfied. Such expressions could not have been composed in Skt originally. There can be no doubt that they were originally in Pkt and that, when the verses were Sanskritized, the exigencies of metre induced the redactor to convert *tao* into *trayah*, because the correct equivalents *trīṇi* and *tisrah* would not suit the metre⁵.

The same fault occurs in places where metre was not at stake. Thus all three Purāṇas read *catvāriṁśat trayas caiva* as the first half of a line⁶, where *samās* or *varṣāṇi* is implied and *trayas* is wrong as regards both gender and case. CVā attempts to rectify the discord by reading *trayam*. Similarly in another passage the Mt has *samās trīṇi eraṁ*, while the Vā and Bd read *samās tisra era*⁷. It is impossible to suppose that these wrong expressions were composed originally in Skt, and they are intelligible as perfunctory Sanskritizations of Pkt expressions containing the numeral *tao*, or *tiṇi* which also is of all three genders⁸. Similarly we find the phrase *sāṣṭy-uttara-sata-trayam* used with *varṣāṇi* in the Bd and with *samāh* in the Bh⁹. Other instances are *saptasāṣṭis tu varṣāṇi*¹⁰, and *aṣṭāṣṭis tu varṣāṇi*¹¹, where the case is wrong; *ye cānye Mleccha-jātayah*¹² which eVā has corrected to *yās cānyā*; and perhaps *divyābdāni*¹³ where the correct *divyābdas* was as easy as in the Bd.

iv. Some forms of names look strange as Skt but are readily intelligible if they are mistaken Sanskritizations of Pkt forms. Thus the name *Śiśunāga* as found in the Bd, Vs, and Bh appears as *Śiśunāka* in the Mt and Vā¹⁴. *Śiśunāga* as Pkt might naturally be Sanskritized as *Śiśunāka*, because a Pkt *g* often represents a Skt *k*: otherwise it is difficult to see how the form *Śiśunāka* could have arisen. Similarly eVā has *Sūṅka* and *Sāṅka* for *Sūṅga*¹⁵; *eka-kṣatram* appears instead of *eka-cchattro*, and *eka-kṣatrām* instead of *eka-cchattrām*¹⁶.

¹ P. 32, l. 8. The Mt reads correctly *trīṇi varṣāṇi*.

² P. 43, l. 32. The Mt reads differently, *samā dasa*.

³ P. 40, l. 15. The Vā and Bd omit this, except eVā which alters it to *samā-trayam*.

⁴ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 438.

⁵ Unless he recast the line, which was obviously not attempted, except by Mt in the first instance, see note¹.

⁶ P. 22, l. 14 and notes.

⁷ P. 32, l. 7; but *dfgjmMt* alter it to *tiero rai*.

⁸ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 438.

⁹ P. 22, note⁴⁶.

¹⁰ P. 46, l. 7.

¹¹ P. 25, note¹⁷.

¹² P. 3, l. 11 and note³⁷.

¹³ P. 60, l. 16 and note⁷⁰.

¹⁴ P. 21, ll. 1, 3; p. 22, ll. 15, 17; and notes thereto.

¹⁵ P. 30, note⁵⁰; p. 32, note⁴⁷; p. 49, note¹⁷.

¹⁶ P. 25, l. 4 and notes^{14, 15}.

In this class may be mentioned certain incorrect forms: thus the Vā generally reads *caturas* instead of *catvāras* in p. 34, l. 7 (note²⁰), where the Pkt *caüro* may have been used as a nomin. though it is strictly accus.¹ So the Mt generally has *catvārimśad* instead of *catvāraś ca* (or *tu*), which would be an intelligible mistake if the Pkt was *cattāri ca*, for *cattāri* though neuter was often used as masculine². The plural verb *bhokṣyanti* instead of the dual in p. 50 (*Dynasties of the 3rd Cent.*), l. 2, would be correct in Pkt but not in Skt.

Vernacular names had to be Sanskritized and so developed strange forms; compare for instance *Simuka* in p. 38, note¹⁷, and other Andhra names.

Attention may also be drawn to p. 59, l. 11, where all the divergent readings are obviously attempts to Sanskritize one and the same original Pkt statement that was puzzling.

v. The fifth class of peculiarities is a very noticeable feature of these texts, namely, the copious use of particles as mere expletives, such as *tu*, *hi*, *ca*, *vai*, &c., and especially *tu*. The lines in which two such particles occur are too numerous to be mentioned, but three and even four are sometimes found in a single line, and the following lines are cited as most illustrative:—

bhavitā cāpi Suṣyesthah sapta varsāni vai tataḥ³
Svātiś ca bhavitā rājā samāś tv aṣṭādaśaiva tu⁴
Śivāśir vai Pulomā tu saptāiva bhavitā nrpah⁵
sapta Gardabbinaś cāpi tato 'tha daśa vai Sakāh⁶
trayodaśa Murundāś ca Maunā hy ekādaśaiva tu⁷
saptasatś tu varsāni daś-Ābhīrāś tathaiva ca⁸
śatāni trīṇy asitīm ca Śakā hy aṣṭādaśaiva tu⁹
Pulomāś tu tath-Āndhrāś tu Mahāpadmāntare punah¹⁰.

One cannot imagine that these verses were composed originally either in Skt or in Pkt with so many expletives, when the authors could easily have improved their verses by employing appropriate words denoting 'reign' or 'exist' or 'relationship'. No one composing in Skt would mar his verse and proclaim his literary poverty by such shifts; but these blemishes are readily intelligible, if the verses were originally in Pkt as chronicles of the past and were converted into Skt prophecies. Future tenses are longer than past tenses, and if they could not be fitted into the place of the past tenses, it would have been natural to substitute expletives. Thus it may be conjectured that the second, fifth, sixth, and seventh lines ended originally with a past verb corresponding to *abhat* or *abharan*. Again, Pkt forms are sometimes longer than their Skt equivalents, and the substitution of the latter would have been compensated for by adding an expletive; thus in the third line *Śivāśir* *vai* no doubt stands for the Pkt *Śivasiri*, and in the eighth line *Pulomāś tu tath-Āndhrāś tu* probably mean the ablat. case and stood originally something like *Pulomādo tath-Āndhrādo*, or *Pulomamhā tath-Āndhramhā*.

It has been noticed above (pp. 78, 80) that the particle *tu* is used sometimes to compensate for the loss of the final syllable of *vinśati* and *trīṁśati*. When the full forms of these words vitiated the metre, they were reduced sometimes to *vinśat*

¹ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 439.

² P. 35, note²¹. Pischel, § 439.

³ P. 31, l. 4, Vā and Bd.

⁴ P. 40, l. 13, Mt.

⁵ P. 42, l. 29, Mt and eVā.

⁶ P. 45, note¹², Vā and Bd.

⁷ P. 46, l. 5, Vā and Bd.

⁸ P. 46, l. 7, Mt.

⁹ P. 46, l. 9, Mt.

¹⁰ P. 58, l. 7, Mt.

or *rimśa*, and *trimśat* or *trimśa* and the lost syllable was replaced by an expletive *tu*. This expedient is very common and many instances of it will be found in the notes. Indeed it is hardly too much to say that the occurrence of *tu* throughout the account, if not required by euphony (see next para.), almost certainly indicates a lost syllable, and in many cases *tu* in the Mt and eVā has been altered to *ca* in the Vā and Bd as an improvement. Other instances of compensatory expletives may be surmised in the notes, such as these—*Suseṇaś c-Āntariksāc ca* (p. 10, l. 13) is hardly explainable unless the second *ca* has replaced the lost syllable of the Pkt ablative; and *Dharminah sa* (p. 11, l. 15) no doubt stands instead of the Pkt genitive *Dharminassa*.

The use of expletives was however carried beyond necessary requirements, and they are often inserted merely to prevent two vowels from coming together, as *tv* in the second of the above-cited lines, and *hy* in the fifth and seventh lines. Skt sandhi did not require this device, but it is intelligible in Pkt. This superfluity is found in the Bh also, where it has not condensed the older ślokas, as in *śudra-prāyāś tv adhārmikāḥ* (p. 25, l. 3).

vi. The instances of irregular sandhi may be divided into two classes; *first*, those in which the form it takes resembles Pkt sandhi and is unnecessary, because regular Skt sandhi would have been proper and sufficient; and *secondly*, those in which it consists of double sandhi in order to contract the words for the metre.

Of the first class may be cited *varsāni 'kārayat* instead of *varsāny akārayat* (p. 15, note ²⁹); *trīni 'śitiś* for *trīny aśitiś* (p. 46, note ⁴⁸); *Daśarathāṣṭau* instead of *Daśaratho ṣṭau* (p. 28, note ⁵); and *Agnimitrāṣṭau* for *Agnimitro ṣṭau* (p. 31, note ¹⁰). Such sandhi can be explained through Pkt, and it is difficult to understand how any one composing in Skt could have adopted it; nor is it probable as a copyist's error.

The second class is commoner, and we find—*bhavisyāṣṭau* for *bhavisyāḥ aṣṭau* (p. 5, l. 10); *bhavisyōdayanas* for *bhavisyāḥ Udayanas* (p. 7, l. 23); *Yavanāṣṭau* for *Yavanāḥ aṣṭau* (p. 45, l. 4; p. 47, l. 10); and *bhāvyānyāḥ* for *bhāvyāḥ anyāḥ* (p. 47, l. 13). Here ordinary sandhi would have given a superfluous syllable, and the double sandhi rectifies the metre; but the significance of it is that it was easily avoidable in Skt, because the first two phrases might have been written *bhāvino ṣṭau* and *bhāvit-Ödayanas*. The simplest explanation seems to be, that the conversion of the Pkt past tense into the Skt future was made perfunctorily, and overloaded the verse with a superfluous syllable which was adjusted by the double sandhi. The third phrase would have been *Yonā aṭṭha* in Pkt, and the Sanskritization of *Yonā* into *Yavanāḥ* produced the difficulty of the extra syllable. Attempts at improvement were made; see p. 45, note ¹⁶. There are many similar instances, such as *tatōtsādya* and *tatōtpātya* (p. 34, notes ^{3, 5}); *atōddhṛtya* and *tatōdhrtya* (p. 38, note ⁴).

Crasis of this kind is ordinarily explained as *ārsa-sandhi*, but this explanation is manifestly untenable here ¹. All these irregularities are readily intelligible on the two suppositions, that Pkt words were converted into their Skt equivalents, and that past tenses were changed to futures, with the metrical difficulties that naturally ensued.

vii. All these peculiarities are found in the Mt, Vā, and Bd throughout, and show that their version must have been composed originally in Pkt ślokas and that the ślokas were Sanskritized for incorporation in the Bhaviṣya, from which the Mt

¹ In the Purāṇas what is called *ārsa-sandhi* is really Prakrit sandhi; see p. 20, note ².

and Vā confessedly, and the Bd impliedly, borrowed their accounts (see Introdn. § 7). The Prakritisms which have been cited are not mere casual variations, for such might be due to the ignorance or carelessness of copyists, but have an important *raison d'être* in the verse in many cases. The same conclusion holds good for the Vs and Bh in the passages where they have preserved the old śloka form.

viii. The main part of the Viṣṇu account is in prose and, not being affected by the exigencies of metre, runs in ordinary Skt, and displays no verbal peculiarities. It contains the same matter found in the Vā and Bd but in a condensed shape, and closes its account where they end, so that it must have been composed directly in Skt from them or their original, the revised version in the Bhavisya, for it is not probable that its account was a new and independent compilation, when the compilations in those Purāṇas were available. A difference may be noticed in its account to this extent that the dynastic matter is generally narrated in curt sentences, often without regard for sandhi¹, and that the subsequent matter of the evils of the Kali age is in ordinary good prose Skt with a predilection for compound phrases. Hence it would seem that the dynastic portion was an earlier and somewhat crude condensation, and that the latter portion was an addition made with regard to the canons of good prose.

ix. The Bhāgavata account, which is mainly a condensation, is evidently a later redaction. Peculiarities of the kinds noticed above do not appear therein, but it is in good Sanskrit, and phrases occur in it which indicate that it must have been composed directly in Skt. Two are especially significant. A śloka line ends with the words *ekādaśa kṣitīm* (p. 48, note²⁷), where the *śa* is long by position before *kṣ* as it should be, but would not have been long in Pkt in which *kṣ* would have become *kh*; so that this line must have been composed in Skt and not in Pkt. Similarly another line ends *iti śrūtāḥ* (p. 32, note⁴⁵), where the second *i* is long by position in Skt but would not have been so in Pkt.

x. The Garuḍa has no Prakritisms except in some of the names, and these are too uncertain a basis on which to argue, for those Prakritisms might be original or might be due to the carelessness of copyists, yet one name certainly seems somewhat suggestive². All that is clear is that its account is the last and concisest redaction, that it was probably composed afresh in Skt, and that it makes frequent use of the termination *ka* for the sake of the metre. Its treatment of the name *Adhisīmakrṣṇa* suggests that it was composed from a bare list of kings, for it divides the name into two, *Adhisīma + ka* (ending one line) and *Kṛṣṇa* (beginning the next line)³—which seems inexplicable unless it had only a prose list and chopped the names up into groups for each line.

¹ As in p. 18, note⁷; p. 30, note⁴⁶; and in these curt sentences *tasyāpi Aśokavardhanāḥ, tatas ca Arīṣṭakarmā*, and *tasmāt Yajñāśrīḥ*.

² *Dṛḍhasenaka* appears as *Daṭhasenaka* in

abGr, which may be a faulty Sanskritization of the Pkt *Dṛḍhasena + ka*, though it might also be the form of that name in one kind of Pkt; see p. 16, note⁷⁸.

³ See p. 4, note¹⁰.

APPENDIX II

The Oldest Scripts used in the Account.

Mistakes are found in the MSS, which can, it seems, be only explained satisfactorily by supposing that they arose out of misreadings of the ancient scripts (see Introdn. § 26). Some mistakes are obviously mere clerical blunders, but others cannot be accounted for naturally in that way. Kharoṣṭhī being the oldest Indian script that we know of, mistakes that could be traced to misreadings of its letters would be most significant. Such instances may singly be open to some distrust, but collectively they would have cumulative force ; and without pronouncing a positive opinion, it does yet seem to me that certain misreadings do point to Kharoṣṭhī as their source. Such mistakes may prevail in many MSS, if they passed undetected from the beginning ; otherwise they may only occur in single MSS, having been corrected in all the others.

i. First may be cited an instance from the Vṣ, because it affords the best illustration of a misreading that seems significant, though the Vṣ does not contain the oldest version. It calls Aśoka generally Aśokavardhana, but kVṣ has *Ayośkavardhana* (p. 28, note²⁸). Here *yo* is obviously a misreading of *śo* ; the copyist read the *śo* as *yo* and wrote *yo*, then he (or some one else) perceived the mistake and wrote or inserted *śo* in the copy, but the *yo* was not cancelled and the erroneous name *Ayośoka* remained and was repeated till it appears in kVṣ. Now *śo* could not be mistakenly read as *yo* in any Indian script except Kharoṣṭhī, and in that *śo* and *yo* were often written so much alike, that it is very difficult at times to say merely from the shape which letter was meant. Hence it seems reasonably certain that this passage in the Viṣṇu must have been originally taken from a Kharoṣṭhī MS. Had this mistake occurred in verse, the extra syllable would probably have been detected and the error corrected, but there was no such check in the prose of the Vṣ, and the mistake might have been followed in one copy (from which was descended kVṣ) though rectified in others.

Other misreadings of *ś* and *y* occur, namely—*Ayoda* for *Aśoka* in lMt¹, where the second misreading of *k* as *d* might have arisen later in the Gupta script² ; *Māgadhēśo* in jMt³ where the more general readings are *Māgadha ye*, *Māgadho yo* or *Māgadheya* ; *Koyāla* in cgVṣ⁴ for *Kośala*, where *yā* might easily be read for *śa* because Kharoṣṭhī often did not distinguish between long and short vowels ; and *Sāliyūka* in eVā for *Sālisūka*⁵ ; *Mauryā dayo daśa* in lVṣ⁶, where *daśa* was probably first misread and written as *daya*, which was afterwards amended so as to read *Maury-ālayo* incorrectly.

ii. Some similar variations seem to point to the same conclusion. The Mt

¹ P. 27, note³.

² See Bühler's Ind. Palaeog., Table IV, cols. xxi, xxiii, and Table V, cols. viii, ix.

³ P. 14, note¹.

⁴ P. 54, note²⁰. *Koyāla* is an error in writing, different from *Ko'jala* which was

a variation of *Kauśalya* in pronunciation ; see Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, Alger, 1905, p. 217.

⁵ P. 29, note³⁷.

⁶ P. 30, note⁴⁶.

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reading, *Kāśeyās*, appears in *djMt* as *Kāleyās*; and the mistake of *l* for *s* seems best explainable by their similarity in Kharoṣṭhī. The Vā and Bd read *Kālakās*, which is probably a similar misreading of the equivalent name *Kāśakās*¹.

iii. Two other letters which might be confused in Kharoṣṭhī but not in any other script are *k* and *bh*, and there are some variations which seem to have so originated. The Vā generally, and the Mt sometimes, have *Tunga* instead of *Sunga*², a misreading the cause of which is not clear³, but the name *Śvagabhrtya* is generally corrupted to *Tungakrtya* in the Vā, while *eVā* alone among the Vā MSS has preserved it nearly right as *Śvagavṛtya*⁴. Here it seems certain that *bh* was misread as *k* in a Kharoṣṭhī MS. The converse appears to be the cause of the faulty Mt reading in p. 41, line 22, where *saumyo bhavīyati*, with no mention of the length of the reign, seems to be a misreading of the Vā and Bd reading *so'py eka-vimśatīm*, for, while *saumyo* might be a later mistake and emendation for *sopye*, *bhavīyati* could be a misreading of *ka-vimśati* in Kharoṣṭhī only. The two forms would be *bhavissati* and *ka-vimśati* in Pali and probably also in literary Pkt, and these two would be almost identical in Kharoṣṭhī which generally wrote long and short vowels alike and doubled letters as single.

iv. As regards Brāhmī, I have not found any variations of importance which can be assigned definitely to misreadings of it, and there is not the same scope for detecting such errors, because there is more resemblance between Brāhmī and Gupta letters than between them and Kharoṣṭhī. All the mistakes that I have detected, which might be attributed to misreadings of Brāhmī letters, might equally well, or even better, be attributed to misreadings of Gupta letters. Hence it seems to me, speaking with diffidence, that no light is thrown by Brāhmī on the age of the account or the MSS, and that, so far as the negative argument is of weight, Brāhmī writing played no part in the early MSS of these dynastic accounts. If this be so, the accounts passed from Kharoṣṭhī into the Gupta script.

v. If these explanations of these variations be reasonable and not fanciful, it appears that the Mt, Vā, and Vs all betray the fact that their accounts were originally copied from MSS written in Kharoṣṭhī. This script was in use till A.D. 300, or perhaps even half a century later⁵. This conclusion would, as regards the Mt and Vā, agree with the period assigned to them⁶. There is no further indication regarding the date of the Vs, and as Kharoṣṭhī MSS would have lasted some centuries, the Vs account might well be later and yet have been extracted from such a MS. There has been no opportunity of testing the Bd account in this way, because I have not been able to collate any MS of it; and the printed edition betrays no misreadings of this kind; but it is so closely like the Vā that the same conclusion probably holds good for it.

vi. Nor have I found any variations in the Bhāgavata which point to misreadings of Kharoṣṭhī or even of Brāhmī. I have noticed only two peculiarities which may perhaps be significant.

In the list of Andhra kings Hāla was succeeded by a king whose name consisted of four syllables, the best supported forms of which are Mantalaka or

¹ P. 23, note⁹.

² P. 32, note⁴⁷; p. 33, note⁵².

³ Perhaps through the Pkt form *Sunga*; *s* carelessly made might be read as *t* in Kharoṣṭhī. The mistake is ancient as it is

found so widely.

⁴ P. 34, note²⁸; *rrtya* might be a modern misreading of *kṛtya*.

⁵ JRAS, 1907, pp. 184-5.

⁶ See Introdn. §§ 21-24.

APPENDIX III

Pattalaka¹. The Bh calls them *Hāleya* and *Talaka* respectively, Hāleya ending the first half of a line and Talaka beginning the second half, thus:—

Aniṣṭakarmā Hāleyas Talakas tasya cātmajah.

These two names seem to be mistakes for Hāla and Pattalaka, the *pa* being misread as *ya*. If so, the wrong division of these two names in the middle of a line seems only explicable on the supposition that the Bh prepared this verse from a bare prose list of kings and divided the letters of the two names incorrectly. If this suggestion has any validity, it would appear that the Bh could not have been composed till after the time when *y* approximated to *p* in shape, that is, after the 7th century A.D.

The other instance is the name of the Andhra king Āpīlaka, which appears in the Bh generally as *Civilaka*. The probable genesis of the changes in the name is suggested in p. 39, note⁴⁵, and the fact that seems significant here is that the compiler of the Bh account apparently drew his information from a Vs account in which he misread the initial *d* as *c*. This mistake could arise only in the Gupta script and not very well before the 7th century A.D.²

APPENDIX III

Janamejaya's Dispute with the Brahmans.

The dispute between the Paurava king Janamejaya³ and Vaiśampāyana and other brahmans is narrated in *AMt* 50, 57^b-65 and *AVā* 99, 250-256 and gives us an instance of how the text was revised⁴. The Mt version, which is the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for some time, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest (according to custom); but the Vā version has abridged the inconvenient verses, and says he perished and the brahmans made his son king. This alteration may have been made (1) either in the Bhavisya when it was revised, and so passed into the Vāyu⁵, or (2) in the Vāyu itself; but it is impossible to decide this point, because *eVā* and the Bd, which would have thrown much light on it, have unfortunately lost this passage in lacunae. What is clear is that a story of royal opposition to brahmanic claims was modified early in the 4th century A.D. to maintain brahmanic prestige.

As regards MSS, *bdhpMt* omit l. 6, read l. 9 instead of it and omit l. 9 from its place; *cefgjnMt* omit l. 9; *kMt* ll. 9, 20; *lMt* ll. 6-9; *mMt* reads l. 9 instead of l. 6, as well as in its proper place; *a¹dhVā* omit ll. 11-13; *bVā* ll. 11-13, 18-20; *kVā* ll. 14, 15; *lVā* ll. 16, 17; and *effmVā* want the whole.

¹ P. 41, l. 2.

² See Bühler's Ind. Pal., Table IV.

³ See p. 4, l. 2.

⁴ See Introdn. §§ 24, 30.

⁵ See Introdn. § 23.

Matsya.

Janamejayaḥ Parīksitah
 putrah parama-dhārmikah¹
 brahmāṇam² kalpayāmāsa
 sa vai³ vājasaneyakam⁴
 sa⁶ Vaiśampāyanenaiva⁷
 śaptah⁹ kila¹⁰ maharśinā
 na sthāsyatīha¹² durbuddhe¹³
 tavaītad vacanam bhūvi
 yāvat sthāsyasi tvam loke¹⁴
 tāvad eva¹⁵ prapatsyati¹⁶
 kṣatrasya vijayam jñātvā¹⁹
 tataḥ prabhṛti sarvaśah
 abhigamya sthitās²⁰ caiva²¹
 nrpaṁ ca Janamejayam
 tataḥ prabhṛti śāpena
 ksatriyasya tu yajinah²⁵
 utsannā²⁶ yājino²⁷ yajñe²⁸
 tataḥ prabhṛti sarvaśah
 kṣatrasya²⁹ yajinah³⁰ kecic³¹
 chāpāt³² tasya mahātmanah

Vāyu.

Parīksitas tu dāyādo
 rājāsi Janamejayaḥ¹
 brāhmaṇān kalpayāmāsa
 sa vai vājasaneyikān⁵
 aśāpat tam⁸ tadāmarśād
 Vaiśampāyana¹¹ eva tu
 na sthāsyatīha durbuddhe
 tavaītad vacanam bhūvi
 yāvat sthāsyāmy aham loke
 tāvan naitat¹⁷ praśasyate¹⁸ 5

abhitah²² samsthitaś²³ cāpi
 tataḥ sa²⁴ Janamejayaḥ

10

¹ This is l. 2 on p. 4.

² In *fhMt* brāhmaṇām, *jMt* brah°.

³ In *cnMt* makhe; *jMt* makham; *eMt* makha.

⁴ In *cfgMt* °yikam; *kMt* °yake.

⁵ In *a³a⁴dhlVā* °yakān.

⁶ In *hMt* tam.

⁷ In *cejnMt* °yane caiva.

⁸ So *a³a⁴a⁵bdkhVā*. *Ca³kVā* aśāpatnaṁ.

⁹ In *benMt* saptah; *hMt* śaptam; *lMt* śapuh.

¹⁰ In *eMt* kali.

¹¹ So *Ca²lVā*: but *a³a⁴a⁵bdkhVā* °yanam.

¹² In *bdMt* °iti.

¹³ In *jMt* durbuddheh.

¹⁴ So *CGVa²a⁴Mt*: *lMt* vai loke; *enMt* loke tvam; *a³kMt* loke'smin; *cMt* lokeśu. But *bdfghmpMt* sthāsyāmy aham loke, and *jMt* erply.

¹⁵ In *hMt* etat.

¹⁶ So *CGVa²a⁴Mt*; *mpMt* °paśyati; *eMt* °yaśyati; *dMt* °śatsyati; *jkMt* °vatsyati; *a³cfghMt* °vartsyati; *nMt* °raśyati; *lMt* °vatsyasi.

¹⁷ In *a³Vā* naiva.

¹⁸ So *Ca¹a²Vā*: but *a³a⁴Vā* prapatesyati; *bdkhVā* °paśyati.

¹⁹ In *fgjMt* jñātum: *bdkhmpMt* substitute l. 9 for this line; see note²⁶.

²⁰ In *bcdcfgjMt* sthitāś.

²¹ Caivam in *cenMt*.

²² In *bhVā* +pravītiyah; *dVā* +pracittayah.

²³ In *dhVā* sa sthitāś.

²⁴ In *hVā* +taka sa; *bVā* +takasaj; *dVā* +tak sa.

²⁵ In *cnMt* yājinaḥ; *bdfgjm̄pMt* vājinaḥ; *hMt* rājinaḥ.

²⁶ So *ACMt*: *bdkhmpMt* omit this line, see note¹⁹, but *mMt* has it here also. In *bdMt* uchannā; *mMt* trasyannā above, utsannā here; *hMt* uikalasya.

²⁷ In *bdkhmpMt* vājino; *hMt* rāj°.

²⁸ In *dhmpMt* jaśne.

²⁹ In *lMt* kṣatraḥyaśya.

³⁰ In *lMt* yājinaḥ, *fgMt* vāj°: *bdkhmpMt* vājinaḥ, *hMt* rāj°.

³¹ In *cenMt* kaścit.

³² In *djMt* chāpām.

Matsya.

paurṇamāsenā³³ haviṣā
 iṣṭvā tasmin³⁴ prajāpatim
 sa³⁵ Vaiśampāyanenaiva
 praviṣān³⁷ vāritas³⁸ tataḥ³⁹
 Parīksitah snto 'sau vai⁴²
 Pauravo Janamejayah
 dvir aśvamedham āhṛtya⁴³
 mahā-vājasaneyakam⁴⁴
 pravartayitvā tam sarvam⁴⁶
 ṛṣir⁴⁷ vājasaneyakam⁴⁸
 vivāde⁵⁵ brāhmaṇaiḥ sārdham
 abhiśapto vanam yayaū
 Janamejayāc Chatānikas
 tasmāj jajñe sa vīryavān⁵⁸
 Janamejayah⁵⁹ Śatānikam
 putram rājye 'bhiṣiktavān⁶¹.

Vāyu.

paurṇamāsyena haviṣā
 devam iṣṭvā prajāpatim
 vijñāya samsthito paśyat³⁶
 tadadvadhiṣṭām⁴⁰ vibhor makhe⁴¹
 Parīkṣit-tanayaś cāpi
 Pauravo Janamejayah
 dvir aśvamedham āhṛtya
 tato vājasaneyakam⁴⁵
 pravartayitvā tad brahma
 trikharvī⁴⁹ Janamejayah¹⁵
 kharvam⁵⁰ Aśvaka⁵¹-mukhyānām
 kharvam⁵² Āṅga-nivāsinām
 kharvam⁵³ ca Madhyadeśānām
 trikharvī⁵⁴ Janamejayah
 viṣādād⁵⁶ brāhmaṇaiḥ sārdham
 abhiśastah⁵⁷ kṣayām yayaū
 tasya putrah Śatāniko
 balavān satya-vikramah
 tataḥ sutām⁶⁰ Śatānikam
 viprās tam abhyāsecayan⁶².²⁰

³³ In dMt pūrṇa°.³⁴ In fMt dr̄ṣtvā°; eMt iṣṭvā te 'smiṇ; dMt i tasmin; nMt iti 'smiṇ.³⁵ In a²a³cēknMt tam; jMt te; hMt tad; lMt tad[e].³⁶ In gVā °taḥ paśye (for paśyet?).³⁷ In fMt °viśai; cMt °viśen; dMt °viśam.³⁸ In hMt nāvitas.³⁹ In mpMt tutah.⁴⁰ Sic: read tadadvad dhīṣṭām?⁴¹ In a²a³gVā mukhe.⁴² In CbdfpMt so vai, cenMt yo°: hMt tataḥ śāpāt.⁴³ In jMt ākṛtya; pMt āruhya.⁴⁴ So CbdhjlmMpMt; AfgknMt °yakah, cMt °yikah.⁴⁵ In gVā °yikam.⁴⁶ In chjMt tat°; sgMt tān sarvān.⁴⁷ So bcdēfghklnpMt: ACmMt ṛṣiṇ; jMt ṛṣer: hMt reads this half line svavarca (for kharvaś ca?) Janamejayah.⁴⁸ In cMt °yikam; efjklMt °yakah.⁴⁹ So Ca²a³bgVā; a¹Vā °khārvī: with dialectic variation of kh and s, glVā °śarvī, a³Vā °śairvī; dVā °svarcā; hVā °svacī.⁵⁰ In ghVā sarvam.⁵¹ In gVā and one MS of CVā Aśmaka.⁵² In gVā sarvam.⁵³ In ghVā sarvam.⁵⁴ In dVā °kharvā; hVā °khābī; gVā °śarvī; kVā °sadyī.⁵⁵ In bdpmMt °dam; jMt °do.⁵⁶ In a²kVā viśādo.⁵⁷ In hVā °śataḥ.⁵⁸ In jMt su-v°; after this line jMt inserts Mt l. 6 on p. 4.⁵⁹ In nMt °jaya; hMt tatas te tu.⁶⁰ In dVā tam tu.⁶¹ In hMt viprā rāj°, altered to putram tasyābhyaśecayat.⁶² In dghVā tasyābhya°. CVā tam abhyāsecayat.

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This Index contains all the names mentioned in this work, except those that are obviously erroneous or untrustworthy. The following abbreviations are added to distinguish the names; and all names that are not so distinguished are the names of kings or princes :—

b = brahman.
c = country.
d = dynasty.
f = family.
k = king or prince.
mt = mountain.

p = people.
pat = patronymic.
q = queen.
r = river.
t = town.

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