

Masters Program in

**Kautilya Politics and Economics  
(MKPE)**

**Study Material**

(For Private Circulation only)

**Idea of Hindu King and Kingship  
(MK04)**

**Bhishma School of Indic Studies**

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## UNIT 1: SVĀYAMBHUA MANU – THE FIRST LEADER OF MEN

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The period of **self-born Manu** of the present Vārāha-Kalpa is from about 26000 pre-Kali period or 29101 B.C. In the Purānas and the Epics we get many references to Svāyambhu or Brahmā, the creator who is said to have come out of the lotus arisen from the Nābhi or central part of the Almighty God-Viṣṇu. This Brahmā is also called **Mānasa-Putra** mentally born son of the Lord. There are many more derivations as to how this Brahma came and started his process of creation.

What is necessary to remember here is that this Svāyambhuva Manu is a man and the first King or leader of men born at the start of this **Kalpa Vārāha**. In pre-Vārāha-kalpa or Devayuga, the Deva men made use of areoplanes and they had left to other worlds from their habitat, the earth, which was plagued by intense heat showers. After the earth was cooled by Varaha-Megha or steady and sustained intense rain-fall and had become habitable, Svāyambhuva Manu appeared on the scene, maybe through the space-craft which dropped him on the earth. He wanted to procreate and people the earth. He wanted a wife for the purpose. Harivaṁśa (3-14-22) tells us:

---

*"Sarīrārdhādatho bhāryām samutpāditavān subhām*

---

He from the half portion of his body created a wife very auspicious and good looking."

The story in the Bible is very similar to this. It records: "And Jehovah God proceeded to form the man out of dust from the ground and to blow into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man came to be a living soul... for man there

was found no helper as a complement to him. Hence Jehovah God had a deep sleep, fell upon the man and while he was sleeping, he took one of his ribs and then closed up the flesh over its place, and Jehovah God proceeded to build the rib that he had taken from the man into a woman and bring her to man" (Genesis 2-7, 20 to 22).

Curiously Bhaviṣya Purāna refers to the process of creation as given in the Bible:

---

*"adamo nama purusahpatni havyavati tatha*

---

The first man was called Adam and his wife's name was Kavyavati." In the Bible the name Adam's wife is given as Eve.

This Bhaviṣya Purana also tells us that Vaivasvata Manu came 16000 years after Adam षोडशब्दसहस्रे च तदा द्वापरे युगे । There was a difference of 16000 years." Here the use of the words 'Dvāpara' for the yuga is of Divya-yuga calculation for the difference in the yugas between Vaivasvata Manu and Svāyambhuva Manu, as seen earlier is only of 43 yugas and  $43 \times 360 = 15480$  or roughly 16000 years. So Adam of Bible can be taken as Svāyambhuva Manu of the Puranas.

**Virat** Before this Manu, the Lord Brahmā had created sages but they were indifferent to the people of the earth. This Manu was ordained by Brahma to produce the children by uniting with his wife. Svāyambhuva Manu is also known as **Virāt** - the greatest and all - pervading ruler of this world. From his wife Śatarūpā, he got two sons and three daughters. The two sons were named Priyavrata and Uttānapada and the three daughters were: Ākūti, Devahūti and Prasūti. These three daughters were married to other rulers, Ruci, Kardama and Dakṣa respectively. These three Ruci, Kardama and Dakṣa are called Prajāpatīs - the protectors of their subjects or the progenitors of mankind.

The famous philosopher Kapila is the son of Devahūti and Kardama. Through Prasūti, also called Dhārinī, Daksa had sixty daughters. Eight out of these were given in marriage to Dharma, eleven to Rudra and one Sati was offered to Śiva and other thirteen were married to Kaśyapa. Twentyseven were offered to the Moon. These entyseven are the names of constellations.

In **Brahma-Vaivarta Purāna**, these and further genealogies of Manus and sages are given in detail.

Lord Brahma himself created along with Svāyambhuva, other Prajāpatis named Marīci from whose mind was born Kaśyapa. Atri was another Prajapati from whose eyes was born Candra (the moon). Another Prajāpati Pracetasa gave birth to the sage Gautama through his mind. Pulastya another Prajapati through his mind got the sage Maitrā Varuna.

Sati, the daughter of Daksa, became Pārvati and married Lord Śankara.

Kasyapa had two wives named Aditi, the mother of gods and Diti, the mother of Daityas. He had also other wives. Kadru was mother of the birds and Surabhi was the mother of cows. Sarama was the mother of dogs and other fourfooted animals. The third type of human beings called Dānavas was born through Danu yet another wife of Prajāpati Kaśyapa.

Aditi gave birth to gods like Indra, Ādityas etc. Indra's wife Śacī gave birth to Jayanta.

Savarna or Samjñā was the daughter of Viśvakarma the chariot-maker of the gods. She gave birth to Sunaiscura and Yama by her husband the Aditya, the Sun. She also gave birth to the daughter Kalindi, the river Yamuna.

The sages created directly by Lord Brahmā were: Marīci, Nārada, Prācetasa, Kardama, Kratu, Aṅgīrasa, Bhrgu, Aruni, Hansi (the yogīndra), Vasiṣṭha. Yati, Pulaha, Pulastya, Atri, Pañcaśikha, Apantaratama, Vadhū, Ruci, Rudra, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra. These are all the direct

descendents of Brahma. These all may be the persons, the Devas of the earlier Kalpa who came to the earth along with Svāyambhuva Manu, through their aeroplanes.

From the names given above, it will be seen that during the period of Svāyambhuva Manu, he was given help of these illustrious persons to people the earth and establish the administration. Proper rituals for observance were also established so that the common man would observe these meticulously and derive pleasure and lead his life purposefully.

Manu Svāyambhuva revived Vedas and established the administrative and ritual procedures as they were observed in the earlier Kalpa

We have a very significant statement in Taittiriya Samhita –

---

एषा वै प्रथमा रात्रिः संवत्सरस्य यद् उत्तराफाल्गुनि

---

This is the first night of the year when vernal equinox is in *uttara phalguni* constellation.”

In 1986 A.D. also the vernal equinox was in the same constellation. This would show one full cycle of 27 constellations had been completed in 1986 A.D. When was its earliest date? At the rate of 72 years per degree it would work out to  $360 \times 72 = 25920$  years before 1986. This period is exactly calculated at 25868 years for the equinoctial precession to complete its full cycle. This means that the position indicated by Taittirīya Samhitā statement is 25868 years before present time or 25868-1986-23882 B.C. Svāyambhuva Manu's starting time is shown above at 29101 B.G. Tilak after detailed examination of the point, was of the opinion that in the Vedic times the year commenced with the vernal equinox.

This would indicate that Svāyambhuva Manu after his advent had revived Vedas and the other literature and had laid down the procedure of sacrificial ritual and it was observed on a large scale. By about 23882 B.C. the Vedic



samhitās were also composed. If we take into account the life-expectancy of those days at about 400 years, it can be said that within about 10-15 generations or about 5 to 6 thousand years, the conditions of the people of those days were of very highly developed state of civilization. Agricultural operations were the normal profession of those times. The people in general enjoyed a happy and contented settled life.

The names given to Nakṣatra (constellations), Saptarṣis (seven sages - *Ursa Major* constellation) are of the sages, great men and women of this period.

The next four Manus are also the descendents of Svāyambhuva Manu. Brahmanda (1-2-36-65) makes such an assertion. It states:

---

*Svārociṣāścottamo api tāmāso raivatastathā /*

*priyavratāinvayā hyete catvāro manavah smrtāhi*

---

The four Manus namely Svārocisa, Uttama, Tāmāsa and Raivata were the descendents of Priyavrata." We have seen that Priyavrata was the elder of the two sons of Svāyambhuva Manu. He was a man of great valour. Svārocisa Manu the second amongst the fourteen Manus was. the son of Ākūti the daughter of the first Manu Svāyambhuva. She was married to Ruci the Prajāpati. Uttama, Tāmāsa and Raivata were the three sons of Priyavrata. They become third, fourth and fifth Manus respectively.

Dhruva was the son of Uttānapāda who was the second son of Svāyambhuva Manu. He practised penance and set an example of integral vision of life, the harmony between the spiritual and temporal. To the Pole-star which is almost steady in the sky i.e. seen at the same place since time immemorial, Dhruva's name is given in commemoration of his unique service to the man-

kind. However this star also moves a little in about 9090 years and this is called Dhruva-samvatsara as stated earlier.

Cākṣuṣa Manu the sixth in the line is also related to Svāyambhuva Manu through his daughter. Prthu the king is stated to be fifth in line from Cākṣuṣa Manu. The genealogy is: 1. Cāksusa Manu, 2. Vru, 3. Anga, 4. Vena, 5. Prthu.

### 1.1 Pṛthu

**Pṛthu** is one of the most important of the rulers of ancient times. He is the first crowned king in recorded history Satapatha Brahmana (5-3-5-4) notes: "पृथुर्वै वैन्यो मनुष्याणां प्रथमो अभिषिषिचे, Prthu the son of Vena was the first king who was crowned (by the people)." Harivamsa (1-5-29) states: "आदि राजा तदा राजा पृथुर्वैन्यः प्रतापवान् Prthu the son of Vena was the first and very powerful and just king." Brahmānda Purāna notes (1-2-33-108) अगात् सुनीथापत्यं वै वेन्मेकं व्यजायत From Anga to Sunitha was born Vena."

Pṛthu's father Vena was a man of perverted genius. He would not follow the righteous path and strive for the welfare of his subjects. He used to abduct others' wives - rare thing in those days, particularly amongst the rulers. He neglected agricultural cultivation and encouraged all sorts of vices amongst his subjects.

The sages and the leaders of men got exasperated with him and from his body particularly through his hand, with great efforts, they got Prthu - a broad shouldered and a very bright young man. (Matsyā Purāna 9.4 to 10). The people then deposed him (Vena) and in his place installed Prthu his son as their crowned King. The story of Prthu's birth is rather strange. It may mean that hand of ena was forced to instal his son and himself to retire to forest

This Pṛthu introduced many welfare schemes and encouraged agricultural practices on a very large scale. He built houses and palaces and founded villages

and towns. In his days, he gave names to different stars in the heaven above and the mountains and rivers below. He also encouraged sciences like medicine, history, geography, military, political economy etc. This earth was named Pṛthivī after this Pṛthu. This Pṛthivi was as if his beloved daughter.

He was the originator of Dhanurvedyā - science of archery "पृथुस्तुत्पादयामास धनुराद्यमरिदंमः Pṛthustaphday amisa dhanuradyamarindamah Pṛthu manufactured the first bow and arrow to subjugate his enemies." He also organised rituals for his subjects, to be observed on different occasions. Priesthood was created for the purpose. Angirasa brāhmaṇas were the chief amongst the priests. This Angirasa was ofcourse not the first great sage Angirasa who was born along with Manu Svāyambhuva. It is a family name. This family produced many sages and eminent priests. This first Angirasa had discovered the use of fire.

Pṛthu got the title "Rājā - Prājanuran janāt - He strived for the welfare of his subjects, he was therefore called Raja." During his time the court officers like Sūta (Chroniclers of history), Magadha (the court historians) Cārana and (the court singers) were created and appointed. The regular history began to be written since his days.

He built approach roads, highways and tanks. The arts of cattle breeding, mining and commerce were cultivated. Sciences like Physics and Chemistry were encouraged. He was the first king who set up his administration on organized basis. His successors followed it and improved upon it. He is also the seer of some ṛks (verses) of the Rgveda.

### **His period:**

It is difficult to determine his period. He ruled during Cākṣuṣa *Manvantara*. It is necessary here to remember that the Manus were very important personages of their times and were pace-setters of the progress of mankind in all aspects. While they lived they were the rulers, but after their departure for

heavenly abode, other rulers followed them. Pṛthu was the first coronated king of this Kalpa, yet he is not regarded as Manu. Cākṣuṣa was the pacesetter of his time and Pṛthu achieved great success in whatever was laid down by his Manu.

Pṛthu was fifth in line from Cākṣuṣa the sixth Manu. First Manu's start of the period is determined at 29101 B.C. and Vaivasvata Manu's at (10800 before Kali + 3101=) 13981 B.C., the difference between the two being 15120 years, Pṛthu is somewhere nearer 13981 B.C.

Vaivasvata Manu is shown as the seventh amongst the 14 Manus in all. But as we shall just see he is perhaps the last amongst them all.

Other seven Manus are (1) Meru Sāvarni, (2) Dakṣa Sāvarni, (3) Brahma Sāvarni, (4) Dharma Sāvarni, (5) Rudra Sāvarni, (6) Raucya and (7) Bhautya. The Purāṇas tell us that they are yet to come. They are the future Manus.

But about the five Savarni Manus Brahmanda Purana states:

---

‘सावर्णमनवस्तात पंच तांश्च निबोध मे ।

परमेष्ठिसुतास्तात मेरुसावर्णतां गताः ।

दक्षस्येते दौहित्राः प्रियायाः तनयः नृपः ।

---

Oh! King, understand from me about the Sāvarni Manus. They are the grandsons of Dakṣa Prajāpati through his daughter Priyā." Vāyu-Purāṇa also states that they are the sons of Rohita, the son of Dakṣa. It shows that of the four Savarni Manus, some were the sons of Rohita and some of Priya. Rohita himself is stated to be the eighth Manu Meru Sāvarni (Vayu 4-100-58, 30).

It appears that in listing the seventh Manu, as Vaivasvata and others. as eighth onwards, the subsequent copy-writers took it that Vaivasvata was the seventh and others came after him. The reason for mentioning Vaivasvata as

seventh was only convenience. All the Sāvarni Manus were directly connected to Vivasvan, the father of Vaivasvata. If we take into account the distance in time between Svāyambhuva and Vaivasvata, it is at least of 15120 human years. The first four Svārocisa, Uttama, Tāmasa and Raivata who came after Svāyambhuva were the descendants of Priyavrata the son of Svāyambhuva. Others were stated to be the Prajapatis like Ruci and Daksa.

The Main Prajāpatis directly created by Brahma along with Svāyambhuva were:

---

भृग्वंगिरो मरीचींश्च पुलस्त्यं पुलहं क्रतुम्।

दक्षमत्रिं वसिष्ठं च निर्ममे मानसान् सुतान् । ब्रह्माण्ड १-२-९-१८

---

Bhrgu, Angirasa, Marīci, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Daksa, Atri and Vasistha were the nine sages created by Brahmā through his mind (mental desire)." The creation of living beings through the union of male and female came after Svāyambhuva married Satarūpā - both created by Brahma through his mental process. Brahmā also further created through the same way, Dharma, Ruci, Rudra.

Brahmā created the universe with the living beings through seven processes namely, (1) mental, (2) through eyes - like the Sun and the stars (3) through speech - like Sarasvati, (4) through hearing - like Nārada, (5) through nose - like the fragrance in flowers, (6) through Andaja - like birds and (7) through lotus - vegetation. The human beings have sprung from the lotus i.e. union of male and female elements. Kaśyapa is also another Prajāpati directly created by Brahmā.

So after Cākṣuṣa Manu who was the son of Ripu the grandson of Dhruva (*Harivamśa* 2-15), came Rauchya and Bhautya Manus.

---

चाक्षुषस्यान्तरे अतीते प्राप्ते वैवस्वतस्य

रुचेः प्रजापतेः पुत्रो रौच्यो नामाभवत् सुतः । वायु-१००-५४

---

After Cākṣuṣa Manu's time and before Vaivasvata Manu, Raucya Manu, the son of Ruci Prajāpati, flourished."

Similarly Bhautya Manu also came soon after Raucya Manu. We have a further statement in Vāyu Purāna that two sons of Vivasvān - the Sun, named Vaivasvatas came. They are Manu Vaivasvata and the other Yama (the God of death), Vaivasvata.

It would now be clear that all Manus were prior to Vaivasvata Manu - only Yama was contemporary of Vaivasvata.

The counting of Kṛta, Dvāpara, Tretā and Kali is imaginary calculation, based on the idea that the first age after the present Kalpa was of righteous people. Later by stages degradation started and it reached its height in Kali age, Accordingly Kali age also should be over by 3101 (Kali start year) - 1200 (the period of Kali) = 1901 B.C. But according to the no-beginning-no-ending calculations, we say that Kali is continuing and it would continue upto 432000 human years from 3101 B.C.

The concept of the rule of Manu Vaivasvata is also symbolic. What is true is that the present Kalpa has been started at 15120 years before Vaivasvata who flourished around 10800 before Kali (15120+10800) = about 26000 years are the total years before Kali, since the present Kalpa has begun. Before B.C. the beginning of Kalpa-year would be 26000 + 3101 = 29101 or before present it would be 29101+ 1992 = A.D. 31093.

The concept of Manu and Manvantara is also not of rulers called Manu or of Manu-Dynasty. Because during 15120 years, even according to the Purānas,

more than 52 generations had elapsed. This calculation gives:  $15120 \div 52 = 290$  years roughly per generation. Between Cākṣuṣa Manu and Vaivasvata Manu, it is stated that 12 generations had elapsed. This would mean  $12 \times 290 = 3480$  or 3500 years between Cākṣuṣa Manu and Vaivasvata Manu had elapsed.

In Rigveda 1-158-6 we have the statement: "Dīrghatamo māmāteyo jujurvān daśame yuge - Dīrghatama the son of Mamata lived upto 1000 years and then reached Brahmaloka." Rgveda mentions the life of man to be ordinarily of 100 years. Dīrghatama was a notable exception and he had actually lived for 1000 years. And during these 15120 years Manus are stated to be only 14. The concept of Manu must be about persons who had introduced some outstanding changes for the betterment of mankind. During their life-time, they may be rulers but otherwise their influence continued to be dominant between Svāyambhuva and Vaivasvata.

Between Svāyambhuva Manu and Cākṣuṣa Manu, it is stated that 40 generations had elapsed. If we take the average of 290 years for a generation then the period between first Manu and Cākṣuṣa works out to  $40 \times 290 = 11600$  years and that between Cākṣuṣa and Vaivasvata  $12 \times 290 = 3500$  years roughly. Pṛthu was 5 generations after Cākṣuṣa. So Pṛthu's time is  $11600 + 5 \times 290 = 13050$  from first Manu or  $29100 - 13050 = 16050$  B.C. and that of Cākṣuṣa Manu  $29100 - 11600 = 17500$  B.C.

## 1.2 Manus

(1) That Svāyambhuva is the first Manu is an undisputed fact. He was succeeded by (2) Svārocisa, (3) Uttama, (4) Tāmasa (5) Raivata and (6) Cākṣuṣa.

The sixth one flourished 40 generations after the first. His period is 11600 years after the start of the Kalpa. The first five Manus are shown one after another in quick succession. As we have seen just above, these Manus were not founders of dynasties, nor were they actually rulers. They were the law-givers.

They laid down rules and regulations for the guidance of man in his relationship with the society in which he lived. This continuance of influence of the first over his successor is taken as if it was the blood relationship of father and son as we ordinarily understand.

(7) Raucya (8) Bhautya, (9) Meru Sāvarni (he is said to be the brother of Vivasvān - the father of Vaivasvata) (10) Daksa-Sāvarni is the Prajāpati, son-in-law of Svāyambhuva Manu. He is also called Prācetasa for he is son of the Prajapati Prācetasa. Obviously though this is the lineage available in the Purānas, actually this Daksa Manu must be removed from Svāyambhuva by many generations. (11) Brahmā-Sāvarni is Kasyapa Prajāpati, Kaśyapa is also called Paramēsthi or Brahmā himself. (12) Dharma Sāvarni Manu He is the Prajāpati Dharma. After this Manu came (13) Vaivasvata and his brother (14) Yama - Sāvarni Manu also called Śraddhadeva.

The last two are those who have laid down rules for the last time for the guidance of mankind.

Bhagavān Vedavyāsa was aware of the difficulties which we historians face. From the chronology of these Manus, it is clear that all these are directly related to Svāyambhuva Manu and so the distance between them of 15120 human years appears to be too much to put any faith in them. Harivamśa Purāna 2-51 to 56 gives an explanation (Gorakhpur edition).

Janamejaya asked: "Oh! Vaiśampāyana, (Vaiśampāyana was narrating this Harivamśa Purāna to Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣiti, the grandson of Arjuna, the Pāndava hero). You have described me in detail the creation of Devas, Dānavas, Gandharvas and Rāksasas. You have also narrated how Dakṣa Prajāpati was born.

"Oh! Faultless sage! You have told me that Daksa was born from the thumb of the right hand of Brahmā. And his wife was born from his left hand". In Brahmānda Purāna Daksa's wife is stated to be Prasūti, the daughter of



Svāyambhuva Manu. Svāyambhuva Manu is self-born. Harivaṃsa states that this daughter Prasūti is the daughter of the self-born from his left hand. So the contradiction can be said to be resolved.

"How do you then say that Dakṣa was the son of Pracetasā? Dakṣa was again said to be Manu's daughter's son. He is further described as the father-in-law of the Moon. Oh Mahātapasvi, you have practised great penance. Kindly remove these doubts of mine in a convincing way".

Vaisampayana replied: "Oh, King! Creation and dissolution is natural to all the beings. The sages as well as the learned have no doubts about these".

"Oh leader of men! Dakṣa and others are created from time to time and they cease to exist again and again. Please remember this truth. The learned have no doubt about it".

"Similarly amongst these, the question of earlier or later, did not arise. Intensive and incessant work and influence born out of these, was the cause of relationship between these earlier sages and the later ones" (56).

"This is the explanation of the creation process started by Dakṣa-Prajāpati".

From what is stated above, it should be evident to any intelligent reader that the doubts which assail him were also the doubts raised by Janamejaya who flourished about 5000 years before us. The answer given by the learned one is that, these names and the process of creation belong to a hoary antiquity. The same names are given to the father and son even now. The same pattern existed then. The only novel point is how were the first few who started the creation in the beginning were born. The answer is many of them were self-born. Perhaps the seeds at the first creation process may have been dropped from heaven or the Lord of creation from out of Him created these. The only difficulty we experience is that the genealogy given is short, only of few names. Afterwards it is stated that 52 generations between the first Manu and the last Manu had

elapsed and yet some 15050 human years are stated to have elapsed between them. Maybe that all the eleven Manus may have had their tenure on earth one after the other during the early two to three thousand years. The tenure of Caksusa appears to be from 11600 years from the start of this Kalpa and that of Vaivasvata and Yama may be after  $11600 + 3500 = 15100$  years from the start of this Kalpa. Being the first who laid down the ground rules of administrative and all other physical and social sciences, their names have come down to us from generation to generation. These were repeated again and again, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, "*Punaruktāt bahutvāttu na vakṣye teṣu vistaram* - Because the same names are repeated again and again, these are many, so I refrain from detailing these here."

The point to be noted, however, is that after the last Manu Vaisvasvata, these Manus' names do not appear in the later records. During this pre-historic period the only person who has created history is Pṛthu. Quite a few details are available about him. These have been noted earlier. Pṛthu lived 17973 years before present ( $15980 + 1992$ ).

## **UNIT 2 : PROMINENT PROTO-HISTORIC KINGS**

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**INDIA'S** proto-history, produced a galaxy of great kings. The Puranic accounts about them are often wrapped in legends. Still their eminence shines through them, as can be seen in the following selection, given in an alphabetical order without reference to chronology and dynasty for the sake of a comprehensive overview:

### **Bhagirath :**

The expression Bhagirath Prayatna, often used in Indian literature for gigantic efforts in any field, owes its origin to King Bhagirath, son of Dilip of the Ikshwāku dynasty ruling in Ayodhya. Bhagirath's ancestor King Sagara, according to mythology, had 60,000 sons who had been reduced to ashes by the wrath of sage Kapila. The only way to their spiritual redemption was to bring down river Ganga from Swarga Loka (Heaven) and make it flow over the ashes. Many successive kings had tried but failed. Finally, Bhagirath did long and severe penance to propitiate the Great God (Mahadeva) Shiva, who was pleased and agreed to bring down Ganga from heaven and hold the flow of water in his jata. From there the river flowed over the ashes in the Parala, the nether world. As Bhagirath brought down Ganga the river came to be called Bhagirathi. Shorn of the legend, this means it was Bhagirath's tremendous effort that channelled the river, flowing in the high Himalayas, to irrigate the land in his kingdom.

### **Bharat :**

The first king named Bharat was the son of Rishabha. The country he ruled came to be called Bharatvarsha or Bharatvarsha after him. According to Puranic accounts the very ancient emperor Priyavrata divided his empire between his eight sons, of whom Agnidhra was given Jambu Dvipa. On his death Jambu Dvipa was further divided into nine kingdoms, out of which his eldest son Nābhi got the land called Hima. Nābhi's son was Rishabha, and Rishabha's son Bharat. The

other Bharat was the son of Dushyanta and Shakuntalā, also known as Sarvadamana. He was an ideal king, and ruled for so long that the land he ruled came to be called Bhārat

**Bṛhadbala :**

Bṛhadbala was a powerful king of Koshala and the 31st descendant of Rama. He had fought in the Bharat war on the side of the Kauravas and was killed in battle by Abhimanyu.

**Dashārha :**

Dashārha was a great king of the Yadu Dynasty who was so famous that his descendants were called Dashārhas. As Shri Krishna was born in this dynasty he is sometimes referred to as Dashirha. In Mahabharat, Sabha Parva, an assembly of Yadava leaders is referred to as Dasharhi Yadava women, including Shubhangi, wife of king Kuru, and Kunti, wife of Pandu, were also called Dashārhi.

**Dasharath :**

King Dasharath, father of Shri Rama, was a great king whose real name was Nemi. Once, during a war with the Asuras, he deployed his chariot at 10 different points in the battlefield so swiftly that he became known as Dasharath. According to astronomers a famine was to occur all over the world for a period of 12 years when Shani (Saturn) enters the orbit of Rohini mnakshatra (constellation). But now Saturn does not ever enter Rohini's orbit. This is because of a boon Shani Deva gave Dasharath.

Dashrath was king of Koshala and his capital was Ayodhya. But according to historians there were two ancient kingdoms by that name. The first was the kingdom ruled by Dasharath, with its capital at Ayodhya on the banks of the Saryu. The second was the kingdom of Bhanumanta, whose daughter Kausalya was Dasharath's chief queen. In later literature these were called Uttara Koshals

and Dakshina Koshal. Rama gave the former to Lava and the latter to Kusha. Lava moved his capital to Sharivati and Kusha established a new capital called Kushvati. According to some sources Ayodhya was abandoned as the capital, but according to other sources it was again rehabilitated, and Kusha made it his capital.

### **Dhruva :**

Dhruva was the elder son of king Uttanapáda from his first wife Suniti. His second wife Suruchi had a son named Uttama. The king was greatly enamoured of Suruchi and neglected Suniti and her son. Once, when the child Dhruva was snubbed by his step-mother in the presence of his father and prevented from sitting in his lap he became so despondent that he went to the forest and did severe penance. When Lord Vishnu appeared before him and wanted to give him a boon, Dhruva said give me a place from where no one can push me away. So God gave him a fixed place in the heavens. Hence dhruva means fixed, permanent, and the star named after him is known as Dhruva Nakshatra (the pole star), When Dhruva grew up and became king he ruled his kingdom according to the highest principles of Dharma for many years.

### **Dilip:**

Dilip was one of the noblest kings of the Ikshwaku dynasty, and was extremely popular with his subjects. He was also known as Khatvānga.

### **Divodāsa:**

The name Divodāsa is commonly found in the RigVeda and the Puranas. The first king so named was Divodāsa Atithigva, so called because of his generous hospitality. He was the father, according to some sources, or grandfather, according to other sources, of king Sudāsa, who fought the Disharājnya war described in the RigVeda. According to Vettam Mani (Puranic Encyclopaedia). Divodāsa Atithigva was king of Kashi. However, according to

other sources another Divodāsa, king of Kashi, belonged to a subsidiary family of Chandra Vamsha (Lunar dynasty). The genealogy of this family is as follows: Chandra, Budha, Pururavas, Ayus, (after 15 successive kings) Kāsha, Dirghatapas, Dhanvantari, Ketuman, Bhimaratha, Divodāsa. Kāsha had many sons, who were collectively called Kashi. So since Kāsha's reign Vārānasi came to be called Kashi. Although Divodāsa had an ancestor by name Dhanvantari, he was himself considered an incarnation of Dhanvantari, the physician of the gods.

### **Dushyanta:**

Dushyanta was a great emperor, whose kingdom extended up to the sea. His reign was so wise that the people were affluent and there was no illness or crime. "Even the seasons marched in due order." (Vettam Mani.) "Like the ocean not getting stormy, and attending to everything with great patience like the Earth, Dushyanta ruled the country." (Adi Parva, chapter 68.) This great Puru king was the father of Bharat, the son of Shakuntala.

### **Harishchandra:**

A distinguished scion of the Surya Vamsha, king Harishchandra, son of Trishanku, was famous for his utter truthfulness. To keep his promise and for the sake of truth he gifted his whole kingdom to Vishwamitra. When that was not enough to clear his debt, he sold his wife Chandramati, his son Lohitāshwa and finally himself to pay off the remaining amount. Then he took a job at a burning ghat as an assistant to a Chandāla. Finally, as a reward for his unflinching devotion to truth, the divine Trimurti appeared before him, restored his kingdom, and showered on him all the boons he desired, as narrated in a Puranic legend. There was also another Harishchandra, who was an emperor of very ancient times. His story is narrated in the Padma Purana. It is not certain if the two kings called Harishchandra were one and the same person.

### **Hasti:**

Hasti was the son of king Suhotra of the Lunar Dynasty, but his mother Suvarna belonged to the Ikshwaku (solar) dynasty. He established the city of Hastinapur named after him (Hastina Pura, "city built by Hastin"). It was the famous capital of Mahabharat times. Adi Parva also mentions another king Hasti, who was also born in the Lunar Dynasty.

### **Ikshwāku:**

Ikshwāku was the son of Manu Vaivasvata and the founder of the great royal dynasty of Ayodhya named after him. He was such an illustrious king that Shri Rama, who was his descendant, was called Ikshwāku-kulāvatamsa, "ornament of the Ikshwāku family". He was the first post-Flood king of proto-history. It is generally held that the Flood occurred before 10,000 B.C. and was followed by a long glacial age that may have prevailed for several centuries. So in scholarly opinion Ikshwāku's date could be around 9900 B.C.

### **Jahnu:**

Jahnu was the son of Puru king Ajamīdha. Being spiritual-minded he gave up his kingship in favour of his son Balākāshwa, became a hermit and did penance. According to a Puranic legend, river Ganga, which had come down to earth at the request of Bhagirath, happened to submerge Jahnu's hermitage. Jahnu became angry and drank up the river, but at the entreaty of Bhagirath pushed Ganga Devi out through his ear. Since then Ganga got the name Jāhnavi. In reality this means king Jahnu was the first to remove the boulders obstructing the flow of the Ganga so that it could water the plains for growing food crops.

### **Kuru:**

King Kuru, son of king Samvarana, was born in the Puru dynasty. He was loved by his subjects as he brought forests under cultivation to grow foodgrains for them. Since his time the Puru dynasty, Paurava, came to be called the Kuru dynasty, Kaurava. Both Kauravas and Pandavas of Mahabharat times belonged

to this family line. So the Pandavas were also actually Kauravas. According to one source the land Kuru developed around what is now Panipat came to be called Kuru-kshetra. According to another source the pious king built an extensive Yajnas hālā (campus for performing Vedic sacrifices) between rivers Saraswati and Drishadvati, which later became known as Kuru-kshetra. It is more or less the same as the modern Kurukshetra in Haryana. In very ancient times it was the heart of Vedic culture, and was also known as Brahmāvarta. It is generally held that Kurukshetra was the battlefield where the Mahabharat war was fought. However, scholars differ on this point.

### **Kusha:**

Shri Rama's son Kusha ruled over the South half of the Koshala kingdom from a new capital called Kushavati after him. Lava the other son of Rama, ruled the northern half of the kingdom from Sharavati, the capital city built for him. There were 19 descendants in Kusha's line, after which the Solar Dynasty came to an end at the advent of Kali Yuga.

### **Māndhātā:**

Māndhata was a great king of the Ikshwaku dynasty and conquered so many kingdoms that he became an emperor of great fame. Mahabharat gives the names of eight kings of distant regions that he had subdued. His sway extended not only over the whole of India but also the Afghanistan and Balhika regions. Even in Tibet a mountain considered holy is named Gurla Mandhata after him. Consequently the Puranas described his empire as so extensive that the sun never set on it. Kulkarni puts his period around 7500 B.C., while according to other scholars it could be 7500 B.P.

Māndhātā ruled his great kingdom virtuously and in accordance with truth and justice. He gave generous gifts of thousands of cows and had performed 100 Ashwamedh Yajnas. Māndhātā was also as brave as he was pious. According to some sources he was called Trasadasyu because his Dasyu enemies feared



him, but according to other sources Trasadasyu was the name of his grandson. An important event of his reign was his battle with the Druhyus. Their defeat at his hands had led to the start of the westward migration of the Druhyus, who, in succeeding millenniums, reached and spread in Europe.

### **Nahusha:**

Nahusha, grandson of Pururavā, founder of the Lunar Race, was a mighty emperor. His victories were so great that he was crowned the first Indra, king of Devas. As Pururava was married to Prabha, daughter of Asura king Svarbhānu, his grandson Nahusha became the king of both Devas and Asuras. But, as the legend goes, he became so vain and proud of his power that he insulted the great sage Agastya, who cursed him to become a snake. Later a pious king by name Yudhishtira released him from the curse. This Yudhishtira was not the same as the Pandava king.

### **Prthu:**

Prthu was one of the most important rulers of ancient times. His father King Vena was an immoral tyrant, so the people, led by Rishis, deposed him and crowned his son Prthu. He is the first crowned king in recorded history. He introduced agricultural practices on such an extensive scale that he is considered the first Arya king, that is, the king who was the originator of agriculture. Prthu also founded cities and villages, built roads and encouraged sciences like physics, chemistry, medicine, history, geography, economics, military science etc. Prthu was the first king to organize a state and a government. During his time court officers like Sūta (chroniclers of history), Magadha (court historians), Charana (court singers) were created and appointed. Regular history began to be written since his days.

After he became the emperor, the people of the earth who had been famished approached him for food. When he learnt that the earth had been swallowing all the seeds sown, instead of allowing them to grow (being angry

with the evil people then living on earth), he was about to attack it and punish it. The earth, however, appeared before him in the form of a cow, apologised and requested him to milk her and get whatever he wanted. Pṛthu, as also the rishis (sages), devas (gods), daityas (demons), gandharvas (demigods) and others, 'milked' her and got whatever they wanted. The "milk" thus got was: agricultural crops, Vedas, soma juice, strength, music, offerings fit for shrāddha ceremonies, yogic powers and so on. In other words, the earth (or the created world) gave all things to all people. From that day the earth came to be known as Pṛthvi or Pṛthivi, the daughter of emperor Pṛthu. Pṛthu was loved by the whole world so much that "when he travelled by sea the waters stood still, and when he travelled on land the mountains made way for him. In the history of Bharat the period of Pṛthu's reign is considered a golden period." (Vettam mani, Puranic Encyclopaedia.)

### **Puru:**

King Puru, the son of Yayati, became so famous that the Chandra Vamsha (Lunar Dynasty) to which he belonged, came to be known as the Pauravas after him. According to the Puranas, Puru was the only one among Yayati's sons who agreed to give his youth to his father. After enjoying Puru's youth Yayati crowned him as the heir apparent to his kingdom.

### **Pururava:**

Vaivasvata Manu's daughter Ila's son Pururava founded the famous Chandra Vamsha (Lunar Dynasty), as stated earlier. Vayu Purana says (2.15) he was the ruler of 128 Dvipas. Pururava was also the founder of a kingdom at Hastinapur, which became the famous capital of the Mahabharat period.

### **Raghu:**

A famous king of the Surya Vamsha (Solar Race) and a distinguished scion of the Ikshvāku dynasty, Raghu was the great-grandfather of Rama. After him

the dynasty itself came to be known as Raghu Vamsha. Raghu performed 99 yajnas, and let loose his horse for the final, Ashwamoch, yajna. His horse, followed by him with his army, first went to South India, then to West India, and then North to Sindhu Pradesh. From there King Raghu proceeded on his triumphant march to Uru Pradesh (Iran-Iraq), Pirasika (Persia), Kahoshala-Gandhira (Afghanistan), Kanyakubja (Uzbekistan Russia), and Harivarsha. Then turning East Raghu went to Trivishtapa (Tibet), then to Birahmaloka (Burma), and finally, turning westward, returned to Ayodhya. He then performed the Vishwajit yajna, signifying world conquest. Because of Raghu's great name as a conqueror it is held that those Kshatriyas who remember and praise him would not be defeated in battle. According to Anushksana Parva, Raghu is among the great kings worthy of being remembered every day at dawn and dusk.

### **Sāgara:**

Sāgara was a powerful king and undertook a triumphal tour in which he routed the Hehaya king and overran his kingdom at Māhishmati. He also subdued the Shakas and Yavanas who had helped the Haihayas in driving out his father Bahu, a king of the Ikshwāku dynasty. Once king Sāgara had started an Ashwamedh yajna (horse sacrifice), but it could not be completed as the horse had disappeared in the waters of the south-eastern sea. The Puranas say Sagara had 60,000 sons who went to find the horse. "Perhaps they were the 60,000 engineers and other high officers who were engaged in finding out the horse which had disappeared from the land beyond the seas or some land reclaimed from the sea. They must have all perished in the venture." (S.D. Kulkarni, Glorious Epoch: Swayambhuva Manu to Shakari Shalivahana) The sea (sigara) got its name from Sagara. Sigara is now also the name of an island at the mouth of river Hoogly in Bengal. This was where the sons of king Sagara were said to have been reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapil Muni and later attained Mukti due to tapas of Bhagirath. Sāgara means "born of Sagara". This island is now a major place of pilgrimage called (Ganga-) Sāgar.

Sagara's son Asamanjas was wicked and harassed the people, so in the evening of his life he transferred the throne to his grandson Amshuman. He even drove Asamanjas out of his palace. He is considered to be one of the kings to be remembered at dawn and dusk. (Anushasana Parva.)

### **Sudāsa:**

Sudāsa was one of the most important of proto-historic kings, because it was during his time that Dāsharājnya was fought. The RigVeda contains the description of this great battle called Dāshrājnya, the Battle of Ten Kings", which is not only the world's oldest recorded battle but also the most contemporary political event reported in the RigVeda. This battle was fought between the Tritsu (Paurava) king Sudāsa on the one hand and a confederacy of the chieftains of ten communities on behalf of emperor Chayamana on the other. These ten communities were: Pakhta, Bhalina, Alina, Shiva, Vishanin, Simyu, Bhrigu, Prithu and Parshu Collectively they had two group names -Anu and Druhyu. The Druhyu king defeated in this battle was named Angāra. The next Druhyu king, by name Gandhāra, migrated to the North-West and gave his name to the Gindhāra country. The Puranas, which are the historical companion texts of the RigVeda, clearly state that major sections of these Druhyus migrated to distant lands to the North.

One of these communities that spread to areas practically touching the borders of Europe came to be known as Celts, and spoke the Celtic language. In the last centuries before the Christian era Celtic was spoken over a wide area of Europe from Spain to Britain. These ancient Celts were originally the Druids, identifiable with the Druhyus. This great battle, which took place about 6500/7000 years B.P. (Before Present) can be considered the defining point of reference for the beginning of Vedic India's international history. However, around, as stated earlier, 600 years earlier another great Ikshwāku king by name Māndhātā had also fought a battle with the Druhyus, leading to westward

migration of contemporary Indica (According to Rajaram, Dasharajnya had taken place about a thousand years after Māndhātā's battle).

### **Shantanu:**

Shantanu was the second son of king Pratipa. He became king because his elder brother Devāpi renounced the throne and became a Rishi. (Devāpi composed some of the last richas of the RigVeda.) Shantanu was possessed of great prowess and was also devoted to truth. It is said he performed a thousand Ashwamedh and a hundred Rajasuya Yajnas. He is one of the kings worthy of being remembered at dawn and dusk. He was called Shantanu (sham, good, tanu, body) because whatever he touched with both hands looked youthful. His other names mentioned in the Mahabharat are Bharata, Bharatgopta, Bharatasattama, Kauravya, Kurusattama, and also Pratipa.

### **Sadyumna :**

Sudyumna was a spiritual-minded king with a keen sense of justice. According to a Puranic legend there were two brothers named Likhita and Shankha, both hermits, in his time, who lived near each other in their cottages. Once Likhita felt hungry but had no food. So he went to Shankha's cottage. Shankha had gone out, but Likhita found some vegetable in his cottage and ate it to allay his hunger. When Shankha returned and came to know about it he said taking anything without permission or knowledge of the owner was theft, so Likhita should go to the king and report it to him Likhita went to see the king, who received him with respect, but when Likhita told him what he had done he ordered both hands of the hermit to be cut, that was the punishment for theft. When Likhita returned Shankha was pleased with king Sudyumna's sense of justice as well as with Likhita's piety and used his yogic power to restore his hands.

### **Trasadasyu:**

Trasadasyu was the son of king Purukutsa and grandson of the great emperor Māndhātā. He was called Trasadasyu because he was the terror of Dasyus, but here Dasyu just means "robbers and enemies" (Swami Harshanand, Concise Hindu Encyclopaedia). Trasadasyu was a great king worthy of being remembered every day early in the morning. Later he accepted Sanyasa and became a Rajarshi.

### **Ushinara:**

Ushinara was a distinguished king of the Lunar dynasty, who was just as well as generous. He was the king of the Bhoja kingdom, and was considered as great as Indra. The story of his son king Shibi and the dove is also told about him in the Mahabharat (Aranya Parva, chap. 131).

### **Yadu:**

Yadu was the eldest son of king Yayati. As he refused to take his father's old age in exchange for his youth he lost his right to succeed his father. He then founded his own dynasty, which became famous as the Yadu/Yadava ("of Yadu") dynasty. Shri Krishna was the most illustrious scion of the Yadava Kula. The Puranas also mention two other kings named Yadu.

### **Yayati:**

Yayati succeeded his father Nahusha to the throne. He was learned in the Vedas. He had two wives, Devyani and Sharmishtha. Devyani was the daughter of Shukrāchārya, Guru of the Asuras, and Sharmishtha the daughter of Asura king Vrishaparva. In spite of his relationship with the Asuras he fought on the side of the Devas in the last, twelfth, Devāsura Sangrāma.

### **Rama :**

AMONG the galaxy of great kings of proto-historic India, the greatest without question was Rama. Rama was Purushottama, the ultimate Excellence

in Man, and as a ruler he administered his kingdom with such high standards of noble conduct that Rama Rajya has come to mean Good Governance.

#### Rama's Birth Date -

Rama was a historic figure, and Ramayana has been specifically called Inhasa, history. Vedic literature as well as Puranas contain enough astronomical data to help determine the dates of Rama's birth and some important events in his life, although dating such hoary history cannot be precise and would be subject to scholarly differences. Puranic calculations generally show Rama's date as around 4600 B.C. Jnanakosh (Marathi) puts it at 4936 B.C. According to Pushkar Bhatnagar, a researcher in dates of Rama's life, he has acquired a US-made software called 'planetarium', which, on being fed the precise details of the planetary configuration at the time of Rama's birth as stated by Valmiki, gives the year of Rama's birth as 5114 B.C. According to A New Look (Ed. N Mahalingam), Rama was born in 4439 B.C., his banishment happened in 4414 B.C., and his coronation took place in 4400 B.C.

#### Purushottama Rama -

Rama was extremely handsome and exceptionally strong. While he was highly skilled in the use of various weapons and missiles his accuracy as an archer was unparalleled. Hence the term Rama-Bana (Rama's arrow) has come to mean an unfailing remedy in any field. He was proficient in the use of a large number of astras. Vettam Mani has given a list of as many as 46, which, he says, were some of them. Rama was also learned in the scriptures and knowledgeable in the fine arts

#### Embodiment of Truth -

Above all, Rama was the very embodiment of Truthfulness. Once he gave his word, he kept it at all costs. To uphold the truth of the word his father Dasharath gave to Kaikeyi, Rama gave up his right to the throne in favour of her

son Bharat without a moment's hesitation. His father Dasharath, who was a prisoner of his own promise, urged Rama to disobey him, and even imprison him! Bharat offered to restore the throne to him and beseeched him to return. Even sage Vasishtha advised him to do so. But Rama not only abided by his father's promise but convinced all of the rightness of his resolve.

In the war with Rāvana Rama always fought in accordance with moral values. During the very first confrontation with Rāvana, Rama worsted him so decisively that he could have easily killed him. But his dedication to Dharma was so firm that he allowed Ravana to retreat to safety and recoup. Even Maricha, a Rakshasa and an enemy, paid tribute to Rama's greatness and declared he was *vigrahavān dharmah*, "Dharma Personified".

During the decipherment of nearly 2000 Indus seals by Vedic scholars Natwar Jha and Navaratna Rajaram they found that some of them contain references to Rama. There are seals that speak of *Kanta-Rāma*, that is, "Beloved Rama". One seal says *Samatvi sa ha Rama*, meaning "Rama treated all with equality." This is an echo of Ramayana, which says, *Arya Sarva Samaschaiva Sadaiva Priyadarshanah*, that is, "Arya to whom all were equal, and who was dear to everyone. There is also a reference to Rama performing a successful fire ritual (or launching a fire missile?). and another to Rama's successful crossing of the sea, both of which are mentioned in Ramayana.



## UNIT 3 : THE KING

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"The king and his rule encapsulate [all] the constituents of the state."

"A king who observes his duty of protecting his people justly, according to law, goes to heaven, unlike one who does not protect his people, or inflicts unjust punishment."

"A king who flouts the teachings of the Dharmashastras and the Arthashastra, ruins the kingdom by his own injustice."

[In the Arthashastra, 'King' is often used to signify the state, since he embodies all the constituents. In this translation, the two are used interchangeably, depending on the context. The seven sections of this Part deal only with the personal aspects of kingship.]

### 3.1 The Training of A Future King

#### The importance of Self Discipline

The three sciences (philosophy, the three Vedas and economics) are dependent [for their development] on the science of government. [For, without a just administration, no pursuit of learning or avocation would be possible.] [Government by] Rule of Law, which alone can guarantee security of life and the welfare of the people, is, in turn, dependent on [the] self-discipline [of the king].

Discipline is of two kinds - inborn and acquired. [There must be an innate capacity for self-discipline for the reasons given below.] Instruction and training can promote discipline only in a person capable of benefiting from them; people incapable of [natural] self-discipline do not benefit. Learning imparts discipline only to those who have the following mental faculties - obedience to a teacher, desire and ability to learn, capacity to retain what is learnt, understanding what is learnt, reflecting on it, and [finally] ability to make inferences by deliberating on the knowledge acquired. Those who are devoid of such mental faculties are

not benefited [by any amount of training.] One who will be a king should acquire discipline and follow it strictly in life by learning the sciences from authoritative teachers.

### **The training of Prince**

A prince [who is likely to become a king] should learn the alphabet and arithmetic as soon as the tonsure ceremony is performed [in the third year after birth]. [After a few years] when the ceremony of the sacred thread is performed (and the Prince enters the *ashrama* of a *Brahmachari*], he should learn philosophy and the three Vedas from authoritative teachers, economics from the heads of [various government] departments, and the science of government from (not only] theoretical exponents of political science [but also) from practising politicians. He should remain a *brahmachari* [a celibate student] till he is sixteen. He should then have the second tonsure ceremony and get married.

[A prince's education does not stop with his reaching manhood and getting married.] With a view to improving his self-discipline, he should always associate with learned elders, for in them alone has discipline its firm roots. His training program shall be as follows. During the first part of the day, he shall be trained in the martial arts- with elephants, horses, chariots and weapons [as an infantryman]. In the latter part of the day, he shall listen to Itihasas. In the remaining part of the day and at night, he shall prepare new lessons [for the next day], revise old lessons and listen repeatedly to things which he had not understood clearly.

For, a [trained] intellect is the result of learning [by hearing]; from intellect ensues yoga [successful application]; from yoga comes self-possession. This is what is meant by efficiency in acquiring knowledge.

Only a king who is wise, disciplined, devoted to a just governing of the subjects and [ever] conscious of the welfare of all beings will enjoy the earth unopposed.

## **3.2 Self Control**

### **Renouncing the Six Enemies**

The sole aim of all branches of knowledge is to inculcate restraint over the senses.

Self-control, which is the basis of knowledge and discipline, is acquired by giving up lust, anger, greed, conceit, arrogance and fool-hardiness. Living in accordance with the *shastras* means avoiding over-indulgence in all pleasures of [the senses, i.e.,] hearing, touch, sight, taste and smell.

A king who has no self-control and gives himself up to excessive indulgence in pleasures will soon perish, even if he is the ruler of all four comers of the earth.

[Verses (1.6.5-10) contain examples of kings who were destroyed for falling prey to one or the other of the vices mentioned above: - Dandakya, a Bhoja king and Karala, a Videha king, for having lusted after Brahmin girls; Janamejaya and Talajangha for showing anger against Brahmins; the son of Ila and Ajabindu of the Suviras, out of greed; Ravana and Duryodhana for refusing to restore another's wife or a portion of the kingdom, out of conceit about their own invulnerability; Dam- bodhbhava and Arjuna of the Haihayas because of their arrogance; and Vatapi and Vrishni (against Agastya and Dvaipayana respectively) because of their foolhardiness.]

All these, and many others, lacking self-control and falling prey to the six enemies [lust, anger, greed, conceit, arrogance and foolhardiness] perished with their kinsmen and kingdoms. On the other hand, kings like Jamadagnya and

Ambarisha, who had conquered their senses, long enjoyed their kingship on earth.

### **Rajarishi-A Wise King**

A *rajarishi* [a king, wise like a sage] is one who:

- has self-control, having conquered the [inimical temptations] of the senses,
- cultivates the intellect by association with elders,
- keeps his eyes open through spies,
- is ever active in promoting the security and welfare of the people,
- ensures the observance [by the people] of their dharma by authority and example,
- improves his own discipline by (continuing his] learning in all branches of knowledge and
- endears himself to his people by enriching them and doing good to them.

Such a disciplined king should:

- keep away from another's wife,
- not covet another's property
- practice *ahimsa* [non-violence towards all living things),
- avoid daydreaming, capriciousness, falsehood and extravagance, and
- avoid association with harmful persons and indulging in [harmful] activities.

There is no need for such a king to deprive himself of all sensual pleasures [and lead a life of total austerity] so long as he does not infringe his *dharma* or harm his own material well-being.

[Some teachers say that) the three objectives of human endeavour [*dharma*, *artha* and *kama*] are interdependent and should be pursued equally. Excessive importance given to anyone brings harm not only to that objective but to others as well.

Kautilya, however, says: *artha* (sound economics) is the most important; for, *dharma* and *kama* are both dependent on it.

A *rajarishi* shall always respect those councillors and *purohitas* who warn him of the dangers of transgressing the limits of good conduct, reminding him sharply (as with a goad) of the times prescribed for various duties and caution him even when he errs in private.

[Only a just king commands the loyalty of the people. The subjects of a just king attacked by another will follow him until death, even if he is weak. On the other hand, what a strong but unjust king is attacked, his people will either topple him or go over to the enemy. The *rajadharma* also includes just behaviour towards conquered kings and peoples. A disloyal vassal may be got rid of but the conqueror shall not covet the slain king's wealth, sons or wives and, instead, give them appropriate positions.]

### **3.3 Duties of A King**

If the king is energetic, his subjects will be equally energetic. If he is slack [and lazy in performing his duties] the subjects will also be lax and, thereby, eat into his wealth. Besides, a lazy king will easily fall into the hands of his enemies. Hence, the king should himself always be energetic.

He shall divide the day and the night, each, into eight periods of one and a half hours and perform his duties as follows:

### UNIT 3 : THE KING

Day:	
First 1 1/2 hours after sunrise	Receive reports on defence, revenue, and expenditure.
Second 1 1/2 hours after sunrise	Public audiences, to hear petitions of city and country people.
Third 1 1/2 hours after sunrise 1 1/2 hours before noon	(Personal-bath, meals, study). Receive revenue and tributes; appoint ministers and other high officials and allot tasks to them.
First 1 1/2 hours after noon	Write letters and dispatches; confer with councillors; receive secret information from spies.
Second 1 1/2 hours after noon	(Personal-recreation, time for contemplation).
Third 1 1/2 hours after noon 1 1/2 hours before sunset	Inspect and review forces. Consult with Chief of Defence.

The day shall end with evening prayers.

<b>Night:</b>	
First 1 1/2 hours after sunset	Interview with secret agents
Second 1 1/2 hours after sunset	(Personal-bath, meals, study)
3 hours before and first 1 1/2 hours after midnight.	(Retire to the bed chamber to the sound of music; sleep.)
Second 1 1/2 hours after midnight	(After waking to the sound of music, meditate on political matters and on the work to be done.)
Third 1 1/2 hours after midnight	Consult with councillors; send out spies.

1 1/2 hours before sunrise	(Religious, household and personal duties; meetings with his teacher, adviser on rituals <i>purohita</i> , personal physician, chief cook and astrologer.)
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At daybreak, he shall circumambulate a cow, its calf and a bull, and then proceed to his court.

[A king is, therefore, allowed 10 1/2 hours out of twenty four as his personal time-three hours for bath and meals, one and a half hours for recreation and six hours at night, during which he can sleep for four and a half hours. The hour and a half before sunrise is to be spent on palace affairs and personal needs. Out of the twelve hours each day to be spent on state duties, one and a half hours are to be devoted to public audiences, three hours to defence, three hours to secret consultations and intelligence and the balance four and a half hours on the administration of the state.]

The [above is only a suggestion and the] king may, in accordance with his capacity, alter the timetable and carry out his duties. When in court, he shall not make petitioners wait at the door (but attend to them promptly himself]. When a king makes himself inaccessible to his people, and he is seen (only] by those near him, wrong decisions are bound to be made, the people will become angry and may go over to the enemy.

A king shall, therefore, attend to the people in the order given below, except in cases where a matter [concerning one lower in the order] is more urgent or more important: gods and deities, hermits, heretics, Brahmins learned in the Vedas, cows, sacred places, minors, the aged, the sick, the handicapped, the helpless and women.

He should hear at once all urgent matters and not postpone them; for, postponement makes them more difficult and (sometimes] even impossible to settle.

He should decide on the affairs of persons learned in the Vedas and of ascetics with due respect to them. Such hearings shall be conducted in the room with the sacred fire, and in the presence of his teacher and the high priest. He should be particularly careful with ascetics and those expert in magic, for such people are easy to anger. Their affairs should never be heard alone but in the presence of those learned in the three Vedas.

[Brahmins take religious vows, perform sacrificial rituals, offer a fee to those who perform them and undergo initiation ceremonies.] Likewise, for a king, the vow is readiness to action, the ritual is the satisfactory performance of his duties, impartiality towards all the reward that he can offer and his coronation the initiation into a (lifelong) vocation.

In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare. He shall not consider as good only that which pleases him but treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects.

Hence the king shall be ever active in the management of the economy. The root of wealth is [economic] activity and lack of it [brings] material distress. In the absence of [fruitful economic] activity, both current prosperity and future growth will be destroyed. A king can achieve the desired objectives and abundance of riches by undertaking [productive) economic activity.

### **3.4 The King's Security**

[In addition to advice on the personal security of the King and the means of protecting the royal residence, this section also contains the precautions to be taken against danger of assassination by those family members such as queens or princes.]



## **The Royal Residence**

The king shall have his royal residence built on a site recommended by experts in the science of buildings. The complex shall be surrounded by ramparts and a moat and be provided with [guarded] gates. There shall be many halls [for different purposes, as described below].

The king's own chambers shall be built in the centre of the complex, with emergency exits for use in cases of sudden danger. Any of the following models can be adopted:

- a protected treasury [in three underground floors];
- the middle of a labyrinth with concealed passages in walls,
- an underground chamber (connected by a stairway hidden in the wall to the living quarters above) having a concealed underground passage leading to a nearby shrine, the exit from which is hidden by a wooden image of a god,
- with an emergency exit built in an upper storey with a stairway hidden in a wall, a hollow pillar or behind a concealed trap door. The type of construction can be varied [depending on actual conditions] so long as the need to safeguard oneself against attack by palace intimates is kept in mind.

(Kautilya describes a number of methods, mostly of an occult nature, for averting dangers like fire, snakes and poisons in the ground outside the palace.)

The residential quarters shall be protected against snakes and other poisons; plants which deter snakes shall be planted, snake-killers like peacocks and mongooses and birds which give warning of the presence of poison (like the parrot, shrike, heron and partridge) shall be reared.

## **Other Buildings in The Palace Complex**

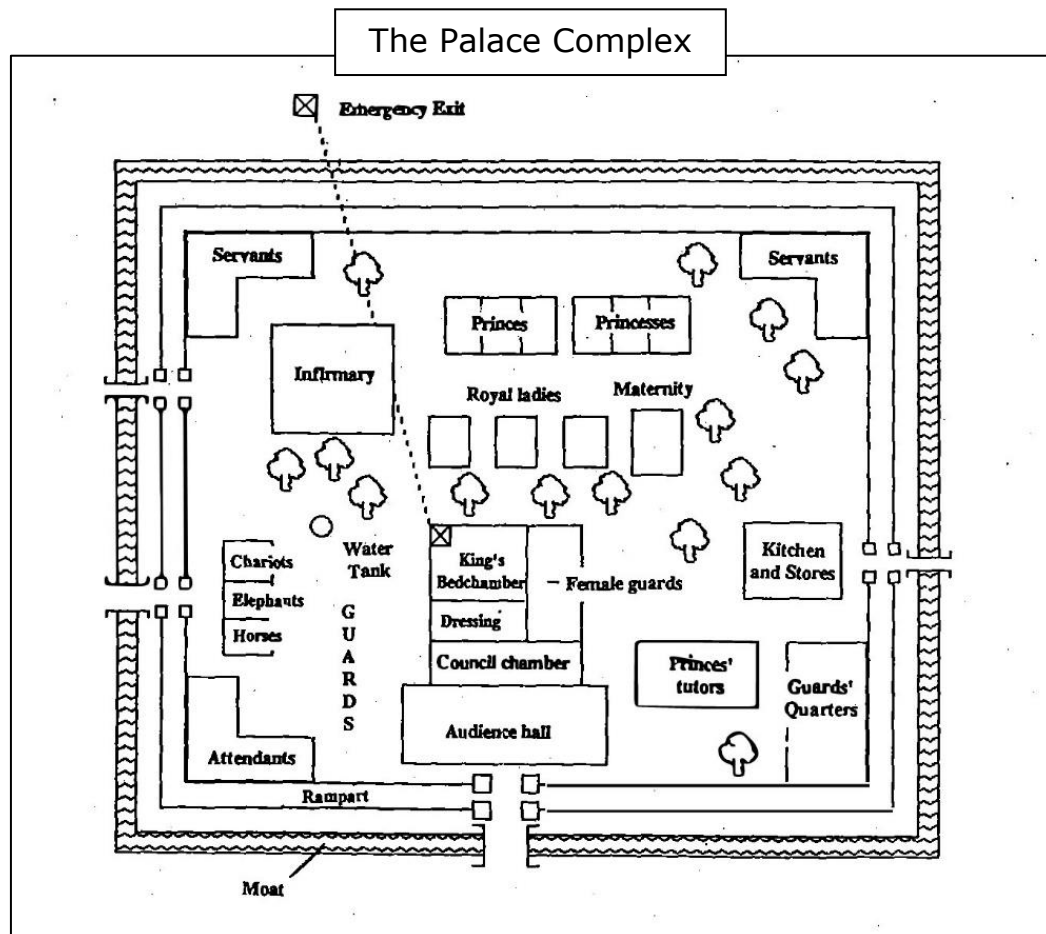
Behind the king's own chambers, there shall be built the following:- the residences of the royal ladies, the maternity ward, the infirmary, water tanks

and groves. The residences of the princes and princesses shall be beyond [this group of structures]. The following shall be built in front of the king's chamber: the king's dressing room, the council chamber, the audience hall and the hall for the education of princes. Palace guards shall be stationed in the spaces between the buildings.

### Movement Control

Everyone [in the residential complex] shall live in the quarters as- signed him and shall not move to the quarters of another. No one staying inside shall establish contact with any outsider.

Every object which comes into the palace complex or goes out of it shall be examined, its arrival and departure recorded and sent to its destination [only] after affixing the [appropriate] seal.



### 3.5 The King's Personal Security

Just as a king watches over the security of others through secret agents, so shall a wise king guard himself against dangers from others.

The king's personal guard of female archers shall guard him from an adjacent chamber while he is asleep in his own. On waking up, he shall be received in the second chamber by eunuchs (personal attendants and dressers), in the third chamber by dwarfs, hunchbacks and *kiratas* (cave-dwellers?, for good omen?) and in the fourth by ministers and kinsmen. The doors shall be guarded by lancers.

The king shall employ as his personal attendants those whose fathers and grandfathers had been royal servants, those who are bound to him by a close relationship or trained persons whose loyalty has been proved in service. Foreigners, those whose service has not been thought worthy of reward, and persons of ill will (even if they are natives of the country) shall not be employed as royal guards for protecting the king or his residence.

The head-cook shall, in a well-guarded place, supervise the cooking of tasty dishes. The king shall eat only freshly cooked food, after first making oblations to the sacred fire and offering food to birds.

Physicians and experts in the cure of poisons shall attend on the king. The king shall not take any medicine unless its purity has been tested by the physician and he, and his helpers, have tasted it first. Likewise, the king shall not drink water or wine without it first having been tasted by others.

Barbers and valets shall wait on the king only after they have had a bath and put on clean clothes. They shall receive, with clean hands, implements [of their trade), toilet articles and dresses, in a sealed condition from the concerned officer.

The king's female servants, of proven integrity, shall either supervise the work of bath-attendants, shampooers, bed-makers, launderers and garland

makers or do the work themselves. They shall offer garments and flowers [to the king] after (testing them by first] putting them to their eyes and bath oils, fragrant powders, perfumes and all other substances used for the king's toilette by applying them to their own arms and breasts. Anything received from persons outside shall be similarly tested.

Entertainers (actors and acrobats] shall not use weapons, fire or poison in their performances. The instruments of musicians shall always remain inside the palace complex. Likewise, all accoutrements of elephants and horses and all chariots shall remain inside.

The king shall mount a carriage or an animal [only] when attended by trustworthy servants and get into a boat only when there is a trust- worthy boatman and never if it is towed by another or when there is a high wind. His troops shall stand on guard at the water's edge.

He shall not go for a swim unless the water has been cleared of crocodiles and dangerous fishes. Similarly, he shall not go into a park unless cleared of snakes. He shall practice game hunting only in jungles cleared by hunters of robbers, wild animals and enemies.

[There are some people whom a king should not receive alone.] A holy ascetic shall be received only when there are trusted armed guards (because it may be a disguise). Envoys from foreign states shall be received only in the presence of ministers.)

He shall inspect fully armed troops only when fully armed himself and riding a horse, an elephant or a chariot (and not on foot).

When the king leaves or enters the fortified area, the royal road shall be lined on both sides by armed men and truncheon-bearers. The roads should be cleared of men carrying arms, ascetics and cripples [since the latter two are likely to be enemy agents], He shall not plunge into crowds. He should go to

[crowded functions such as] fairs and festivals only when protected by units of ten soldiers.

### **Protection From Queens And Princes**

A king can protect his kingdom only when he himself is protected from persons near him, particularly his wives and children.

#### **Queens**

[There are many cases of kings being murdered by queens or in the queen's apartments.] Bhadrasena was killed by his own brother, concealed in the queen's chamber; similarly, Karusha was killed by his own son, hiding under his mother's bed. Other queens have killed their husbands by putting poison in their food, with a poisoned ornament or jewel, or by a concealed weapon. Therefore, a king shall always be careful and avoid such dangers.

The king shall visit the queen in her own apartment only after an old [trusted] maidservant assures him that there is no danger from the queen. He shall forbid the queen from having contacts with ascetics with shaven-heads or matted hair, jugglers and magicians or female servants from outside. Nor should the members of the queen's family visit her except in the maternity ward or in the infirmary [i.e., when she is giving birth or is ill]. Courtesans, who attend on the queen, shall first cleanse themselves with baths and change into fresh garments. The integrity or otherwise of the queen's [personal] attendants shall be ascertained by old men over eighty years of age or old women over fifty (pretending to be a parent of some other servant), retired servants or eunuchs. These supervisors shall do their duties in the interests of the king.

#### **Princes**

As regards princes, [there are a variety of opinions. For example,] Bharadvaja says: 'Princes, like crabs, eat their begetters. A king should,

therefore, guard himself against them, right from their birth. It is better to kill them quietly if they are found wanting in affection."

'Killing is cruel', says Visalaksha. 'An innocent one may be killed [by mistake]. It is better to keep them under guard in one place, rather than destroy a *kshatriya*."

"This is like nurturing a viper', say the followers of Parasara. 'A [confined] prince would think that his father had done so out of fear and try to bring his father under his influence. Better send him off to a frontier fort.'

"This is like dragging away a fighting ram which will only rush back', says Pisuna. 'Knowing why he had been sent off, a prince might make an alliance with a frontier chief against his father. Better to let him spend his time in the fort of another king, far from [the king's] own territory.'

"This is like giving a calf as a hostage', says Kaunapadanta. "The king to whom the prince is entrusted will surely start milking the father. Better send the prince to live with his mother's kinsmen."

That, surely, raises the rallying flag!" says Vatavyadhi. "His relations are certain to go on importuning [on behalf of the prince]. Better let him be free to dissipate himself, because a son engrossed in pleasures does not hate his father."

Kautilya (totally) disagrees. This [to treat a prince with suspicion from the moment of his birth] is living death. A royal family, with undisciplined princes, will collapse under attack like a worm-eaten piece of wood. (One should take every possible precaution against a prince turning against his father.) Therefore, when the queen is ready to conceive, priests should make the necessary oblations to Indra and Brihaspati. When she is pregnant, her health shall be protected by specialist physicians so that she delivers safely. After the birth, the priests shall perform the necessary purificatory rituals. When the prince is of the right age, he should be trained by experts.

[Some teachers say that, even after all these safeguards, the loyalty of a prince should be tested.] For example, the school of Ambhi recommend that secret agents should tempt the prince with hunting, gambling, wine and women and then suggest to him that he seize the kingdom. Other secret agents should try to dissuade him.

'There can be no greater crime or sin', says Kautilya, 'than making wicked impressions on an innocent mind Just as a clean object is stained with whatever is smeared on it, so a prince, with a fresh mind, understands as the truth whatever is taught to him. Therefore, a prince should be taught what is true *dharma* and *artha*, not what is unrighteous and materially harmful."

[Instead of tempting the prince with harmful suggestions] secret agents should guard him while declaring their loyalty to him. If, in the exuberance of youth, he were to cast his eyes towards the wives of others, the [friendly] agents should make him terrified by arranging for unclean women, posing as high-born, to meet him in lonely houses at night. If he were to be tempted by wine, they should turn him off by giving him drugged liquor. If tempted by gambling, fraudulent gamblers should create an aversion. If tempted by hunting, he should be frightened by agents disguised as highway robbers. If he seems to turn his mind against his father, secret agents should first win his confidence by seeming to agree with him and then dissuade him from attacking the king. They should tell him that, if he fails in the attempt, he would be killed but [even] if he succeeds, he would be condemned to hell [for the sin of patricide]; there will also be great anger among the people who will break him like a clod of earth.

### **Punishments**

For offences against the king and royal property:

Riding a royal chariot, horse or elephant	Cutting off of a hand and a foot or a fine of 700 panas
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Reviling the king spreading false rumours about the king	Tongue pulled out
Stealing or killing a royal elephant or horse; stealing a royal chariot	Death by impaling
Having sexual intercourse with the Queen	Boiled alive

### 3.6 Revolts, Rebellions, Conspiracies and Treason

[Treason, treachery, revolt and rebellion were ever-present dangers for the King. Because he was the embodiment of the state, eliminating him was the best means of capturing the state. Everyone posed a threat. People near the king-queens, princes who wanted to usurp the throne, the *purohita*, councillors and ministers, the Chief of Defence - could turn treacherous. The people of the countryside might rebel. A commander of a frontier region might want to carve out a kingdom for him- self; tribal chiefs and vassal kings might seek to escape the authority of the king. All these potential traitors may act on their own, collude with each other or be instigated by the enemy king. The possibility of a revolt or a rebellion was particularly acute when the king was away on a military campaign; his absence for a long period from the state and his capital city provided opportunities for the traitors.

A particular cause of rebellion was discontent if the population. The king is advised to anticipate discontent and take steps to prevent them from becoming worse. Kautilya attaches great importance to the well- being of the people, if they become impoverished, they become greedy and rebellious. A list of sixteen different types of policies which lead to the impoverishment and disaffection among the people is given in (7.5.19-26) and analysed in (7.5 27-37)

Palace coups are dealt with as a special case in (9.3.9-34). A rebellion entirely within the constituents of the state could arise in the heartland of the



kingdom or in the outer regions, remote from the capital. This could be abetted in the heartland or in the outer regions, giving rise to four possibilities, these are analysed logically in (9.5.4-32). The instigation and abetting by the enemy king of internal treachery is dealt with in this translation in Part X on war. While the king had to be on guard against the treachery induced by the enemy, he is also advised in (9.3.35), to practise similar subversion of the enemy's people.

The pursuit of wrong policies [i.e., those which are not in accordance with the principles and methods described in this treatise] gives rise to the danger of a revolt. Immoderation [excessive drinking, womanising etc] is a devilish practice which rouses one's own people to revolt. A king shall employ, without hesitation, the methods of secret punishment against traitors in his own camp and against enemies; but he should do so with forbearance keeping in mind the future consequences as well as immediate results.

### **3.7 Anticipating and Avoiding Discontent**

Spies in the guise of ascetics (*mundajatila*, those with shaven heads or matted locks) shall find out who among the following are happy and who discontented:

- those dependent on the King for grains, cattle or money,
- those who help the King in prosperity and adversity,
- those who [help to] restrain an angry relative or region and
- those who repel enemies and forest chiefs.

The contented shall be appreciated by giving them additional honours and wealth.

In order to make the discontented happy, conciliation shall be the method used. If [conciliation fails and] they continue to be unhappy, they shall be used to collect taxes and fines so that they may incur the wrath of the public. When

the people come to hate them, they shall be eliminated either by inciting a popular revolt against them or by secret punishment. Alternatively, they may be sent to work in mines and factories while keeping their wives and sons under close security in order to prevent them from being used by enemies.

The [different] discontented persons shall not be allowed to come together or join hands with neighbouring princes, jungle chiefs, kinsmen who covet the throne and disgruntled princes; (in case there is a danger of this happening) sowing dissension is the method to be used.

### **3.8 Disaffection Among Subjects**

When a people are impoverished, they become greedy; when they are greedy, they become disaffected, when disaffected, they either go over to the enemy or kill their ruler themselves.

Impoverishment, greed and disaffection are engendered among subjects when the king:

1. ignores the good [people] and favours the wicked,
2. causes harm by new unrighteous practices
3. neglects the observation of the proper and righteous practices;
4. suppresses *dharma* and propagates *adharma*;
5. does what ought not to be done and fails to do what ought to be done
6. fails to give what ought to be given and exacts what he cannot rightly take;
7. does not punish those who ought to be punished but punishes those who do not deserve to be;
8. arrests those who should not be arrested but fails to arrest those who should be seized;
9. indulges in wasteful expenditure and destroys profitable undertakings;
10. fails to protect the people from thieves and robs them himself,
11. does not do what he ought to do and reviles the work done by others;

- 12.cause harm to the leaders of the people and insults those worthy of honour;
- 13.antagonizes the [wise) elders by lying and mischief,
- 14.does not recompense service done to him;
- 15.does not carry out his part of what had been agreed upon; and
- 16.by his indolence and negligence destroys the welfare of his people.

[A king who is profligate with ancestral wealth, spendthrift with his own wealth or miserly also practises wrong policies]

Therefore, the king shall not act in such a manner as would cause impoverishment, greed or disaffection among the people, if, however, they do appear, he shall immediately take remedial measures.

What are the consequences (and types] of disaffection among the subjects?

An impoverished people dread extortion and destruction of their property. They prefer an immediate peace, war or emigration: (i.e., reducing the expenditure on war, hoping for riches after victory or escaping from misery]. [As regards different types, impoverishment due to depletion of money or grains [is more serious because it] poses a danger to everything in the state and is difficult to remedy. Depletion of useful animals and men can be made good with money and grains.

Greedy people are always discontented and easily fall prey to the instigations of the enemy. [The problem is easier to remedy]. If the greedy are only a few chiefs, [they] can be satisfied by [promising them a share of] the enemy's wealth or by getting rid of them.

The disaffected rise in revolt when there is an enemy attack on the king. Disaffection can be countered by suppressing the leaders. Without the leaders, people are more easily governed, less susceptible to enemy instigations, and less capable of enduring the sufferings (of revolt). When the leaders are seized,

the people become fragmented, restrained and more able to withstand calamities.

### 3.9 Revolts and Rebellions

The king may be threatened by dangers in the interior or in the remote regions, particularly when he is about to start on an expedition. An internal rebellion is one led by a Crown Prince, the *purohita*, the Chief of Defence or a minister. A rebellion in the outer regions is one led by a chief of a region, the commander of a frontier post, a chief of a jungle tribe or a [previously subdued] vassal king.

An internal rebellion is more dangerous than one in the outer regions because it is like nurturing a viper in one's bosom.

A revolt among the councillors and ministers is a greater evil than any other type of internal revolt. Therefore, the king shall keep the treasury and the army under his [own] control.

Protection against rebellion: A king who is about to go on an expedition [of conquest], should take with him [as hostages]: i) in case of a suspicion of internal revolt, the persons suspected and ii) in case of suspicion of a frontier revolt;, the wives and sons of those suspected.

Overcoming internal rebellions: A king should not go on an expedition until he had suppressed the rebellion, appointed a Viceroy and placed the capital under different types of troops and under many different chiefs. If the rebellion is due to the king's own faults, he shall correct them, If the rebellion is due to no fault of his, it should be dealt with according to the power for importance) of the rebel and the gravity of the offence. For example, a rebel Crown Prince shall be put to death, if the king has another virtuous son; if (however, the rebellious] Crown Prince is an only son, he shall be imprisoned. A *purohita*, however great his offence, [shall not be executed but] shall be punished by exile or imprisonment.

Revolt by close kinsmen: A king shall energetically suppress a revolt by a son, a brother or a close kinsman. If he lacks the means to do so, the king may allow the rebel [to keep] what he had seized and enter into a treaty with him, in order to prevent him from joining the enemy. It is better to send a harassing force, the forces of a neighboring king or those of a jungle chieftain against him and while the rebel is busy fighting these, attack him from a different direction. Alternatively, the means recommended for use against a disgruntled prince should be employed. [Lastly,] the means suggested for instigating sedition inside an enemy's fort can also be used to create a revolt in the rebel's camp.

Revolt by Ministers etc.: Internal revolts by a minister or Chief of Defence and a rebellion in the outer regions by a chief shall be dealt with by methods similar [to those described above.] Conciliation shall be tried first in the case of ministers suspected of treason, if it succeeds, the use of the other (three) methods becomes unnecessary. [Likewise,] placating traitorous ministers with gifts shall be tried first making it unnecessary to use any of the other methods.

Revolts in the outer regions by jungle chiefs etc.: [Revolts by a commander of a frontier region, a jungle chief or a vassal king are different in character because they are more likely to seek independence from the King.] The following methods shall be used to suppress these successfully. A revolt by one can be tackled by setting another against him. If the rebel is strongly entrenched in a fort, he shall be subdued by using a neighbouring king, a jungle chieftain, a kinsman or a prince out of favour. (If this is not possible,) the rebel should be made an ally, so as to prevent him from going over to the enemy. [If necessary,] secret agents shall be used to sow discord between the rebel and the enemy. The agents shall warn the rebel that (i) the enemy king was only making use of him temporarily and would discard him once his aim was achieved (by sending him on expeditions, posting him to a difficult place or sending him far away from his family) or (ii) if the rebellion should fail, the enemy king would either sell him or make his own peace with the king, abandoning the rebel to his own fate. If the rebel agrees [not to join the enemy], he should be rewarded

with honours. If he refuses, the secret agent shall reveal himself and get the rebel killed by his own warriors instigating them with promises of reward, or by using other agents.

A king shall instigate rebellion against an enemy but suppress those against himself. He should understand how an enemy can instigate revolt in his territory, adopting the same kind of techniques which he himself would use against the enemy.

### Types of Revolt

[Since a revolt can arise either in the interior or in the outer regions, there are four logical possibilities, depending on where it arises and where it is abetted. The four types, their relative seriousness and the methods of dealing with them are shown in the table below.

Type	Instigator in	Abettor in	Seriousness	Tackle	Method
1.	Interior	Outer	Least serious	Abettor	Conciliation Gifts
2.	Outer	Interior	2 <sup>nd</sup> least	Abettor	Dissension Force
3.	Outer	Outer	2 <sup>nd</sup> most	Instigator	Dissension Force
4.	Interior	Interior	Most	Instigator	All Four

It is seen, from the above, that a cross revolt between two regions is less serious than one instigated and abetted within the same region; a wholly internal revolt is the most serious.]

Understanding clearly the nature of various types of a wise king shall be on guard against the following: (i) rebels in the outer regions joining up with other rebels in the outer regions, (ii) those in the interior joining up with others

in the interior and (iii) potential rebels in the two regions conspiring together. He shall always protect himself from both those near him and those in the remote regions [of the kingdom].

Of the four types of rebellion, the one [wholly] in the interior shall be tackled first.

The above order is subject to the qualification that a revolt instigated by a strong personality is [always] more serious than one started by a weaker man, wherever he may be.

Types 1 and 2-Cross-regional: The way of successfully overcoming these two types is by tackling the one who responds. More than the instigators, the abettors make the success (of the conspiracy) possible; for, if the abettors are subdued, the instigators will find it difficult to tempt others. To instigate a conspiracy in a different region requires enormous effort and this [itself] is an advantage to the King.

Type 1: In this case, (of the responders living within the country) the king should make use of either conciliation or placating with gifts.

Type 2: In this case, the king should either [try to] sow dissension or use force. [There are two ways of sowing dissension] (i) Secret agents, posing as friends of those (in the outer regions) likely to succumb to instigation, should cast doubts on the motives of the internal instigators by implying that the King was, in fact, using the latter as agents to subdue those in the outer regions, (ii) Agents may act as if they themselves were traitors in league with the instigators and then sow dissension between the two groups. [The two ways of using force are: (i) assassins may be sent to befriend the abettors and kill them with weapons or poison and (ii) the abettors may be invited (to the capital) and then killed.

Types 3 and 4: The way of successfully overcoming these two types of conspiracies is to tackle the instigator. For, when the cause of treason is

removed, there will be no traitors. If one removes only abettors, others may become so [by falling prey to the instigator.

Type 3: Sowing dissension and force are the methods to be used in cases where the instigators and the abettors are both in the outer region. [Dissension:] Secret agents may cast doubts on the abettors, implying that they really were the agents of the king who intends to subdue them all. [Force:] Assassins should infiltrate the troops of the responder and attack them [stealthily] with weapons, poisons and other means; then, other secret agents should accuse the responder of the crimes.

Type 4: In the case of a conspiracy wholly in the interior, the king should use any of the [four] means, as appropriate. He may use conciliation if the instigator acts as if contented even if he is not (or acts discontented without really being so). Gifts may be given to him, on happy and sad occasions, on the pretext of appreciating his loyalty or in ostensible consideration of his welfare [thus placating him]. A spy, posing as a friend could warn him that the king was about to test his loyalty, and that he should tell the truth. Attempts may be made to divide the conspirators by telling each one that the other was carrying tales to the King (Lastly) the different methods of secret punishment could be used.

### **Villains and Upright Conspirators**

[In order to counteract revolts and rebellions, particularly conspiracies between the interior and outer regions, it is necessary to understand the motivations of the instigator, who may be an upright man or a villain. Kautilya argues that the intention of an instigator is only to use for a time the one who responds in order to get rid of the king and then eliminate the responder himself later. An upright conspirator shall be tackled by making an agreement with him, satisfying his legitimate demands; a villain shall be dealt with by force.)



A king shall try to win over secretly anyone who can start a revolt or can put one down. He shall approach one who is true to his word, capable of helping the king in achieving his objectives or of saving him from difficulties. He shall first form a judgment about whether the man is upright or a villain. Upright men conspire for the sake of others similarly placed [while villains do so only for their own benefit?]

The king shall make a treaty with an upright man [and keep it.] With a villain, a treaty shall be made with a view to outmaneuvering him.

The villain from the outer regions instigates one in the interior to revolt with the following intentions. He expects that, if the revolt succeeds, the one in the interior will accept the villain as king, thereby making the villain a double gainer death of the king and obtaining the kingdom. If, however, the revolt fails, the king will kill the interior rebel, with the result that the rebel's family and supporters will come over to the villain. Others in a situation similar to that of the dead conspirator will also become a large conspiratorial faction, for fear of being punished by the king. Even if they do not become rebels, the king will be suspicious of them and they can be eliminated one by one through [fake] letters, carried by condemned men, implicating them.

The villain in the interior instigates one in the outer regions to revolt with the following intentions. While the villain appropriates the king's treasury and destroys the king's troops, he induces the other conspirator to kill the king. Or, the villain will embroil the one in the outer regions in a war with enemies or jungle tribes, in order to entangle his army, deepen his enmities and thus bring him under the control of the villain; then, the villain will either please the king by betraying the fellow-conspirator or seize the kingdom himself. Once brought under control, the villain could also imprison his fellow-conspirator and thus gain his land as well as the king's land, or, he may invite the fellow-conspirator to pay a visit and when he trustingly responds, get him killed; or, when he is away from his base, may absorb his territory.

### 3.10 Treachery

[There are three possibilities:

- (i) treason wholly within the constituents of a state,
- (ii) treachery instigated by the enemy and
- (ii) enemy instigated treachery computed by internal treason

The first two are called 'simple' types and the third, "compounded"]

There are two [distinct] types of (simple) treachery [not complicated by collusion between the two]: internal treachery and treachery by the enemy. (9.6.1)

The king shall use all the means except force [i.e., conciliation, placating with gifts and sowing dissension] to prevent the people of the city and the *janapada* from being corrupted into treason by traitors. For, force cannot be used against a large number of people. Even if used, it might not produce the desired result and might even become counterproductive. However, the king shall [be free to] use any method of secret punishment against the ring-leaders.

A bigger conspiracy is born if the traitors and those still loyal join hands. [To avoid this danger] success [should be sought] through those [still] loyal. For, in the absence of support [from the people], treachery which needs support cannot exist.

Of the four means of dealing with dangers, [conciliation, placating with gifts, sowing dissension and use of force], it is easier to employ a method earlier in the order. In the case of a son, a brother or a kins- man, the appropriate methods are conciliation and placating with gifts. In the case of city people, people of the countryside or the army, placating the leaders with gifts or sowing dissension among them are the Fight methods. In the case of neighbouring princes or jungle chiefs, the right methods are sowing dissension and using force. This order is *anuloma* [natural and, therefore, recommended]; if the methods

are used in the reverse order (*dana* before *sama* or *danda* before *bheda*) it is *pratiloma* (unnatural).

### **Secret Methods**

High officials, who benefit from service under the king, may become inimical to the king of their own accord or in league with the enemy. They should be dealt with using clandestine agents or by winning over those in danger of being seduced by them. The methods suggested for (taking over) an enemy town could also be adopted.

Sometimes, traitorous high officials, who cause harm to the kingdom, cannot be dealt with openly either because they are power full or because they are united. It is the duty of the king to suppress such people using secret methods. Three kinds of secret methods can be used- using kinsmen, entrapment and playing one against the other.

The traitor may surrender with his troops to the Crown Prince or the Chief of Defence. They should immediately show the traitor some favours but later proceed against him. The King shall then send the traitor to his death with a weak army and [chosen] assassins (as described under secret methods).

Among the sons of the traitors who had been eliminated, the one who is not disloyal shall get the patrimony.

Thus the kingdom will continue to be enjoyed by the king's sons and grandsons, free from the dangers caused by [seditious) men.

[Traitors are also fair game for collecting revenue by a variety of fraudulent means, though Kautilya recommends these only in extreme cases of financial difficulty and after exhausting all other means of supplementing revenue.

### 3.11 Succession

(Kautilya lays considerable emphasis on the importance of the royal line. In (7.11.28), it is said that the people will desert even a strong king, he is not of royal blood. Nobility of birth is also referred to in verses (8.2.20,23) translated in the next section. The importance of sons for continuing the royal line is dealt with extensively in (7.17) on the giving of hostages. (7.17.20), in particular, stresses the importance of legitimate sons over illegitimate ones.

While the eldest son is normally the successor to the throne, he can be by-passed if he is unfit to hold the office. Any other successor must, however, be one who can assure the continuity of the lineage of the monarchy. Chapters (1.7) and (1.8) also deal with disgruntled princes as well as worthy ones unjustly treated by the King.

An important chapter, (5.6), deals with orderly succession in the event of the death of the King due to natural causes or in the battlefield. Since the integrity of the kingdom is likely to be threatened in such times of transition, the chief councillor has the responsibility of averting dangers from princes, other relatives, ministers, rebellious chiefs and neighbouring kings. (5.6) also deals with the interesting topic of regency, when the chief councillor has to act not only as the regent but also as the guardian of a young prince. The designation of chief councillor, as such, does not exist in the Arthashastra, we have to presume that the senior most of the most respected among the councillors managed the succession.]

### Princes

Sons are of three kinds. A wise son is one who understands dharma and artha when taught and also practises these. A lazy son is one who understands what he is taught but does not practise them. A wicked son is he who hates dharma and artha and [therefore] is full of evil.

If the only son of a king turns out to be evil, efforts shall be made to get a son born to him Alternatively, grandsons shall be begotten through daughters.

### **Rules for succession:**

Unless there are dangers in it, succession of the eldest son is praiseworthy.

An only son, if he is wicked, shall not [under any circumstances] be installed on the throne.

An old or sick king shall get a child begotten on his wife by one of the following: his mother's kinsman, a close relation [of the same gotra] or a virtuous neighbouring prince. A king with many sons acts in the best interests [of the kingdom] only if he removes a wicked one from the succession.

Sovereignty can [sometimes] be devolved on the royal family [collectively]. An [oligarchic] family is difficult to conquer and, being free of the dangers of anarchy, can survive forever on this earth.

### **Disgruntled Sons**

Secret agents shall inform a king if a son is disgruntled (and likely to become a rebel]. If the prince is an only son and is loved, he shall be imprisoned. If a king has many sons, the disgruntled prince shall be sent off to the frontier or somewhere else [where there is no danger of his becoming powerful] avoiding regions where he can cause a disturbance or where the people may adopt him as a native son, or use him as a bargaining counter in order to increase their power. If the disgruntled son has good personal qualities, he shall be made the Chief of Defence or heir-apparent [to assure him of his succession without having to rebel against his father].

A son unjustly treated: [It may so happen, sometimes, that a prince of good qualities and worthy of succeeding the king is unjustly treated by his father. In such a case:] a disciplined prince, who is harassed and given unworthy tasks,

shall [nevertheless] obey his father, unless the work is such that his life is threatened (ii) it arouses the people against him or (ii) involves committing a heinous sin. If, however, he is given a worthwhile job to do, he shall take the help of efficient officers and perform the task with zeal, duly supervised by the officers. He shall send to his father the normal profit from the work as well as the additional profit gained through his efforts, If the king is still not pleased with him and shows partiality to another son or another wife [other than his mother], the prince shall ask to withdraw to the forest.

If the prince is afraid that the king may imprison him or put him to death, he shall seek refuge with a worthy neighbouring king, one who is known to be just, righteous and truthful, who keeps his promises and welcomes and respects those who have sought asylum. Under the protection of such a king, the prince shall collect together an army and resources, marry into influential families, make alliances with jungle tribes and win over people [in his father's kingdom, with a view to taking over the throne by force].

If he [cannot find a suitable refuge and] acts alone, he shall maintain himself by working in gold, precious stones or articles of gold and silver. After entering into their confidence and giving them stupefying drugs, he shall secretly rob the wealth of: heretical groups, rich widows, traders in caravans and sailing ships or temples (which are not used by Brahmins learned in the Vedas). He shall then use the methods suggested for instigating sedition inside an enemy's fort to incite a rebellion in his father's fort. Or, he shall attack the king with the help of people from his mother's family.

[The prince could also act in a covert manner.] He may disguise himself as an artisan, an artist, a minstrel, a physician, a story-teller or a heretic and, accompanied by assassins similarly disguised, enter the king's palace [clandestinely] and kill him with weapons or poison. He shall then announce to the king's supporters that, as the Crown Prince, the kingdom should have been

enjoyed jointly and not by one person alone. He shall then offer to reward with double food and I double wages all those who agree to serve him.

The king's countermeasures: [Faced with a disgruntled prince who is likely to become a traitor] the king shall-use the sons of high officials or the prince's mother (if he has confidence in her) to persuade the prince to come to the king's court. [If he refuses to come] he shall be abandoned to be killed by assassins with weapons or poison. If the king does not want the prince killed, secret agents shall capture him by making him drunk, or while hunting or at night using women of bad character; he shall then be brought before the king.

When he is brought before the king, an only son shall be pacified by promising him the kingdom after the father's death but kept under confinement. If there are other sons, the disgruntled prince shall be killed.

### **3.12 Organizing Succession on the Death of a King**

The following shall be done by councilors when the king is seriously ill or about to die, in the interests of continuity and peace full transfer of sovereignty without loss to the corpus of the kingdom.

Well before the anticipated death of the king, the councilor shall, with the help of his friends and followers, allow visitors [to see the king] once in a month or two, [in order to conceal the seriousness of the king's illness, more frequent visits shall be avoided] on the plea that the king was very busy in performing special rites for the prevention of national calamities, the destruction of enemies, long life or getting a son. When [unavoidably] necessary, a double of the king may be shown to the people and envoys (of allies and enemies), at such times when the deception would not be obvious, the double shall hold discussions with envoys [only] through the councillor. With the connivance of the Commandant of the Palace Guards and the King's Chamberlain, the councillor shall give the impression that the king performs all his daily duties. He shall keep the people

happy by punishing those who do harm and rewarding those who have been helpful.

The councillor shall collect both the treasury and the army together in one place, either within the fort or at the frontier, and place them under the charge of two trustworthy men. Princes, close relatives of the king and important officials shall also be brought together under some pretext.

If a commander of a fort or of a jungle region slows hostility, he shall be won over or sent off on a dangerous expedition or to visit an ally of the king.

A neighbouring king, from whom an attack, is feared, shall be captured by inveigling him to visit the kingdom for a festival, wedding, elephant hunt, horse sale or land grant; or, he shall be captured by an ally. Then, an agreement, which is not treasonable (i.e. not against the interests of the dying king), can be concluded with him. (If this is not possible] trouble shall be caused to the threatening king by [inciting] jungle chiefs or other enemies against him. (Alternatively.) a kinsman of his family who covets the throne or an unjustly treated prince of his house shall be won over with promises of territory and set against the suspected king. If, however, a commander or a neighbouring king [actually] rises in revolt, the councillor shall invite him with promises of crowning him as king and [then] have him killed, Or, he shall use [against the rebel] the methods suggested for dealing with conspiracies.

[After having made sure of the conditions for a peaceful transfer of sovereignty,] the councillor shall:

- first get the support of the other members of the royal family, princes and important officials to declare a prince as having already been crowned [even before the death of the king],

- announce the serious illness of the king after gradually transferring the burden of the kingdom to the Crown Prince,



- or continue the administration, taking due care against internal and external conspiracies.

Death of a king during war : In case a king dies in enemy territory [during a war], the councillor shall:

- retreat, after making a treaty with the enemy with the help of a friend posing as an enemy [in order to get the best terms],

- install a neighbouring king in the capital and then retreat [from the war],

- crown the heir apparent (at once] and fight back; or

- if attacked by the enemy, take the measures described elsewhere.

### **3.13 Regency**

[There may be cases where there is either no Crown Prince or one too young.] Bharadvaja argues that, in such a case, the councillor himself shall take possession of the kingdom. (His argument is:] If for the sake of a kingdom, fathers can fight sons, and sons fathers, why not a councillor, one of the principal constituents of the state? He shall not disdain what has, of its own accord, fallen into his hands. As the popular saying goes: 'If you scorn a woman who comes to you voluntarily, she will only heap curses on you.'" [So it is with a kingdom rajyasri) Therefore, [says Bharadvaja,] when the king is dying, the councillor shall make the members of the royal family, the princes and important officers fight with each other or with other officers. Those who oppose shall be eliminated by (engineering) a popular uprising. Or, he shall secretly get rid of the contenders to the throne. The right time comes but once to one who is waiting for an opportunity, it will not come again when he next wants to achieve the same thing."

Kautilya considers the above advice immoral and one likely to provoke the people to revolt. In any case, the councillor cannot be certain that lie will be accepted as king. It is better that he installs on the throne a worthy royal prince

[such as the brother of the dead king] If there is none such, he shall choose a prince (who may not be fully worthy) or a princess or a pregnant queen. He shall then call a meeting of all the high officials and tell them "This is our fate. Think of the father and of your own duty as persons of virtue and nobility. This person (prince, princess or unborn child is only a symbol and you are the masters. Advise me on what I shall do.' As he is talking, clandestine agents, having been briefed beforehand, shall say: "Who else but this one can protect the people of the four *varnas*, [so long as] as you guide him? [The other ministers are then certain to agree to the proposal.] The councillor shall then install the prince, princess or pregnant queen on the throne and proclaim the fact kinsmen and to envoys of allies and enemies. He shall increase the rations and salaries of ministers and armed forces. He shall also promise that, when the (young) prince grows up, there will be further increases. Similar raises and promises shall also be given to the commanders of forts and senior officers in the countryside. [As a regent, he shall deal with allies and enemies as appropriate and strive to educate and train the prince.

[If there is neither a young prince nor a pregnant queen,] he shall cause an offspring to be born to a princess by a man of the same caste. The prince thus born shall be crowned. [While the prince is growing up.] a poor but handsome man of the same family shall be kept near the mother, lest her mind wavers (and she takes on a lover who may become a danger to the state and the young prince). He shall ensure that the mother does not become pregnant again. The prince shall be provided with a young playmate. The regent shall not enjoy any luxuries himself but shall provide the young king with chariots, riding animals, ornaments, dresses, women and palaces.

When the prince grows up, the councillor shall seek to retire, to find out the young king's mind. If the king is unhappy with him, he shall give up his duties. If the king is pleased, he shall continue to protect him. If he is tired of his responsibilities, he shall retire to a forest or perform lengthy sacrifices, but [only] after instructing a specially selected secret group to continue to protect

the king If the king falls under the influence of some high officials, the councillor shall with the help of those dear to the king, teach him the principles of politics and government by illustrative stories from the Itihasas and Puranas. [If this does not succeed,] he shall put on the appearance of an ascetic, bring the king under his influence and punish the traitors by appropriate secret practices.

### **3.14 Abnormality of Kingship**

Just as calamities can affect any of the other six constituent elements of a state, kingship too may be affected by adversity, Most of chapter 8.2 is, therefore, devoted to an examination of different types of kings, seen from the point of view of the kingdom as a whole. The technique used is that of comparison by pairs.

**Dyarchy and Foreign Rule:** Some teachers say that rule by a single [king, even if he is a] foreigner is better than a joint rule by two kings. The kingdom is destroyed [if there are two kings] by each one showing partiality to his own group, or by mutual rivalry and hatred. But a foreign king leaves things alone, being anxious to win the affection of the people and enjoy the kingdom as it is.

Kautilya disagrees. Rule by a father and a son, or by two brothers, has been known to have happened; with equal concern for the welfare [of the people] they keep the ministers in check. A foreign king, on the other hand, is one who has seized the kingdom from a [legitimate] king still alive; because it does not belong to him, he impoverishes it [by extravagance], carries off its wealth or sells it. If the country becomes too difficult for him to handle, he abandons it and goes away.

**An uneducated king and a deviant one:** The teachers say that, between a king who is blind [to the light of knowledge] and a king who deliberately deviates from the teachings, the former is a greater evil. For, an uneducated king does not discriminate between good and bad, is obstinate or is (easily) led by others; such a king ruins the kingdom by his [acts of] injustice. A king who deviates

from the right teachings can be persuaded to return [to the right path] whenever his mind goes astray.

Kautilya disagrees. An unlearned king can be made to follow the [right] courses of action, if advised by good helpers. A deviant king, on the other hand, is always bent on acting contrary to the [right] teachings, and, by his injustice, ruins the kingdom himself.

**A sick King and a new [usurping] king:** The teachers say that a sick king is worse; either he loses the kingdom (due to the intrigue of his ministers) or he loses his life by trying to carry on [as if he was healthy]. A new king, on the other hand, pleases the people by actions designed for their benefit such as performing his duties properly, bestowing favours, remitting taxes, distributing gifts and conferring honours.

Kautilya disagrees. A sick king can carry out his duties as he had done before. A new king who has acquired the kingdom by his own might [usually] does as he pleases, as if it was his personal property. If he has been helped by others in the takeover, he has to tolerate them [even] if they oppress the country. [There is also the danger of instability because] a usurper, with no firm roots among the people, is easily overthrown.

[The advice given above has to be qualified by taking into account the nature of the illness of the sick king and the nobility of birth [or otherwise] of the usurper.] In the case of a sick king, a distinction has to be made between one suffering from a foul disease (due to immoral behaviour] and one who is sick due to normal causes. In the case of a new king, a distinction has to be made between one of noble birth and a low-born one.

A weak but noble king and a strong but low-born one: The teachers say that the people prefer a strong king, though low-born, (precisely] because he is strong. Though nobly-born, the people can be induced to follow a weak king only with difficulty.

Kautilya disagrees. People will naturally obey a high-born king though he is weak, because a man of nobility has a natural capacity to rule. Furthermore, people frustrate the intrigues of the low-born, however strong he may be, because, as the saying goes 'When there is love, one sees all the virtues in the beloved.'

### 3.15 How kingship came into being?

In Shantiparva of Mahabharata we have a statement about the way the people had organised their political affairs. It is stated:

न वै राज्यं न राजा आसीत् न च दंडो न दांडिकः ।

धर्मेणैव प्रजाः सर्वाः रक्षन्ति स्म परस्परम् ॥

*na vai rājyam na rājā āsit na ca dando na dāndikḥ dharmenaiva prajāḥ sarvāḥ rakṣanti sma parasparam ||*

"In the beginning, there was no political unit as such, nor was there any king. There was no instrument of punishment nor was there any administrator to award punishments. All the people protected each other under the impulse of Dharma the desire to live virtuously."

Kautilya gives a glimpse of the conditions when the people forgot to protect one another through virtuous conduct and began behaving following the law - might is right. He states "मत्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे (1-13-5) *matsyān yā yabhibhutāḥ prajā manum vaivasvatam rājānam cakrire* - people overwhelmed with fear because of the law of fishes i.e. the bigger one eats the smaller one made Manu the son of Vivasvan, their king." This is the origin of kingship. When people saw that ordinarily each one wanted to live in peace, yet there were certain elements with muscle power to brow-beat the others and appropriate to them a larger size of the cake, they decided to have a leader who

would protect them all and create an atmosphere of peace. In such an atmosphere alone, one pursues his avocations without fear or favour and develop one's personality to its fullest potential.

The people then decided to allot to the king sixth of the produce and one tenth of the other commodities and money (i.e. gold and silver) as his share (I-13-6). Thus secured of his own maintenance, the king looks after the well-being and protection of those under his charge. It is the duty of everybody to pay these taxes and also pay fines for actions against the rules laid down by him.

It is also the duty of the king to award adequate punishment to the guilty and adequate protection to the rithteous i.e. who obey his laws. Manu lays down the dictum:

यावान् अवध्यस्य वधे तावान् वध्यस्य मोक्षणे ।

अधर्मो नृपतेर्दृष्टो धर्मस्तु विनियच्छतः ॥ (IX-249)

*yāvān avadhyasya vadhe tāvān vadhyasya mokṣane | adharmo nṛpaterdṛṣṭo dharmastu viniyatchataḥ ||*

"The king commits sin in punishing the non-guilty. He commits equal sin in not punishing the guilty. The king, therefore, should award punishments according to law. This way the king earns merit."

In order that the king should perform his part according to the law, even the foresters pay their share of taxes to the king.

The king has to possess the knowledge of the Vedas along with the subsidiary sciences. He should be an intelligent and alert person. He should love hard and righteous work. His mind should be worshipful and should ever be of obliging disposition.

वेदवेदांगवित् प्राज्ञः सुतपस्वी नृपो भवेत् ।

दानशीलश्च सततं यज्ञशीलश्च भारत ।। शांतिपर्व 69-31

*Vedavedāṅgavit prājñah sutapasvī nr̥po bhavet | dānsilāśca satatam yajnasīlāśca Bhārata ||*

As the wisdom in organising our society, displayed by our seers, points out, there are always a very few persons who have the capacity to master the different arts and sciences and who are capable of providing the leadership to the masses. The Vedas (R.V.X 173-174) have laid down certain norms for the selection of the king. The above verse from Mahabharata shows that he should be a person with profound knowledge of the different arts and sciences. In addition he should possess courage, self-confidence and qualities of leadership. It is wrong to suppose that all the power was concentrated in the person of the king. He was always aided and advised by his ministers, though the final decision vested in him. But that is the position even today. The Prime Minister today takes that decision after weighing the pros and cons of the advice given to him by his other colleagues.

Kautilya further likens the king with Indra and Yama, the heavenly gods the dispensers of true justice and punishment respectively. Of course he is not a whimsical god. The Hindu gods always act according to the rules laid down for the good of the mankind. In Manu 7-3-8, the origin of the king-ship is traced to the necessity of establishing order and rule of law amongst his subjects who otherwise would be plagued by chaos and confusion. The king is said to be a great goddess in the form of man "*Mahatī devatā hyeṣaḥ nararupenātiṣthat*" (7-3-8). But this is not similar to the 'divine right' theory of kings as developed by the Western Scholars. For God is never jealous here in Indian context. He is after the welfare of his subjects. He is also there to punish the wrong-doer. In Indian parlance every animal has a divine origin, for in his heart dwells that immortal Being.

The King according to Kautilya is he who himself acts according to the Dharma and promulgates it amongst his subjects. Dharma is the king supreme. It is the ruler of men and matters. Dharma is righteousness (3-1-38). The king who behaves this way, goes to heaven (3-1-4). His duty is to protect (raksana) his subjects as well as to help them to bring about their welfare (palana). The subjects are to be protected from anti-social elements like deceitful artisans and traders, thieves, dacoits and murderers, as well as from natural calamities such as fire, floods and quakes, etc. To ward off external dangers or aggression and protect his subjects is the foremost duty of a king.

### **3.16 King's responsibilities:**

King has always to be active. His activity constitutes vigilance about what is happening in his state as well as on the borders of his state. If he is not careful about the welfare of his subjects, they may be dissatisfied and overthrow his rule. If he is not vigilant about the borders of his state, the enemies will be active and attack him, and as a result end his rule.

For this purpose he had to divide his day and night into eight parts. During the first eighth part of the day, he should listen to measures taken for defence and accounts of income and expenditure. During the second, he should look into the affairs of the citizens and the country people. During the third, he should take his bath and meals and devote himself to study. During the fourth, he should receive revenue in cash and assign tasks to heads of departments. During the fifth, he should consult the council of his ministers, send letters to whomsoever he finds it necessary and acquaint himself with secret information brought in by spies. During the sixth, he should engage in recreation at his pleasure or hold consultations. During the seventh, he should review elephants, horses, chariots and troops. During the eighth, he should deliberate on military plans with commander-in-chief. When the day is ended, he should worship the evening twilight, and offer prayers. Thus ends the King's day.



During the first part of the night, he should interview secret agents. During the second, he should take a bath and meal and engage in study. During the third, he should go to bed to the strains of musical instruments and sleep during the fourth and the fifth (parts). During the sixth, he should awaken to the sound of musical instruments and ponder over the teachings of the science of politics as well as over the work to be done. During the seventh, he should sit in consultation with councillors and despatch secret agents. During the eighth, he should receive blessings from priests, preceptors and chaplain, and see his physician, chief cook and astrologer. And after going round a cow with her calf and a bull, he should proceed to the assembly hall.

Or, he should divide the day and night into (different) parts in conformity with his capacity and carry out his tasks.

After arriving at the assembly hall, he should allow unrestricted entrance to those wishing to see him in connection with their affairs. For, a king difficult of access is made to do the reverse of what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, by those near him. In consequence of that, he may have to face an insurrection of the subjects or subjugation by the enemy. Therefore, he should look into the affairs of temple deities, hermitages, heretics, Brahmins learned in the Vedas, cattle and holy places, of minors, the aged, the sick, the distressed and the helpless and of women in this order, or, in accordance with the importance of the matter or its urgency.

These classes should always receive the King's attention on priority basis. The people love the king who pays attention to their good... He should hear at once every urgent matter, and not put it off. An affair postponed becomes difficult or even impossible to settle.

He should look into the affairs of persons learned in the Vedas and of ascetics after going to the fire sanctuary and in the company of his chaplain and preceptor, after getting up from his seat and saluting those suitors.

But he should decide the affairs of ascetics and of persons versed in the practice of magic, in consultation with persons learned in the three Vedas, not by himself alone, for the reason that they might be roused to anger.

For the king, the sacrificial vow is activity, looking after administration of his affairs is sacrifice, impartiality of behavior is his fee and sacrificial initiation for him is the coronation.

In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king and in what is beneficial to the subjects, his own benefit. What is dear to himself is not beneficial to the king, but what is dear to subject is beneficial to him.

Therefore, being ever active, the king should carry out the management of material well-being of his subjects. The root of material well-being is activity, of material disaster is its reverse.

In the absence of activity, there is certain destruction of what is obtained and of what is not yet received. By activity reward is obtained, and one also secures abundance of riches.

It will be observed from these duties laid down for the king, that the king is a very over- burdened person. But only a person with necessary capacity, knowledge and aptitude is chosen as a king. The king is supposed to take sleep only for three hours. The rest of the time, he has to judiciously use it for the affairs of the State. If we remember that Kautilya was a very scrupulous and practical administrator, whatever he has reduced to writing as the duties of the King were meant to be actually observed in practice.

Let's understand about the different Kings and their Empires in Bharatvarsha after the Mahabharat War in next Units.

## UNIT 4 : SHISHUNAG, NANDA AND MAURYAN DYNASTY

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### 4.1 Shishunaga Dynasty :

Shishunaga or Shishunabha was the king of Kashi. He was very ambitious. He invaded the kingdom of Magadha and secured the throne. He coronated himself as the king-Emperor in 394 B.C. and ruled for forty years. He placed his son on the throne at Kashi.

#### The kings of Shishunaga dynasty:

Sr.No	Name	Regnal years	B.C. years
1.	Shishunaga	40	394-354
2.	Kakavarna or Shakavarna	36	354-318
3.	Kshemadharma	26	318-292
4.	Kshatruja	40	292-252
5.	Vidhisara or Vimbisara or Bimbisara	38	252-214
6.	Ajatashatru	27	214-187
7.	Darbhka Or Darshaka	35	187-152
8.	Uday	33	152-119
9.	Nanlivardhan	42	119-77
10.	Mahanand	43	77-34

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Bimbisara came to the throne in the year 252 B.C. He ruled upto (252-214) 1814 BC

The Mahavamsa and Ashokavadana, the Buddhist chronicles, call him as Bimbisara. Hemachandra calls him Shrenika. All these Buddhist works state that Gautama the Buddha was five years junior to this Bimbisara. Buddha is stated to have attained his Nirvana in the eighth year of the reign of his successor Ajatashatru. These works also are agreed on the point that Gautama Buddha became an ascetic in his 29<sup>th</sup> year.

Vincent Smith calls him as Bimbisara and adds that this king had built the capital town Rajagraha and that he was the contemporary of Gautama the Buddha.

Bimbisara had attacked Anga-South Bihar-and annexed it to his kingdom.

His son Ajatashatru succeeded him in 1814 B.C. and ruled for 27 years. During the eighth year of his reign, the Buddha had attained Nirvana i.e. in 1814-8 1806 B.C. When the Buddha attained his Nirvana he was 80 years old. Thus the Buddha's birth year works to 1886 B.C. and that of his Nirvana as 1806 B.C. If there is some difference in the regnal periods of these Shishunaga dynasty, this period may change, a little here or there. K.Venkatachellam works it out at 1887 -1807 B.C.

We have seen that Siddhartha Gautama was the 24th king of the Solar line. That line came to end in 1634 B.C. with the last and 30th king Sumitra having to quit the throne in that year.

## 4.2 Nanda Dynasty:

Nanda Dynasty: This year 1634 BC. is a great divide in the history of the ruling dynasties of the post-Bharata-war period. For the first time an illegitimate son of the last king Mahanandi of the Shishunaga dynasty came to the throne of Magadha after the demise of that Emperor. Vishnu Purana says: (IV-XXIV-21)

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महानान्दिनस्ततः शूद्रीगर्भोद्भवो बली अतिलुब्धो अतिबलो ।

महापद्मो नंदनामा परशुराम इव अपर अखिलक्षत्रांतकारी भविष्यति ॥

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Mahapadma-Nanda the son of Mahanandi, was born of his Shudra wife. This Mahapadma was too avaricious and very mighty. He proved to be the exterminator of all the Kshatriya kings just like Parashurama the seventh incarnation of Lord Vishnu." He ruled as Emperor of India for 88 years 1634 B.C. to 1546 B.C. His son Sumalya along with his seven brothers all born of Mahapadma ruled for another 12 years. The total regnal period of this Nanda Dynasty therefore works out to 100 years ie: from 1634 B.C. to 1534 B.C.

These 9 Nanda kings were the mightiest and the most powerful in the land and had under their direct sway the whole of Aryavarta (North India) as well as South India. Because of their misrule they had become very unpopular and consequently Arya Chanakya (nicknamed Kautilya - his gotra name was Kutala) alias Vishnusharma put them to death by rousing the people against him and placed on the throne, Chandragupta the son of Mahapadma from his other wife Mura. Chandragupta then assumed the family name of Mura, as Maurya.

Even Buddhist chronicles give the same account. According to Buddhistic accounts, Mahapadma is known as Dhana-Nanda, in consequence of his avaricious habits in hoarding up wealth. It is said that levying taxes on skins, gums, trees, stones etc. he hoarded up money to the extent of eighty crores and buried up the treasure in the bed of the Ganga. Diverting the main stream for a time by an anicut dam thrown across the Ganga, and making a large hole in a rock in the bed of the river sufficient to contain the money, he deposited his wealth in the rock, and sealed it up with molten lead. The river was then restored to its natural course and his treasure was secured thus in a very strong place. During his life time, he continued to hoard up and to deposit the collection from time to time, under the bed of the river. He and his eight sons all known as the nine Nadas died one after the other, the tash having been put to death by the

Chanakya, who hated them for their maladministration, and who took possession of the wealth buried in the bed of the Ganga.

All the Hindu accounts are unanimous in giving to these nine Nandas a total period of 100 years for their reign.

This Chandragupta then did away with the minor king Puloma III, and became king himself. He shifted his capital from Girivraj to Pataliputra or Kusumpur and crowned himself as king in the place of Puloma III. Samudragupta was a mighty warrior. He checked the advance of Alexander and annihilated the Greek army.

Suffice it for the time being to say that the Nandas or Mauryas or Chanakya have nothing to do with Alexander or any other Greek, invader or adventurer.

With this background information let us proceed with the account of Nandas and their successors.

From Mahabodhi Vansha the names of the nine Nandas are: (1) Mahapadma or Ugrasena, (2) Panduka, (3) Pandugati, (4) Bhutapal, (5) Rashtrapal, (6) Govishanaka, (7) Dashasiddhaka, (8) Kaivarta and (9) Dhanananda. In Kaliyug Raja-Vrittanta, Mahapadma is called Dhanananda. The Puranas give the name of the son of Nand as Sumalya or Sukalpa. The names of the others are not available. It appears as Mahapadma ruled for 88 years and Sumalya the least for about 12 years, the other seven sons of Mahapadma may have shared power with their father leaving Sumalya as the sole heir to the throne.

According to the Puranas the eight sons of Mahapadma shared power for 12 years. But this was a period of confusion as disturbances were caused by the rebellious activities of Chandragupta Maurya guided by Arya Chanakya. Their wealth amounted to *नवनवतिशतद्रव्यकोटीश्वर*, according to the Drama Mudra Rakshasa.

According to the Bhagavata Purana:

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“स एकच्छत्रं पृथिवीं अनुल्लङ्घितशासनः।शासिष्यति महापद्मो द्वितीय इव भार्गव ॥ 12-1-10)

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"He brought under his domination the whole of the earth. His rule cannot be disobeyed. He would rule as if he were Parshuram the second."

Mahapadma or Dhanananda is stated to have ruled for 88 years. Thereafter his eight sons led by Sumalya would rule for 12 years.

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कौटिल्यश्चंद्रगुप्तं स ततो राज्येऽभिषेच्यति

भुक्त्वा मही वर्षशतं ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति। मत्स्य -273-23

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The rule of these Nine Nandas will be thrown away by Kautilya, who will put Chandragupta on the throne of Nandas.

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महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपाः क्रमात् ।

उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्यः समैर्द्वादशभिस्तु तान् ॥ 22

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After Mahapadma his sons will become rulers one after the other. Kautilya will take 12 years to put them down."

### **Why did Kautilya vow to extirpate the Nandas?**

Arya Chanakya was a native of Patliputra, the Capital town of the Nandies. He had witnessed the unrighteous rule of the first Nanda, Mahapadma or Dhanananda. We had noted a little earlier the way this Dhanananda had hoarded his wealth under the bed of the river Ganga. In the history of South India p.80 by Nilakantha Shastri, we have a very curious reference. The enormous wealth

accumulated by the Nandas was well-known to the ancient Tamils and became proverbial. Momul one of the poets of the Sangam Age, puts these words in the mouth of a lovelorn lady: "What is it that has affected my lover more than my charms and kept him away from me so long? Can't it be the treasure accumulated in the prosperous Pataliputra and hidden in the waters of the Ganga by the great Nanda victorious in war?"

This extraordinary covetousness in an Indian Kshatriya king in those days was unthinkable. The Brahmanas and Kshatriyas were supposed to be above avariciousness. A little greed in a Vaishya or a Shudra was tolerated under the Varna system of social organisation. But it was considered almost a sin amongst the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas to be greedy and avaricious. Nandas were Shudras, but after they had become kings, they were Kshatriyas under the Varna System and yet did not shed off their cupidity.

Kautilya saw in this behaviour on the part of Dhanananda the continued flouting of the Kshatriya order under the influence of the Jaina Kshapanakas. Kalpaka, a Jain, was a minister in the confidence of Dhanananda. After Kalpaka, the other Jainas like Shakatal, Sthulabhadra and Shriyaka became his advisors one after the other. The Kshatriya nobles resented this attitude of the king- the partiality for the Jainas.

Arya Chanakya's father had suffered from such a partiality. He was a Brahmana and a very learned one at that. Yet his life was made impossible in Pataliputra by the king and his Jaina officers. Arya Chanakya had left Pataliputra for Taxila and joined the Gurukul there as a teacher in Political Economy. He had returned to his motherland to test his luck. He was exasperated to see the decline of the Vedic institutions of learning and the discomfiture from which the Kshatriya nobility suffered.

Because of the learning possessed by Arya Chanakya he was made the chairman of the Vidvat Sabha of Pataliputra. The Prime Minister of Dhanananda, Amatya Rakshasa was a Brahmana. But he could not put a check on the



waywardness of the king Dhanananda. Amatya looked with favour the efforts of Chanakya who was his old classmate at Pataliputra Gurukul. Arya Chanakya's efforts in that direction came to naught. Dhanananda's greed and indulgence in sensual pleasures was intense. He could not be deviated from his path. Chanakya could not persuade the king to increase the grants for education and subsidies to the poor artisans. Due to Chanakya's open support for these measures the matters reached Dhanananda's ears that discontent had been arising in certain sections of the populace against his misrule. Dhanananda openly insulted Chanakya and removed him from his position. He planned to arrest him. But through the efforts of his friends amongst the Ministers in the Government he could escape.

Mahavamshatika a Buddhist Chronicle notes that seeing Chanakya seated on the seat reserved for learned Brahmana, Dhanananda asked him to vacate it and drove him out. Chanakya had by then been convinced that the way Dhanananda was conducting his administration was neither good for him, nor for the good of his subjects. He decided to pull him down.

Dhanananda because of his death must have been succeeded by his sons Sumalya and others. But matters did not improve.

Chanakya wanted now to organise a revolt against the king. He began on the look out to create a centre for the Kshatriya power to assemble under. He chose Chandragupta Maurya the son of the Nanda to be that leader of that centre.

### **4.3 Chandragupta**

The Vedic culture had its origin and development in the vast region from Eastern -Turkey and covering all the regions from Caucasus mountains, Caspian Sea to the Ganga-Yamuna Doab in North-South directions, and the river Nile to the river Sir-Darya in the East-West directions. After the Dasharajnya War, Indian sub-continent was developed by the efforts of the sages like Agastya and

the prowess of Lord Rama. By the time of the Bharata-war, the Indian political horizon actually covered the Eastern - Iran and Afghanistan and this position continued till the defeat of the Shahi king Anangpal at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni.

It is undisputed that the Maurya Empire had under its suzerainty the vast regions covering the whole of modern India and extending its Eastern Iran and Afghanistan. Even Aurangzeb or later on the British had not sway over their political hegemony over such a vast region. The period of the Mauryas is from 1534 B.C. to 1218 B.C., the total regnal period working out to 316 years. During this period 12 kings of the dynasty ruled from Pataliputra, modern Patna in Bihar. Bihar was then known as Magadha.

According to Brihat Katha, Chandragupta was Nanda's son from his wife Mura-perhaps a woman of low origin. To distinguish his regime from that of his predecessors, the Nandas, he is called Maurya, of Mura.

During the rule of the Nandas this son Chandragupta from Mura must have been expelled from the palace. He was brought up under the care of some Kshatriya noble, his relation, by his mother. When Arya Chanakya in about (1534 +12) 1546 B.C. decided to pull down the Nanda rule, his eyes fell on this young boy, the son of the Nandas but neglected and disfavoured by the palace

According to Brahmanda Purana his regnal period is 1534 B.C. to 1510 B.C. Kaliyug-raj-vrittanta-the dynastic information of the kings of the Kali-age- his regnal period is shown as 1534B.C. to 1500B.C.

### **Chandragupta's domains:**

The Nandas had sway over whole of India extending upto Mysore in the South. In the victory of Chandragupta, the King Parvataka or Porus of the Punjab had a big role. He was promised half the share in his acquisitions. Surprisingly, however, as soon as Chandragupta won against the Nanda's army, this Parvataka also died. It is stated that the Parvataka was lured into bed by a young

damsel whose body was poisonproof-Vishakanya. As soon as he embraced her, he fell down dead. So without much efforts, Chandragupta could annex that part of the kingdom of his ally, to his own kingdom. In Mudrarakshasa we have the statement:- 'क्षपणकोजीवसिद्धिःविषकन्यापर्वतेश्वरघातितवान्' The Jain Saint Jivasiddhi did away with the lord Parvata (ally of Chandragupta) through the Vishakanya - a girl with the cultivated poisonous body). This Jivasiddhi was the spy of Chanakya. As soon as Parvata died his son Malayaketu ran away for fear of his life. His brother Vairochaka was however there in Pataliputra at that time. He managed to win over some of the palace workers. One Daruvarma (a carpenter) was given the task of erecting a canopy at the entrance door. The plan was as soon as Chandragupta seated on a well decorated elephant enters, that spot under the canopy, that huge structure would fall down with thud sound on the head of Chandragupta who would die on the spot. Daruvarma did the job earlier than expected. Chanakya became suspicious. He complimented Daruvarma on excellent work accomplished in record time. He said, "अचिरादेवअस्यदाक्षस्यअनुरूपंफलंअभिगममिष्यसिदारुवर्मन् - Oh Daruvarma, you would soon get a prize for this excellent work done." He said in such a manner as would not rouse the suspicion of Daruvarma.

Chanakya won over Vairochaka the brother of Malayaketu and promised him half the kingdom of his father. He was gullible. Chanakya persuaded him and made him agree to enter through that canopy first, before even Chandragupta would do. He was thereafter well dressed and put on a well-decorated elephant. He was taken in procession to the entrance. Nobody had seen Chandragupta before. Even the elephant rider Barbarak was won over by anti-Chandragupta faction and was promised huge bribe, provided he would kill Chandragupta in the confusion caused by the fall of the canopy.

However Barbarak showed impatience. As soon as that elephant came under canopy, he took out his small sword and tried to stab Vairochaka. But the elephant was instead stabbed. It began to run. At that moment Daruvarma brought the canopy down, under which Barbarak was killed. In the confusion,

Daruvarma feeling that Chandragupta would escape unhurt, stabbed Vairochaka, thinking him to be Chandragupta. The plot was thus foiled and Daruvarma was ordered to be killed by crushing him with stones.

All the internal obstacles in the way of Chandragupta's entry were thus removed. Even the former physicians and other servants in the private apartments of the king were well-tested and posted.

No Maurya king had ever embraced Buddhism. It did not mean they were enemies of Buddhism. Hindus, as ever, tolerated these internal cultural differences. Chanakya was easily able to win over the Jain sadhus like Jivasiddhi and his devotees like Shakatal and Shriyaka to his side.

After Chanakya achieved his objective, he persuaded' Amatya Rakshasa the former Prime-Minister of the Nandas to accept the same post under Chandragupta when at last Amatya Rakshasa accepted the post under Chandragupta. Chanakya relinquished the Prime-Minister-ship and resumed his role as a teacher of political science. His thoughts are embodied in his Arthashastra.

Let us now turn to this great work of his on polity. It gives a fair idea of the character of administration the kings followed in India since the days of the Vedas.

#### **4.4 The Maurya dynasty**

In Kaliyuga-Raja-Vrittanta we get the following verse summing up the dynastic details of this important dynasty, the name hallowed by presence of such a great men as Arya Chanakya, Chandragupta and his grandson Ashoka.

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"द्वादशैते नृपाः मौर्याः चंद्रगुप्तादयो महीम् ।

शतानि त्रीणि भोक्ष्यन्ति दश षट्च समाः कलौ // (Part III. Chap. 2)

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- These 12 kings led by Chandragupta from the Maurya line will rule for 316 years during Kali yuga."

**The names and their regnal periods can be constructed thus:**

S.No.	Name	Regnal Years	In B.C.
1.	Chandragupta	34	1534-1500
2.	Bindusara	28	1500-1472
3.	Ashoka	36	1472-1436
4.	Suparshva (or Suyash or Kunal)	8	1436-1428
5.	Dashrath or Bandhupalita	8	1428-1420
6.	Indrapalita	70	1420-1350
7.	Harshavardhana	8	1350-1342
8.	Sangata	9	1342-1333
9.	Śaliśuka	13	1333-1320
10.	Soma Sarma or Deva Śarma	7	1320-1313
11.	Śatadhanva	8	1313-1305
12.	Brihadratha or Brihadashva	87	1305-1218
Total		316 years	

As the last king had become too old to govern and as there was no competent member of Maurya family available, it appears that the Commander-in-Chief of the army, namely Pushyamitra Shunga took over the reigns of power by doing away with the king.

As has been pointed out by Mr. Pargitar, no two Puranas agree, as to the names of the kings or their regnal years. Matsya Purana and Vayu Purana enumerate all the 12 kings. But they put the total of the regnal years at 300 thus

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इत्येते दश च द्वेच ते भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुंधराम् ।

शतानि त्रीणि पूर्णानि तेभ्यः शुंगान् गमिष्यति ॥

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These 12 kings will rule for 300 years and then the dynasty will end and Shungas will begin their rule."

In the case of the last king only the number of regnal years differs. Instead of 87 years in K.R.V. (Kaliyuga-Raja-Vrittanta) these Puranas put them at 70.

Some note the number at 10 and the total number of years at 137.

The Buddhistic accounts of Ashoka as given by the Buddhistic schools Mahayana and Hinayana differ with each other, as well as from the Puranas. Ashoka is taken as the Buddhist. They confuse Ashoka of the Mauryas with the Ashoka of the Gonandya dynasty of Kashmir.

Ashokavadana (part of Divyavadana, prose version) states that Ashoka was the son of Nanda, and omits the names of Chandragupta and Bindusara, Ashoka's grandfather and father respectively. The metrical version, on the other hand, brings in Mahipal in the place of Ajatashatru of the Shishunaga dynasty. The details of Ashoka and his reign are from Rajatarangini of Kalhana and so are not of Ashoka Maurya.

## **UNIT 5 : SHUNG AND KANVA DYNASTY**

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### **5.1 Shunga dynasty**

Pushyamitra the founder of this Shunga dynasty was the commander-in-chief of Brihadratha the last king of Maurya Dynasty. Brihadratha had ruled for 87 years and in his old age he was still clinging to power. Pushyamitra while the king was taking the salute of this army, killed him and installed himself as Emperor of Magadha. Apparently the king had become unpopular and had no able successor. So Pushyamitra could easily take over. He ruled for 60 years. It appears that Pushyamitra had performed an Ashvamedh Yajna.

Pushyamitra had ascended the Magadha throne in 1218 B.C. He ruled for 60 years i.e. upto 1158 B.C.

He was succeeded by his son Agnimitra who ruled for 50 years upto 1108 B.C. This Agnimitra is not the same as Shudraka the king who was the author of the famous drama Mritchakatika.

This Agnimitra is the hero of Kalidasa's drama Malvika - Agnimitra.

After Agnimitra his son Vasumitra ascended the throne in 1108 B.C. and ruled for 36 years. Some Puranas put him after his son Sujyeshtha. But that is obviously a mistake. As we have seen, Kalidasa notes Vasumitra as the son of Agnimitra from his chief queen Dharini. Vasumitra had scored a very significant victory over the Yavanas.

Vasumitra's son Sujyeshtha occupied the throne of Magadha in 1072 B.C. and continued upto 1055 B.C. He ruled for 17 years. Then came Bhadraka (ruled for 30 years), Pulindaka (33 years), Ghoshavasva or Ghosha (3 years), Vajramitra (29 years) and Devahuti or Kshemabhumi (10 years), one after the other.

These details are collated from K.R.V. as it appears to be a researched account, reconciling all the different accounts in different Puranas and giving us a consensus account.

KRV states:

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दशैते शुंगराजानो भोक्ष्यन्ति इमां वसुंधराम्

शतं पूर्णं शतैर्द्वे च तेभ्यः कण्वान् गमिष्यति ॥

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These ten Shunga kings will rule for 300 years and then the Kanva dynasty will take over."

About the last king Devahuti, KRV gives a rather detailed account of his misdeeds. He was addicted from his boyhood days to sexual pleasure. As soon as he came to the throne in 928 BC, he entrusted the administration of the Government to the care of his able minister Vasudeva a brahmana of Kanva gotra and himself retired to Vidisha then noted for its beautiful dancing girl. Freed from the care of administration he became more licentious and was always on the prowl for young and beautiful maidens from good families. He thus became an object of hatred to his own subjects. But he did not heed the advice of the learned and the elderly from the town.

He had heard of the beauty of the daughter of his own minister Vasudeo. She was married and was staying with her husband, perhaps in Pataliputra where her husband might have been holding some high Government post. He transferred that son-in-law of Vasudeo to Vidisha under some pretext. One day through his own men he got the husband of that lady murdered secretly. He then disguised himself as that lady's husband and entered her house and raped her. Out of disgust and mortification that lady immediately ended her life.

Vasudeva the minister, when he heard what had happened to his daughter and son-in-law, became extremely enraged. However, he kept his cool and



managed to send a dancing girl a visakanya with her body which had become fully poison-ous. She was dressed in the best attire and decorating herself with choice ornaments approached the king Devabuti at Vidisha. She embraced him and killed him. When the people heard of the death of the king, they rejoiced in the news.

They urged Vasudeva that able minister to take over as Emperor. So Vasudeva of the Kanva dynasty became the Emperor in 918 B.C.

## 5.2 Kanva Dynasty

In some Puranas this Kanva Dynasty is known as Shaunga or Shungabhrutya Dynasty. It is also stated that Vasudeva had sway only in Girivraja Pataliputra area and the other areas particularly Vidisha were under the control of some Shungas till the Andhras come.

Vishnu Purana notes:

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एते काण्वायनाश्चत्वारः पंचचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति

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(Amsha IV -24-39, 42) These four of the Kanva line would rule for 45 years.

But there is another version:

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एतेचत्वारिंशत् काण्वायनश्चत्वारः । पंचचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि भूपतयो भविष्यति ॥ 42

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These four kings of the Kanva line will rule for  $40 + 45 = 85$  years." The names of kings of this dynasty and their regnal years are as follows:

1. Vasudeva	39	918 B.C.-879 B.C.
2. Bhumimitra	24	879-855
3. Narayana	12	855-843

4. Susharma                      10                      843-833

**Total 85 years for 4 kings.**

K.R.V. then narrates the details thus:

These four kings of Kanva Gotra will rule righteously for 85 years. The commander-in-chief of Kanvas, by name Simhakha - Swatikarni also called Shimukha, was a very brave soul. He brought from Pratishthana (Paithana in Maharashtra) the Andhra soldiers, killed Susharma, his own king. He also conquered those from Shunga-line whoever were ruling in some regions and founded the Andhra Dynasty.

So far we have dealt with the seven dynasties from the end of the Mahabharata War. They are:

Dynasty	No.of kings	No. of years	Regnal Period from
1. Brahadratha	22	1006	3138-2132 B.C.
2. Pradyota	5	138	2132-1994
3. Shishunaga	10	360	1994-1634
4. Nanda	9	100	1634-1534
5. Maurya	12	316	1534-1218
6. Shunga	10	300	1218-918
7. Kanva	4	85	918-833 B.C

**Total 72 Kings and 2305 years.**

Andhra generals had gained control of the Kanva Army through their own men. Andhra was one of the sons of Bali the ruler of Prachyaka Desha. The first who could kill Susharma of the Kanva dynasty and establish himself was Shimukha 833-810 B.C. They have taken the title Shatavahana-one whose

vehicle is 'Lion' Simha-vahana or Shatavahana or Shata-karni. The first is Shimukha Shatakarni.

Puloma III ((minor) for 7 years ) was the last king in Andhra Dynasty.

So this dynasty came to an end in 376-49 = 327 B.C. (According to the research of S.D. Kulkarni Glorious Epoch). During the regime of the last two, Chandragupta of the Gupta Dynasty was the commander-in-chief as well as the brother-in-law of Chandrashri. He managed to do away with his brother-in-law Chandrashri as well as his minor son Puloma III and himself came to the throne of Magadha.

## UNIT 6 : THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA DYNASTY (ANDHRA DYNASTY)

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### 6.1 Introduction

According to *Kathāsaritsāgara*, King Dipakarṇi found an abandoned child in a forest close to the den of a lion. Probably, Śāta was a synonym for lion in a Prakrit dialect. Thus, the child came to be known as "Śātavāhana". He succeeded King Dipakarṇi and founded the Śātavāhana dynasty. Most probably, Dipakarṇi was the king of Pratiṣṭhāna. Guṇāḍhya, the author of *Bṛhatkathā* and Śarvavarmā, the author of *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* were contemporaries of an early Śātavāhana king. The Purāṇas tell us that Simuka or Simhaka, a descendant of the Śātavāhana dynasty ascended the throne of Magadha after overthrowing the last Kaṇva King Suśarmā. Interestingly, *Vāyu Purāṇa* mentions that Sindhuka also conquered the later kings of Śuṅga dynasty. The Andhra king who killed the Kaṇva King Suśarmā and the Andhra king who conquered the kingdom of later Śuṅgas were two different persons because the last Kaṇva king Suśarmā reigned around 1311-1301 BCE whereas the Śātavāhanas founded their dynasty around 828 BCE 836 years after the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda. It is stated in *Matsya Purāṇa* that there was an interval of 836 years between the coronation of Mahāpadma and the beginning of the reign of Andhras. Seemingly, Śiprata was the Andhra king who killed Suśarmā around 1301 BCE and Simuka or Simhaka or Sindhuka was the Andhra king who conquered the kings of later Śuṅgas and founded the rule of Śātavāhanas in Magadha around 826 BCE.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* clearly states that the Great Bear was in Maghā constellation for a hundred years (3176-3076 BCE) during the reign of King Parīkṣit and will again be in the 24th Nakṣatra constellation, i.e., Ārdrā (i.e., the 24th Centennium) from Maghā by the time of the start of the Andhra (Śātavāhana) dynasty around 876-776 BCE. (According to Ved Veer Arya reasearch).

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“*Saptarṣayo Maghāyuktāḥ kāle Pārīkṣīte śatam ।*

*Āndhrāmśe sa caturviṃśe bhaviṣyanti mate mama । ”*

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Thus, King Simuka, the founder of the Śātavāhana dynasty reigned around 826-803 BCE and conquered Magadha around 826 BCE.

## **6.2 The Date of King Śudraka I Vikramaditya (~2300-2200 BCE) and King Śudraka II (856-756 BCE)**

It is well known that King Śudraka (Śudraka II) was the author of the famous Sanskrit drama “*Mṛcchakaṭikam*”. Vamana’s *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* mentions Śudraka as the author of *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. But *Mṛcchakaṭikam* refers to King Śudraka as a king of past. According to *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, Śudraka I performed Aśvamedha Yajna and lived for 100 years and 10 days. His son succeeded him. Śudraka has been mentioned in *Daśakumāracharitam* of Dandi, *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva and *Bṛhatkāthamanjari*. In *Harṣacharitam*, King Śudraka has been referred to as the enemy of Chandraketu, the king of Chakora. Bāṇa’s *Kādambarī* indicates Vidiśā to be the capital of Śudraka whereas *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Bṛhatkāthamanjari*’s Vetala kathā refer to his capital as Śobhāvati and Vardhana or Vardhamāna respectively.

According to *Kadambari*, Vidishā King Śudraka was an incarnation of Chandrāpida, son of Avanti King Tārāpida. *Avantisundarīkathā* describes Śudraka as a Brahmana king of Avanti and mentions that he defeated Svāti, a prince of the Śātavāhana dynasty. Poet Rājaśekhara mentions that Śudraka was a Brahmana minister of a Śātavāhana king. The Śātavāhana king bestowed upon Śudraka one half of his dominions for rescuing his queen when she was abducted

by a demon. Interestingly, Ananta's *Viracharita* describes Śudraka as an associate of Śālivāhana and his son Śaktikumāra. Later, Śudraka enters into conflict with Śaktikumāra and defeats him. Evidently, Jain poet Ananta mistakenly assumes Śātavāhana as Śālivāhana.

As a matter of fact, there were two Śudrakas. Śudraka I belonged to the Aśmaka Janapada of South India. He was a Brahmana minister of King Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna and became the king of Vidiśā and Avanti. Since Bṛhatkathā and Kathāsaritsāgara relates the story of Śudraka, therefore, Śudraka I might have flourished before Guṇāḍhya (~2200-2100 BCE). Seemingly, Vidiśā was also known as Śobhāvatī in ancient times.

*Skanda Purāṇa* mentions that Śudraka lived 3290 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga. Interestingly, *Skanda Purāṇa* places Śudraka before Nandas and Chāṇakya. It appears that *Skanda Purāṇa* counts 3290 years from the epoch of the beginning of Dvāpara Yuga (5577 BCE) but later updaters mistakenly referred to the epoch of Kaliyuga. According to *Skanda Purāṇa*, Buddha was born 3600 years after an unknown epoch. As discussed earlier, Buddha was born in 1944 BCE. Therefore, *Skanda Purāṇa* counts 3600 years from the epoch of 5577 BCE and indicates that Buddha was born roughly after 1977 BCE. Thus, King Śudraka I might have ascended the throne in Śobhāvatī or Vidiśā around 2287 BCE 3290 years after 5577 BCE. Kathāsaritsāgara relates that King Śudraka I gave Lāta and Karṇāta kingdoms to Viravara and his son Sattvavara. Kathāsaritsāgara also indicates that King Yaśaḥketu reigned in the city of Śobhāvatī before the lifetime of King Śudraka I.

Śudraka II was the king of North Bengal (Punḍravardhana). Abul Fazal mentions a Bengali Khatri King Śudraka in his *Ain-e-Akbari* who lived for 93 years. An inscription of the Pala King Yakṣapāla mentions that Śudraka was the emperor of Gauda (Gauḍeśvara). According to this inscription, Śudraka II was the son of Paritośa and his son Viśvarūpa became the king of Gayā. In all probability, Śudraka II flourished not only before the time of Śālivāhana (~659-

630 BCE) but also the time of Vikramaditya I (719-659 BCE). The popular traditional notion indicates that Śudraka II preceded Vikramāditya I. Kashmiri poet Kalhaṇa says that Śudraka II flourished before Vikramāditya. Evidently, Śudraka must have undoubtedly flourished before Vikramāditya I (719 BCE). *Sumatitantra* mentions that King Śudraka flourished 2245 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE), i.e., around 856 BCE. According to Yellāchārya, King Śudraka II lived 1945 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga and King Vikramāditya flourished 1098 years after King Śudraka II

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*(Bāṇa-Veda-Nava-Candra-varjitāḥ te api Śudraka-samāḥ, tebhyaḥ*

*Vikrama-samāḥ bhavanti vai Nāga-Nanda-Viyad-Indu-varjitāḥ).*

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Seemingly, Yellāchārya followed the Puranic chronological error of 300 years in dating of Mahāpadma Nanda. Therefore, he dates Śudraka II in the year 1945 of Kaliyuga instead of the year 2245. He correctly calculates the date of Vikramāditya II in 57 BCE (1945+1098 = 3043 years after the epoch of 3101 BCE). There is another statement in *Jyotiṣadarpaṇa* of Yellāchārya which indicates that 2345 years have been elapsed from the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE) up to the time of Śudraka (*Bānābdhi- Guṇa-dasroṇāḥ 2345 Śudrakāobdāḥ kalergatāḥ*).

It can, thus, be roughly established that Śudraka II flourished in the second half of the 9th century BCE. He might have ascended the throne of Pundravardhana or Gauda in 856 BCE 2245 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). Probably, Śudraka II became an ally of Śātavāhana King Simuka around 826 BCE when he conquered Magadha. After the death of Simuka, Śudraka II might have extended his kingdom up to Gayā. He placed his son Viśvarūpa as the king of Gayā. Most probably, King Śudraka II reigned in North Bengal or Pundravardhana around 856-790 BCE. King Śudraka II was the author of “*Mṛcchakaṭikam*”, “*Viṇāvāsavadattam*” and “*Padmaprabhṛtikā*”.

Kulaśekhara Varman gives the chronological order of Sanskrit poets in his drama “*Tapatisāmvaraṇam*” in which Śudraka placed before Kālidāsa, Harsha and Dandi (Śudraka-Kālidāsa-Harsha-Dandiprabandhānām...). Dandi places Śudraka after Subandhu who was the contemporary of Bindusāra (*Subandhu-Guṇāḍhya-Mūladeva-Śudraka*).

### 6.3 Epigraphic and Literary Evidence of the Śātavāhanas

Somadeva’s Kathāsaritsāgara tells us that Guṇāḍhya (~2200-2100 BCE), the author of Bṛhatkathā was the contemporary of King Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna. A fragment of the 6th pillar edict of Aśoka has the reference of the Śātavāhanas. Evidently, the early Śātavāhana dynasty ruled over Pratiṣṭhāna during the post Mahābhārata era. Seemingly, they were the feudatories of the Aśmaka Kings and the Andhra kings before the rise of King Simuka. One inscription at Naneghat mentions the King Simuka Śātavāhana and an inscription at the Nasik cave refers to the name of the second King Kānha. Most probably, the inscriptions found in the cave of Naneghat belong to the reign of the fifth Śātavāhana King Śrī Śātakarṇi and the Nāgānikā mentioned in the inscriptions was his mother. Śrī Śātakarṇi was also known as Vēdi Śrī Śātakarṇi. One coin found in the village Bālpur in Raipur district, Chhattisgarh mentions the name of the eighth King Apīlaka or Apītaka. The eighteenth King Ariṣṭa Śātakarṇi and the nineteenth King Hāla Śātakarṇi were contemporaries of the Śaka King Rudradāman.

Hāla was the most celebrated Śātavāhana king in literature. He was the author of *Gāthāsaptasatī*. His name is mentioned in *Līlāvatī*, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇī*, *Deśināmamālā*, etc. The 25th king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was the last illustrious king of the Śātavāhana dynasty. He defeated the Śaka kings and annexed their regions to his empire.

According to the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, there were 32 kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty and ruled for approximately 506 years. Interestingly, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* names only 19 kings but tells us that there were 30 kings. The



*Matsya Purāṇa* also states that 19 kings ruled for 460 years but actually enumerates 31 kings and omits the name of the ninth King Meghaswāti and does not give the number of regnal years of Saumya Śātakarṇi. The individual reigns of 30 kings given by the *Matsya Purāṇa* adds up to a total of 460 years. It is likely that the people who were entrusted with the periodical updating of the Purāṇas committed these errors. It is clear that the *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta* provide accurate and authentic information about the Śātavāhana dynasty and it can be concluded that 30 or 32 Śātavāhana kings ruled approximately for 492 years.

#### **6.4 Regnal Period of the Śātavāhana Dynasty (826-334 BCE):**

	<b>Duration of Reign</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1. Simuka or Simhaka	23 years	826-803 BCE
2. Krishna Śri Śātakarṇi or Kāṇha	18 years	803-785 BCE
3. Śri Malla Śātakarṇi	10 years	785-775 BCE
4. Purṇotsaṅga	18 years	775-757 BCE
5. Śri Śātakarṇi	56 years	757-701 BCE
6. Skandhastambhin	18 years	701-683 BCE
7. Lambodara	18 years	683-665 BCE
8. Apītaka or Apīlaka	12 years	665-653 BCE
9. Meghaswāti	18 years	653-635 BCE
10. Swāti	18 years	635-617 BCE
11. Skandasvati Śātakarṇi	7 years	617-610 BCE
12. Mṛgendra Śātakarṇi	11 years	610-599 BCE

UNIT 6 : THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA DYNASTY (ANDHRA DYNASTY)

13. Kuntala Śātakarṇi	8 years	599-591 BCE
14. Saumya Śātakarṇi	12 years	591-579 BCE
15. Śāta or Svativarṇa Śātakarṇi	1 year	579-578 BCE
16. Pulomān I	24 years	578-554 BCE
17. Megha Śātakarṇi	38 years	554-516 BCE
18. Ariṣṭaparni Śātakarṇi	25 years	516-491 BCE
19. Hāla Śātavāhana	5 years	491-486 BCE
20. Mantalaka	5 years	486-481 BCE
21. Purīndrasena	12 years	481-469 BCE
22. Sundara Śātakarṇi	1 year	469 BCE
23. Chakora & Mahendra	1 year	468 BCE
24. Śivasvati Śātakarṇi	28 years	467-439 BCE
25. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi	21 years	439-418 BCE
26. Pulomān II	28 years	418-390 BCE
27. Śivaśri Śātakarṇi	7 years	390-383 BCE
28. Śivask anda Śātakarṇi	7 years	383-376 BCE
29. Yajnaśri Śātakarṇi	19 years	376-357 BCE
30. Vijayaśri Śātakarṇi	6 years	357-351 BCE
31. Chandraśri Śātakarṇi	10 years	351-341 BCE
32. Pulomān III	7 years	341-334 BCE

Chandragupta I, the commander-in-chief (*Senādhyakṣa*) of the Śātavāhanas, killed the 31st Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and became the guardian of his minor son Pulomān III. Thus, Chandragupta I took control over the Magadha Empire, killed the minor king Pulomān III later on and founded the rule of the Gupta dynasty in 334 BCE.

## UNIT 7 : THE GUPTA DYNASTY (334-89 BCE)

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It is well known that the rise of the Guptas ended the rule of the Śātavāhanas. Śrigupta and his son Ghaṭotkacha Gupta were the earliest kings of the Gupta dynasty but were either officials or feudatories of the Śātavāhanas. Chandragupta I, the son of Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, was the founder of the Gupta Empire and the one who annexed the Magadha kingdom. Some historians speculated that Śrigupta and Ghaṭotkacha Gupta may have been feudatories of Indo-Scythian kings but there is no evidence to support this argument.

Chandragupta I married Kumāradevi, a princess of the king of Nepal who belonged to the Licchavi dynasty. Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi's wife was the elder sister of Kumāradevi (*Licchaviyām samudvāhya devyāścandraśriyo ' nujām*). With the support of the Licchavis and being one of their important family members (*Rāṣṭriyaśyālako bhūtvā*), Chandragupta I not only became the commander-in-chief (*Senādhyakṣa*) of the Śātavāhanas but also controlled the Magadha Empire. With the support of his queen, Kumāradevi's sister (*Rājapatnyā ca coditaḥ*), he killed the Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi (351-341 BCE) on the pretext of acting as the guardian of his minor son Pulomān III (341-334 BCE). Thus, Chandragupta I took complete control of the Magadha Empire. Later, he also killed the minor king Pulomān in 334 BCE and founded the Empire of the Guptas in Magadha. Chandragupta I anointed himself as “*Mahārājādhirāja*” in Pātaliputra and founded an era in 334 BCE known as the Gupta era, which was used in eastern, central and western India.

### 7.1 The Rise of the Gupta Dynasty

**Chandragupta I (334-330 BCE):** According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Chandragupta I killed the Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and his minor son Pulomān III and proclaimed himself the Emperor of Magadha. He founded

the Gupta era in 334 BCE and ruled for only four years. It appears that Chandragupta I killed Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi in 341 BCE and Puloman III in 334 BCE and ascended the throne of Pātalīputra and founded the Gupta era. His regnal title was "Vijayāditya".

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*“Chandraśriyam ghātayitvā miṣeṇaiva hi kenacit |*

*tatputrapratibhūtitvam sa rājye caiva niyojitaḥ || ....*

*Tatputram ca Pulomānam vinihatya nṛpārbhakam ||*

*Vijayādityanāmna tu sapta pālayitā samāḥ |*

*svanāmna ca śakam tvekam sthāpayiṣyati bhūtale || ”*

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**Samudragupta (330-279 BCE):** Chandragupta I selected his son Kacha as Yuvarāja of the Gupta Empire but Samudragupta, his eldest son by the Licchavi princess Kumāradevi, revolted against his father. Ultimately, Samudragupta had to kill his father and his half-brother Kacha and became the Mahārājādhirāja of the Gupta Empire. He ruled for a long period of 51 years. His regnal title was "Aśokāditya". The Nālanda grant of Samudragupta is the earliest inscription dated in Gupta Saṃvat 5 (330- 329 BCE). The Gaya grant of Samudragupta is dated in Gupta Saṃvat 9 (326-325 BCE). According to the Nālanda grant, Samudragupta was ruling in Gupta Saṃvat 5, which means Chandragupta I had died by then.

The Purāṇas tell us that Chandragupta I ruled for seven years. Therefore, it can be construed that Chandragupta I founded the Gupta era at the end of his 3rd regnal year. Surprisingly, eminent historians arbitrarily assumed that Chandragupta I ruled for around 16 to 20 years despite contrary epigraphic and literary evidence. JF Fleet declared Nālanda and Gaya grants “*spurious*” due

to minor grammatical mistakes in the language. He also observed that some of the characters of these inscriptions were antique and some were comparatively modern. There are numerous inscriptions, which contain minor grammatical mistakes and cannot, therefore, be the basis to evaluate the genuineness of the epigraphs. Fleet's palaeography, which is based on distorted chronology, cannot qualify to be the yardstick to fix the dates of epigraphs. JF Fleet and his followers concocted the idea that there were some forged copper plate inscriptions to justify their distorted chronology.

Fleet used this idea selectively to reject certain inscriptions, which were not in line with his distorted chronology. Deliberately, Western historians propagated the myth of the existence of forged copper plate inscriptions to suit their nefarious designs. I challenge historians to put forth some credible evidence other than Fleet's distorted palaeography to prove the myth of the existence of forged copper plate inscriptions.

Samudragupta was the most ambitious king and the greatest warrior among the Guptas, thus making him the most powerful emperor of India at that time. According to the Allahabad pillar inscription composed by the great poet Hariṣeṇa, Samudragupta defeated eleven kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e., South India including King Mahendra of Kosala, the Pallava King Viṣṇugopa of Kānchi, the Śālaṅkāyana King Hastivarman of Veṅgi, etc., and nine kings of Āryāvārtha, i.e., Central and Northern India. It is also recorded that the Devaputras of Śāhī-Śāhānuśāhi, the Northern Śaka Kśātrapas, the Muruṇḍas and the Yavanas of Afghanistan also acknowledged his supremacy. Eastern kingdoms like Samatāṭa, Dāvaka, Kāmarūpa (Assam) and Nepal also became his tributary provinces.

Thus, Samudragupta established the authority of the Gupta Empire in Eastern, Southern (up to Kānchi) and Central India and in the Western frontier provinces of Devaputra Śāhī-Śāhānuśāhis, Śakas, Muruṇḍas and also in Simhala (Sri Lanka).

## 7.2 The Gupta Empire after Samudragupta

Samudragupta was the greatest king of the Gupta dynasty whose authority ran from Kānchi in the South to the Himālayas in the North and from Kāmarūpa (Assam) and entire Bengal on the East to Yamuna and Chambal on the West. He also performed the Aśvamedha ritual to proclaim his supremacy. Samudragupta had two sons, namely, Rāmagupta and Chandragupta II.

**Rāmagupta (279-278 BCE):** Three Vidiśā stone image inscriptions indicate that Rāmagupta succeeded his father Samudragupta but he ruled for a very short period. The “*Nāṭyadarpaṇa*” of Rāmachandra Guṇachandra tells us that Rāmagupta was the successor of Samudragupta. According to a Sanskrit drama “*Devīchandraguptam*” written by Viśākhadatta, Rāmagupta was besieged by a Śaka ruler in the course of a war. Rāmagupta had to agree to surrender his queen Dhruvadevi but his brother Chandragupta II could not tolerate this humiliating agreement. He decided to go to the enemy’s camp in the guise of the queen in order to kill the Śaka king. He succeeded in his plan and freed his brother Rāmagupta but the reputation of Rāmagupta suffered a lot. Gradually, this resulted in enmity between the brothers. Ultimately, Chandragupta II killed his brother Rāmagupta and became the king of Gupta Empire. He also married Rāmagupta’s wife Dhruvadevi. Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s *Harṣacharitam* also mentions that Chandragupta, in the guise of female, killed the Śaka king at the capital city of the enemy.

Seemingly, Viśākhadatta, the author of “*Devīchandraguptam*” was a contemporary of King Chandragupta II. Viśākhadatta was the grandson of Sāmanta Vateśvaradatta and the son of Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta or Prithu. Poet Māgha (20 BCE - 60 CE) reproduces a phrase from Mudrārakśasam in his work *Śiśupālavadha*. Viśākhadatta mentions the reigning king “Dantivarmā” at the end of Mudrārakśasam. Many manuscripts refer to Dantivarmā but Dhunḍhirāja of the 18th century, a later commentator of Mudrārakśasam, mentions the king

as Chandragupta II. It appears that the name of Dantivarmā got distorted in some of the manuscripts as “*Rantivarmā*” and “*Avantivarmā*.”

Some historians have speculated Dantivarmā to be a Pallava king. But this identification of Dantivarmā is impossible. Some others have identified Dantivarmā to be Dantidurga (78-93 CE) but it is chronologically impossible. If the king mentioned was Dantivarmā then he was an ancient Rāṣṭrakūṭa king as recorded in the Daśāvatāra cave inscription of Ellora. Dantidurga was the 6th descendant of Dantivarmā. In all probability, Dantivarmā reigned in the 1st century BCE.

**Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE):** Chandragupta II was the son of Samudragupta and Dattadevi. His regnal title was “*Vikramāditya*”. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Chandragupta II ruled for 36 years, which is in conformity with his inscriptions dated between Gupta Saṁvat 61 (273 BCE) and 93 (241 BCE). Probably, the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II was dated in his 5th regnal year and Gupta Saṁvat 61. He defeated the Western Śaka kśatrapas and advanced to the Arabian Sea and subjugated the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra or Kāṭhiāwār. Chandragupta II married Dhruvadevi and also Kuveranāgā of the Nāga family. Kumāragupta I was born to Dhruvadevi whereas the daughter Prabhāvatī Gupta was born to Kuveranāgā. Prabhāvatī Gupta was married off to the Vākātaka King Rudrasena II. Prabhāvatī Gupta’s son the Vākātaka King Pravarasena II referred to his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II as Devagupta. The King Chandra mentioned in the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription is generally identified as Chandragupta II, who conquered Bāhlikas after crossing “the seven mouths of the river Sindhu.” According to my research, King Chandra of the Mehrauli inscription may not be Chandragupta II because there is no supporting evidence that he ever conquered the Bāhlika kings crossing the Indus River. Seemingly, King Chandra was the ruler of the Nāga dynasty and flourished in the beginning of the 10th century BCE.



**Kumāragupta I (241-199 BCE):** Kumāragupta was the son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvadevi. His regnal title was “Mahendrāditya”. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Kumāragupta I ruled for 42 years, which is in conformity with his inscriptions dated between Gupta Samvat 96 (238 BCE) and 129 (205 BCE). His silver coins give his last date as Gupta Samvat 136 (198 BCE). He had two sons, Purugupta and Skandagupta. It appears that Kumāragupta I had a younger brother, named, Govindagupta. According to one Mandasor inscription of King Prabhākara, Chandragupta II’s son Govindagupta was ruling in central India in Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) 524 (194 BCE).

Another Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman was engraved and placed in the temple of Sun during the reign of Kumāragupta I. This inscription is dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 493. JF Fleet assumed that the Mālava-gaṇa era and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) share the same epoch in 57 BCE. Actually, the Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) also named as Kṛta era commenced in 719-718 BCE, which means 662 years before the commencement of Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

Thus, the inscription of Bandhuvarman is dated in Mālava-gaṇa 493 (226-225 BCE) and the inscription was engraved on 6th Dec 226 BCE. Interestingly, the second inscription, which is dated in 529 elapsed, has been engraved as an addendum to the inscription of Bandhuvarman. This inscription was composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi on the occasion of renovation of the temple. Vatsabhaṭṭi did not mention the era in which the date was recorded or the name of the ruling king but he unambiguously tells us that when a considerable long time has passed away and some other kings also have passed away, one part of this temple shattered. Hence this whole edifice of the Sun was again renovated by the magnanimous guild (*Bahunā samatītena kālenānyaiśca pāṛthivaiḥ / vyaśīryadaikadeśo ’ sya bhavanasya tato ’ dhunā //*). Historians concocted that one part of the temple was damaged in lightening because it is highly impossible that a newly built temple went into renovation within 36 years. Vatsabhaṭṭi

clearly tells us that one part of the temple shattered after a considerable long period. Eminent historians accepted that Vatsabhaṭṭi's inscription is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 529 (472 CE). Actually, the statement of Vatsabhaṭṭi clearly indicates that a considerable long time passed and that some other kings also passed away after Bandhuvarman and Kumāragupta I.

Bandhuvarman was the son of Viśvavarman. The earliest inscription of Viśvavarman is dated in Mālava-gaṇa 480. Bandhuvarman would have ascended the throne as the ruler of Dāsapura (Mandasor) around Mālavagaṇa 492. Kumāragupta II was ruling up to Gupta Saṃvat 136 (Mālavagaṇa 519). Undoubtedly, Skandagupta was the ruler in Mālava-gaṇa 529.

Therefore, Bandhuvarman and Kumaragupta II may have passed away by Mālava-gaṇa 529 but this does not justify the statement of Vatsabhaṭṭi. Actually, there is a gap of 36 years between Mālava-gaṇa 493 to 529, which means Vatsabhaṭṭi was born during the reign of Bandhuvarman. If so, it is illogical to say that a considerable long time passed and that some other kings also passed away. Thus, it can be concluded that Vatsabhaṭṭi did not refer to the Mālava-gaṇa era. Most probably, Vatsabhaṭṭi referred to the Śaka era (583 BCE). Therefore, Vatsabhaṭṭi's inscription was engraved on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of the Phālguna (Tapasya) month in Śaka 529 elapsed (11th Feb 53 BCE) whereas Bandhuvarman's inscription was engraved on 13th day of the bright half of Puṣya (Sahasya) month in Mālava-gaṇa 493 elapsed (6th Dec 226 BCE). Thus, there was a gap of 171 years between Malava-gana 493 to Śaka 529, which fully justifies the statement of Vatsabhaṭṭi.

Moreover, Vatsabhaṭṭi's poetry indicates that he was conversant not only with the "*Meghadūtam*" but also with the "*Ritusamhāram*" of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa's influence on Vatsabhaṭṭi is well known to the Indologists. Kālidāsa was in the court of Ujjain King Vikramāditya and his lifetime can be fixed between 101 BCE to 25 BCE. Therefore, Vatsabhaṭṭi was a contemporary of Kālidāsa.

**Skandagupta (199-177 BCE):** Skandagupta was the son of Kumāragupta I. His regnal title was “*Parākramāditya*”. It appears that Skandagupta himself led the army against the Hūṇas and defeated them during the reign of his father Kumāragupta I as recorded in the Bhitari inscription found in Ghazipur district of Uttar Pradesh. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Skandagupta ruled for 25 years. The Sāranāth inscriptions of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta are dated in Gupta Saṁvat 154 (180 BCE) and 157 (177 BCE) respectively but Budhagupta was mentioned as “*Mahārājadhirāja*” only in Gupta Saṁvat 159 (175 BCE) onwards.

According to the Jūnāgarh inscription of Skandagupta, the embankment of the Sudarśana lake in Saurāṣṭra burst due to incessant rains in Gupta Saṁvat 136 (198 BCE). It went into major repair works during the reign of Western Śaka Kśatrapa Rudradāman I in Śaka 72 (511 BCE). Skandagupta’s Governor in Saurāṣṭra named Chakrapālita, the son of Paṇḍadatta, undertook the task of repairing Sudarśana lake and completed it by Gupta Saṁvat 137 (197 BCE).

### 7.3 The Decline of the Gupta Empire

The Gupta Empire began to decline after the death of Skandagupta. Skandagupta had no heir of his own and adopted Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, the son of his half-brother Purugupta or Sthiragupta Prakāśāditya and Chandradevi. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Sthiragupta (Purugupta) and Narasimhagupta ruled for 40 years from 176 BCE to 136 BCE.

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*“Tato Nṛsimhaguptaśca Bālāditya iti śrutaḥ |*

*putraḥ Prakāśādityasya Sthiraguptasya bhūpateḥ | |*

*Niyuktaḥ svapitr̥vyena Skandaguptena jīvatā |*

*Pitraiva sākam bhavitā catvāriṁśat samāḥ nṛpaḥ | | ”*

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Epigraphic evidence suggests that Budhagupta, probably the elder son of Purugupta and Chandradevi, also ruled between Gupta Saṃvat 157 (177 BCE) and 168 (166 BCE). Probably, Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta jointly ruled the Gupta Empire under the guidance of their father Purugupta after the death of Skandagupta. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Kumāragupta II, the son of Narasimhagupta and Mittradevi, ruled for 44 years from 136 BCE to 92 BCE. His regnal title was “*Kramāditya*”. Kumāragupta II defeated the Maukhari King Iśānavarman. The Haraha (Barabanki, UP) stone inscription of Sūryavarman (son of Iśānavarman) is dated in Kṛta era 611 (107 BCE).

It may be noted that the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era commenced in 719- 718 BCE whereas Western historians wrongly identified it to be Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Kumāragupta II was also in regular conflict with the Hūṇas.

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*“Anyah Kumāragupto ’ pi putrastasya mahāyaśāḥ ।*

*Kramāditya iti khyāto Hūṇairyuddham samācaran ॥*

*Vijītyeśānavarmādīn Bhatārkenānusevitaḥ ।*

*catuścatvāriṃśadeva samāḥ bhokṣyati medinīm ॥ ”*

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It seems that the Maukhari King Iśānavarman established his kingdom around 130-100 BCE. Verse 13 of the Haraha inscription clearly mentions that Iśānavarman defeated the kings of Āndhra (Probably, Viṣṇukundin King Indra Bhaṭṭarakavarman) and Gauda. “*Jitvāndhrādhipatim sahasra-gaṇita-tredhākśaradvāraṇam, vyāvalgan niyutāti-saṅkhyā-turagān bhaṅktvā raṇe Śūlikān । Kṛtvā cāyatimaucita-sthala-bhuvo Gauḍān samudrāśrayān, adhyāsiṣṭa nata-kṣitīśa-caraṇaḥ simhāsanam yo jiti ॥*”

According to the Haraha inscription, Sūryavarman, the son of Isānavarman, was born when his father was on the throne, which means Sūryavarman was born around 140-135 BCE. Isānavarman took advantage of the declining Gupta Empire because the Gupta kings were in regular conflict with the Hūṇas. Despite the fact that Kumāragupta II had defeated Isānavarman once, he could not stop the gradual disintegration of the Gupta Empire.

The meteoric rise of Yaśodharman in Mālava region in Mālava-gaṇa era 589 (129 BCE) is also another example of the declining Gupta Empire. Kumāragupta II was succeeded by his son Vishnugupta. Damodarpur grant of Vishnugupta is dated in Gupta Saṃvat 224 (110 BCE). According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, the Gupta Empire disintegrated completely by the end of the rule of Kumāragupta II (*Magadhānām mahārājyaṃ chinnaṃ bhinnaṃ ca sarvaśaḥ*).

Western historians said that the later Gupta kings replaced the imperial Guptas based on the Shahpur and Apsad stone inscriptions of Ādityasena. These scholars knew that the Shahpur inscription of Ādityasena was dated in the Sri Harsha era 66. According to Al Beruni, the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. Thus, Shahpur inscription was engraved around 391 BCE and therefore, the so-called later Gupta kings were actually the early Gupta kings. Western historians distorted the statement of Al Beruni to establish the fictitious epoch of the Sri Harsha era in 606 CE.

According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, the Gupta dynasty ruled for 245 years (*Bhokṣyanti dve śate panca-catvāriṃśacca vai samāḥ*). The last Gupta inscription (Damodarpur grant of Viṣṇugupta) is dated in Gupta Saṃvat 224. Jinasena's Harivaṃśa Purāṇa tells us that the Guptas ruled for 231 years whereas Jinabhadra Kśamāśramaṇa refers to the duration of the Gupta rule as 255 years. Thus, the 245 years duration of the Gupta rule seems to be more accurate.

**7.4 The Chronology of the Gupta Dynasty:**

	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Gupta Samvat (334 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
Śrigupta	—	—	
Ghaṭotkachagupta	—	—	
Chandragupta I	4 years	0-4	334-330 BCE
Samudragupta	51 years	5-55	30-279 BCE
Rāmagupta	1 year	56	279-278 BCE
Chandragupta II	36 years	57-93	277-241 BCE
Kumāragupta I	42 years	94-136	241-199 BCE
Skandagupta	23 years	136-159	199-176 BCE
Purugupta			
Budhagupta			
Narasimhagupta Bālāditya	40 years	159-199	176-136 BCE
Kumāragupta II and			
Viṣṇugupta	47 years	199-245	136-89 BCE

## UNIT 8 : THE VĀKĀTAKA DYNASTY

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The Vākātaka dynasty was one of the greatest royal dynasties of Central and South India. This dynasty flourished around the 4th century BCE to the 2nd century BCE. Their Kingdom once extended from Vidiśā (Mālava) and Gujarat in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. Vindhyaśakti of Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra was the founder of Vākātaka dynasty. The Amarāvati (Guntur) pillar inscription mentions a certain Gṛhapati Vākātaka “*Gahapatisa Vākātakasa*” who had gone to Amarāvati with his wives to make donations which indicates the south-Indian origin of Vākātaka dynasty. Unfortunately, all the inscriptions of Vākātakas are dated only in regnal years. The chronology of the Vākātakas can be reconstructed based on the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Gupta, the queen of Vākātaka King Rudrasena II. Prabhāvatī Gupta was the daughter of the Gupta King Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE). Therefore, Vindhyaśakti must have ruled at least 100 years before this matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and Vākātakas, placing his period of reign around 385-365 BCE.

Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, succeeded him and consolidated the Vākātaka kingdom taking advantage of the decline of the Śātavāhana Empire. According to Purāṇas, Pravarasena I ruled for 60 years (365-305 BCE) [*Vindhyaśaktisutaścāpi Pravīro nāma vīryavān / Bhokṣyate ca samā Shaṣṭi purīm kāncanakā ca vai / /*].

Interestingly, the coins of Pravarasena I were found only in the Mathura region and not in the Vākātaka kingdom. Purīka city in Vidarbha was the earliest capital of the Vākātakas. Pravarasena I had four sons but only two names, Gautamiputra and Sarvasena, are known to us. Gautamiputra's son Rudrasena

I succeeded his grandfather Pravarasena I whereas Sarvasena also became king and founded the Vatsagulma (Basim) branch of the Vākātakas.

According to the Vākātaka genealogy given in inscriptions, King Bhavanāga of Bhāraśiva dynasty was the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I who was ruling at Padmāvati near Gwalior. King Bhavanāga's successor was Nāgasena, who was defeated by Samudragupta. It appears that Rudrasena I established his authority in the Vākātaka succession struggle with the help of his maternal grandfather despite his three uncles. Thus, Rudrasena I became the successor of the main branch of the Vākātakas and ruled for 25 years (305-280 BCE). He was succeeded by his son Prithvisena I. Chandragupta II was engaged in regular conflict with Western Śaka kśatras. It seems that Prithvisena I supported Chandragupta II in his expedition leading to the conquest of Saurāṣṭra. Thus, Vākātakas became the allies of the Guptas and Chandragupta II married off his daughter, Prabhāvatīguptā to Vākātaka Yuvarāja Rudrasena II around 265 BCE. Prithvisena I may have ruled for 30 years (280-250 BCE). His son Rudrasena II ascended the throne but unfortunately died after completing five regnal years (250-245 BCE). The Mandhal grant of Rudrasena II is dated in his 5th regnal year.

Rudrasena II had three sons, Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II. Prabhāvatīguptā had to act as regent to her minor son Yuvarāja Divākarasena after the death of her husband. It is quite likely that she had the full support of her father Chandragupta II and brother Kumārāgupta I to effectively administer the Vākātaka kingdom. The Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā are dated in her 13th regnal year. Divākarasena may have died soon after her 13th regnal year and she continued to be regent for her younger son Dāmodarasena for a few more years. Thus, she ruled for 15 years (245-230 BCE). Probably, Dāmodarasena's period of rule was between 230 BCE and 210 BCE. Thereafter, Prabhāvatīguptā's youngest son, Pravarasena II ascended the throne around 210 BCE. It appears that Pravarasena II's great-grandfather



Rudrasena I or grandfather Prithvisena I may have shifted the Vākātaka capital from Purika to Nandivardhana (Nāgardhan) near Rāmagiri or Rāmték, Nagpur.

Kālidāsa's Meghadūtam also mentions Rāmagiri (*Rāmagiryāśrameṣu*). The Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā were issued from Nandivardhana. Pravarasena II shifted his capital from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura (Probably, Pavanar in Wardha district) prior to his 18th regnal year. The Chammak grant of Pravarasena II was issued from Pravarapura in his 18th regnal year. From the more than 16 copper plate inscriptions of Pravarasena II that have been discovered so far, it is clear that the reign of Pravarasena II was generally peaceful and prosperous. Undoubtedly, Pravarasena II ruled for at least 30 years (210-180 BCE). The Pandhurna grant of Pravarasena II was issued in his 29th regnal year. He also married his son Narendrasena to Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, a daughter of Kuntala king, probably the Kadamba King Śimhavarman II (205-182 BCE).

Interestingly, the Riddhapur plates dated in the 19th regnal year (201 BCE) of Pravarasena II describe Prabhāvatīguptā as "Sāgra-varṣasata- jīva-putra-pauṭrā" which clearly tells us that Prabhāvatīguptā was in her 101st year amidst her sons and grandsons. It is evident that the Riddhapur plates were issued on the occasion of the completion of the 100th birth year of Prabhāvatīguptā. Dr. RC Majumdar once rightly argued that Prabhāvatīguptā was already more than a 100 years old by the time of the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II but Dr. VV Mirashi distorted the fact by claiming that the expression referred to the long life blessing for her sons and grandsons. Undoubtedly, the expression "Sāgra-varṣasata- jīva-putra-pauṭrā Śrī Mahādevī Prabhāvatīguptā" tells us that she lived more than 100 years. Therefore, Prabhāvatīguptā must have born around 291 BCE and married Rudrasena II around 265 BCE. Dr. Mirashi also distorted the meaning of the expression "Vākātakānām Mahārāja- Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-janani" and argued that Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II were identical and Dāmodarasena assumed the coronation name of Pravarasena II but he could not provide any evidence.

Dr. VV Mirashi and other historians have distorted these facts to establish that Kālidāsa was still alive during the initial years of Pravarasena II's accession. Pravarasena II was also a learned person. He wrote the famous “*Setubandha*” , a Kāvya glorifying Rama in the Prakrit language. He also composed several Prakrit Gāthās, which have been included in the Gāthāsaptasatī. According to Rāmadāsa the commentator of the *Setubandha*, the same kāvya was revised or re-composed in Sanskrit by Kālidāsa in obedience to the order of King Vikramāditya (*Mahārājādhirāja Vikramādityenājnpto nikhila-kavi-cakra-cūḍāmaṇiḥ Kālidāsa-mahāśayaḥ Setubandha-prabandham cikīrṣur.....*). Indian historians blindly believed in the concocted theory of Western historians that Chandragupta II was the Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa was in his court.

Since Prabhāvatīguptā attained 100 years of age in the 19th regnal year of her youngest son, she ought to have been 81 years old when Pravarasena II ascended the throne but undoubtedly, Chandragupta II died at least a few years before his accession. Kālidāsa, who referred to himself as “nṛpasakhā” means the same age group friend of Vikramāditya, may have also died by then. Therefore, it would have been impossible for Chandragupta II to order Kālidāsa to re-compose the work of Pravarasena II. It is well known from Indian literary sources that Kālidāsa was in the court of Ujjain King Vikramāditya and not the Pātalīputra King Chandragupta II and lived in the 1st century BCE. Chandragupta II ruled around 277-241 BCE and Pravarasena II ruled around 210-180 BCE. Kālidāsa lived around 101-25 BCE. Therefore, Pravarasena II wrote “*Setubandha*” at least 100 years before the birth of Kālidāsa. *Setubandha* became very popular among the scholars during the 2nd century BCE. Considering the popularity of *Setubandha*, the Ujjain King Vikramāditya might have requested Kālidāsa to re-compose it in Sanskrit in the 1st century BCE. Interestingly, some corrupt scholars even doubted Pravarasena II's authorship of *Setubandha* on the ground that while the theme of the kāvya is Vaiṣṇava, the king was a devotee of Śiva. Since Rāma was himself a devotee of Śiva, therefore this ridiculous argument is not tenable.

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Narendrasena. He, probably, ruled for 20 years (180-160 BCE) but faced an invasion by the Nala King Bhavadattavarman in his initial years. The Nala dynasty was ruling in South Kosala (Chhattisgarh). Narendrasena lost his kingdom up to Nandivardhana. It seems that he was forced to shift his capital from Pravarapura to Padmapura (in Bhandārā district of Maharashtra). Padmapura was also the city of the ancestors of the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti. After the death of Bhavadattavarman, Narendrasena not only recaptured his kingdom but also subjugated the kings of Kosala, Mekala and Mālava as stated in the Bālāghat plates. Prithvīsenā II succeeded his father Narendrasena as the last of the Vākātaka kings; he ruled for 10 years (160 BCE-150 BCE) and with him, the rule of the Vākātakas ended by 150 BCE.

### **8.1 The chronology of the main branch of Vākātakas**

<b>In CE</b>	
1. Vindhyaśakti	385-365 BCE
2. Pravarasena I	365-305 BCE
3. Rudrasena I	305-280 BCE
4. Pr̥thvīsenā I	280-250 BCE
5. Rudrasena II	250-245 BCE
6. Prabhāvatīguptā	
(as regent of his son Divākarasena)	245-230 BCE
7. Dāmodarasena	230-210 BCE
8. Pravarasena II	210-180 BCE
9. Narendrasena	180-160 BCE

10. Pṛthvīśena II

160-150 BCE

## 8.2 The Vatsagulma Branch of Vākātakas

Sarvasena, the son of Pravarasena I was the founder the Vatsagulma branch of the *Vākātakas*. His capital was Vatsagulma city, modern Basim in the Akola district of Maharashtra. *Vātsyāyana*’s *Kāmasūtra* also mentions the city of Vatsagulma and the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary on *Kāmasūtra* tells us that Vatsa and Gulma were two princes of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the province led by them came to be known as Vatsagulma. Interestingly, Guṇāḍhya mentioned in his *Bṛhatkathā* that Vatsa and Gulma were his maternal uncles. Vatsagulma was well known as a centre of learning and culture. Some Ajanta caves of a later period were made during the rule of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas. The Ajanta caves were made around the 8th century BCE to the 2nd century BCE. The earliest group of caves were made under the patronage of the Śātavāhanas and the latter group of caves were made under the patronage of Hariṣena, the last Vākātaka King of Vatsagulma branch.

Sarvasena was a learned king and the author of the Prakrit kāvya "*Harivijaya*". He also authored many Prakrit Gāthās, some of which have been included in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. Sarvasena’s son Vindhyaśakti II ruled for a long period, at least for 40 years. The Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II were issued in his 37th regnal year. It appears that Vindhyaśakti II’s successor Pravarasena II may have ruled for a very short period. According to the Ajanta cave XVI inscription, Pravarasena II’ son ascended the throne when he was just 8 years old.

Therefore he may have ruled for 50 years. His son Devasena became the king by 210 BCE because his Hisse-Borala inscription is dated in Śaka 380 (203 BCE). This inscription clearly refers to the Śaka era (583 BCE) as "*Śakānām 380*" and not Śākānta era (78 BCE). Hariṣeṇa succeeded his father Devasena as the last king of Vākātakas of Vatsagulma branch.

**In CE**

1. Vindhyaśakti	385-365 BCE
2. Pravarasena I	365-305 BCE
3. Sarvasena	340-305 BCE
4. Vindhyaśakti II or Vindhyaasena	305-265 BCE
5. Pravarasena II	265-260 BCE
6. The son of Pravarasena II (name not known)	260-210 BCE
7. Devasena or Devarāja	210-180 BCE
8. Hariṣeṇa	180-150 BCE

## UNIT 9 : KUSHANA DYNASTY

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### 9.1 The Origin of Kushanas

Historians have speculated that the Kushanas were a branch of the Yu-Chi tribe of China from the Kan-su and Ninghsia regions west of Huang-ho River who conquered Bactria and pushed the Śakas towards the south of modern Afghanistan. This speculation has long been held by historians considering the reign of Kushanas starting from the 1st century CE. There is no literary or epigraphic evidence available to support that the Kushanas were a branch of a Chinese or foreign tribe. Historians have supported this speculation on the basis of Chinese sources. They have concocted that the Yu-chi King Qiujiuque mentioned in the Chinese literature was none other than Kushana King Kujula Kadaphises. Though Chinese sources reveal that a branch of Yu-Chi tribe migrated in the 2nd century BCE and conquered Bactria but there is no evidence to establish that Yu-Chi people were the ancestors of the Kushanas. Moreover, the Kushanas flourished around 1230-1000 BCE and not around 100-300 CE. Evidently, Kushanas reigned over Bactria before the migration of the Yu-chi tribe of China.

In reality, Kushanas were the original inhabitants of the Kāmboja janapada. In entire Indian literature, there is no reference of Kushanas. Kushana kings had a famous royal title of "Shāhānushāhi" which has been gradually evolved as a surname "Shāhi". Shāhānushāhi means Mahārājādhirāja (King of kings) and Shāhi means Mahārāja (King). *Hammira-Mahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri tells us that Kāmboja prince Mahimā Shāhi was a military commander of the Chauhan King Hammira Deva. The Rabatak inscription mentions that Saddakśiṇa, the grandfather of Kanishka, performed a Soma Yāga. Thus, we can conclude that Kushanas were originally Indians and belonged to the clan of Kāmbojas.

In all probability, the Kāmbojas were the people of the Rigvedic era who settled on the banks of Kabul River. "Kubhā" was the Vedic name of Kabul River. Those born on the banks of Kubhā or Kumbhā River were called as Kubhaja or Kumbhaja or Kumbhoja. The word "Kumbhoja" might have been transformed into Kāmbhoja or Kāmboja. The Kāmbojas might have become the feudatories of the Yavana kings of Bactria. Kushanas, a branch of Kāmboja Kśatriyas established their sovereignty in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The Kushana kings had the titles of "Shāhānushāhi". A later Kushana king also used a title of Kaisar which means Emperor in Persian language. Later Kushana or Kāmboja Kśatriyas had a surname of "Shāhi" or "Shāh".

According to Mahābhārata, Kāmboja King Sudakṣiṇa supported the Kauravas. The Yavanas of Bactria also fought under the leadership of King Sudakṣiṇa in the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). Interestingly, the Rabatak inscription of Kanishka informs us that the name of the grandfather of Kanishka was Saddakṣiṇa. It appears that Sudakṣiṇa or Saddakṣiṇa was a popular name of Kāmboja Kśatriyas. Therefore, the so-called Kushanas were belonged to a Kśatriya branch of Kāmbojas.

Indian Territory was divided into various janapadas since Vedic period. Every Mahājanapada consisted of many janapadas. It appears that Afghanistan and North-western Pakistan had two Mahājanapadas, i.e., Kāmboja and Gāndhāra. Yavana and Bāhlīka janapadas were the part of Kāmboja Mahājanapada. *Majjhima Nikāya* of *Sutta Piṭaka* informs us that Buddha referred to Yavana deśa and Kāmboja deśa in conversation with Assalāyana.

Aśoka or Kālāśoka (1765-1737 BCE), who ruled after 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE), mentions the names of his contemporary Yavana kings of Gāndhāra and Bactria. The Yavana kings used Greek language and Greek script whereas the Kāmbojas and the Gāndhāras used the Kharoshthi script and Prakrit language. Buddhism was introduced in Gāndhāra and Bactria during the time of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi (~1650- 1550 BCE). Maurya King Aśoka

(1547-1511 BCE) sent Mahārakṣita Thera to Yavana janapada to preach Buddhism. Thus, Buddhism started dominating in Bactria and Gāndhāra during the 16th century BCE and spread up to Persia and Syria. The rise of Zoroastrianism during the lifetime of Zoroaster II ended the domination of Buddhism in the beginning of 13th century BCE as recorded by Al Beruni.

It appears that the Yavana kings conquered up to Takśaśilā by the end of the 16th century BCE. Puṣyamitra ended the rule of the Maurya dynasty and founded the Śuṅga dynasty around 1459 BCE. Patanjali, the contemporary of Puṣyamitra, mentions that the Yavanas invaded up to Sāketa (*Abhinad Yavanaḥ Sāketam*). The Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus at Vidiśā records that Heliodorus, son of Diya (Dion), the resident of Takśaśilā and a Yavana pilgrim (who became a Vaiṣṇava devotee) erected the Garuda-dhvaja or Garuda pillar in Vidiśā Vishnu temple. He was the ambassador of Yavana king Amtialkita [The Besnagar Inscription reads: “*Devadevasa Va[sude]vasa Garudadhvajo ayam kārīto i[a] Heliodorena bhāgavatena Diyasa putrena Takśaśilakena Yonadātena āgatena mahārājasa Amtalikitasa upa[m]ta samkasam rano Kāśīput[r]asa [Bh]āgabhadrasa tratarasa vasena [chatu]dasena rajena vadhamānasa”*].

Buddhist text Milinda Panho tells us that a Yavana king Milinda was ruling around 1365 BCE, 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) who patronised Buddhism. This text is, in fact, a dialogue between Yavana king Milinda and Buddhist monk Nāgasena. The Yavana kingdom of Bactria and Gāndhāra declined after 1300 BCE.

The Kushanas were the successors of Indo-Greek or Yavana kings in the region of Gāndhāra and Bactria. Kujula Kadphises founded the rule of Kushanas in the second half of the 13th century BCE. The Kushana kings used the Bactrian script in their inscriptions and coins. Buddhist sources indicate that King Kanishka reigned 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Evidently, King Kanishka was the contemporary of King Nandarāja of Rājagriha who flourished 60 years after the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE). King Kanishka



conquered Ujjain, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Pātaliputra and up to Chhattisgarh and Orissa at the end of the reign of King Nandarāja. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Kanishka around 1150-1118 BCE. The Rabatak inscription informs us that Kujula Kadphises (great grandfather), Saddakśiṇa (grandfather) and Vima Kadphises (father) reigned before King Kanishka.

## **9.2 The Chronology of Early Kushanas (1230-1000 BCE)**

Historians are still struggling to convincingly explain the chronology of Kushanas. Interestingly, they have to compromise with their own theories like Palaeography, etc., while fixing the date of Kushanas. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence clearly indicate the anomalies in the chronology of Kushanas given in modern textbooks but historians prefer to brush aside the unexplainable anomalies. We have to blame this ostrich policy of historians that does not allow them to look beyond a very limited period considered for the Kushanas despite many gaps that still exist in the chronology of Indian history. DC Sircar finally admits:

“Palaeography does not help us in assigning the date of an epigraph to a very limited period because the standard and cursive varieties of the same alphabet were generally prevalent in the same age and area, while some old-fashioned people preferred to write in a somewhat older alphabet not in popular use in their days. That is why sometimes both the earlier and later forms of letters appear in the records of the same person. In spite of this defect, an inscription can no doubt be assigned broadly to a certain period on palaeographical grounds. For the determination of the date of the Kushana King Kanishka, however, epigraphic evidence, i.e., the data supplied by the inscriptions of the Kushanas and their contemporaries, predecessors and successors, appears to offer us greater help. It may be pointed out that this Kanishka should better be specified as Kanishka I, there being at least one other ruler of that name amongst his successors.”

Historians left with no option to adjust the chronology of Kushanas around 100-300 CE considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE and Maurya King Chandragupta as the contemporary of Alexander (326-323 BCE).

As already discussed, Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE. Thus, Buddhist sources, Purāṇas and epigraphic evidence suggest the following chronology.

1. Buddha Mahāparinirvāṇa 1864 BCE
2. Śiśunāga Dynasty (362 years) 2024-1664 BCE
3. Haryāṅka Dynasty (Bimbisāra to 10 sons of Kālāśoka) [210 years] 1925-1715 BCE
4. Nanda Dynasty 1664-1596 BCE
5. Maurya Dynasty (137 years) 1596-1459 BCE
6. Śuṅga Dynasty (112 Years) 1459-1346 BCE
7. Kaṇva Dynasty (45 Years) 1346-1301 BCE
8. No central power in Magadha 1301-826 BCE
9. Śātavāhana Dynasty (492 Years) 826-334 BCE
10. Western Kśatras (Śaka kings) 583-246 BCE
11. Gupta Dynasty (245 Years) 334-89 BCE

### **9.3 The Decline of Kushana Empire**

Kaliṅga King Khāravela defeated the Kushana King Vima Takha and pushed him out of Magadha and Kauśāmbī in 1023 BCE. The rise of the Chandra kings of Aparāntaka kingdom posed a major challenge for the Kushanas of Mathurā. King Sri Chandra conquered Mathurā, Punjab and Jammu around 1015 BCE. He also crossed Sindhu and conquered Gāndhāra around 1000 BCE. King

Chandra erected the Iron Pillar (located near Kutub Minar) in commemoration of his victory over Bāhlīkas and Gāndhāra.

Interestingly, Firishta mentions that the Kaid Raja (Raja Chandra) built the fort of Jammu and appointed King Durg of Khokhar tribe as governor. This fort of Jammu remained in the possession of Khokhars from the time of King Durg to the Mughal period. The Kaid Raja (Raja Chandra) appointed Jaya Chandra as governor of the region of Dilli.

Firishta says that Jaya Chandra's younger brother Raja Dilhu ruled over the region of Dilli for 40 years. Most probably, Raja Dilhu reigned around 1010-970 BCE as a feudatory of the Chandra kings. Evidently, the city of Dilli has been named after Raja Dilhu.

King Chandragupta succeeded his father King Chandra around 984 BCE. Pratiṣṭhānapura of Prayāga was the capital of Chandra kings. He was the contemporary of Alexander and Seleucus. The Greek historians referred to him as "Sandrokottus" and his father King Chandra as "Xandremes". It appears that the Greek historians referred to the city of Prayāgabhadra or Pratiṣṭhānapura as "Polibothra".

Taking advantage of the decline of Kushana Empire, the kings of Puru dynasty of Madra janapada established their kingdom around 1000 BCE. According to Jammu Vamśāvalī, Puru Sen or Purva Sen was the King of Madra country and a contemporary of Jammu King Ajay Singh, the 7th descendant of Damodar Datt. King Ajay Singh married Rani Mangalan Dai, the daughter of Madra King Purva Sen. Undoubtedly, King Purva Sen or Puru Sen of Madra country was the "Poros" referred to by Greek historians. He was the contemporary of Alexander (990-982 BCE). His capital was Gotipani which was situated on the east of Behat (Probably, Islamabad or Rawalpindi). Raja Puru Sen conquered all the territories on the Sindhu River. His kingdom was extended from Indus River in the west to Jalandhar and Chamba kingdoms in the east. Seemingly, Raja Puru Sen defeated Alexander and one of his soldiers shot an

arrow and injured Alexander around 326 BCE. Thus, we can fix the date of the Madra King Puru Sen around 350-300 BCE. King Puru Sen killed Raja Dillu around 320 BCE and annexed the city of Dilli. Thus, the kingdom of Puru Sen (Poros) was extended from Rawalpindi to Dilli and the kingdom of Chandra Gupta (Sandrokottus) was extended from Sindh, Rajasthan and Mathura to Bengal when Megasthenes visited the court of Poros and Sandrokottus. Evidently, the rise of Chandra kings in North India, the rise of the Puru kings in Madra region and the invasion of Alexander on Gāndhāra and Bactria led to the complete decline of the glorious Kushana Empire by 1000 BCE.

## UNIT 10 : CHALUKYA

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### 10.1 The Early Chālukyas of Badami

Vātāpi or Badami (in Bagalkot district of Karṇāṭaka) was the capital of the early Chālukya dynasty. Ptolemy mentions Badami as “*Badiamaioi*” indicating that Badami was a place of some significance. Pulakeśin I, the founder of the Chālukya Empire in Vātāpi, according to the Altem or British Museum copper plates, was the grandson of Jayasimha and son of Raṇarāga. The Aihole inscription also gives a similar lineage of the Chālukyas. Pulakeśin I ruled from Śaka 411 (172 BCE) to Śaka 466 (117 BCE).

Here is the selected text from the Altem or British Museum copper plates:

*“Śaka-nṛpābdeṣvekādaśottareṣu catuś-śateṣu vyatīteṣu Vibhavaśamvatsare pravartamāne, Kṛte ca ye, Vaiśākhodita-pūrṇa-puṇyadivase rāho (hau) vidhau (vidhor) mandalam śliṣṭe.....”*

“411 years elapsed in Śaka era, in the Jovian year of Vibhava and on the occasion of lunar eclipse, on full moon day of Vaiśākha month and moon in Viśākhā nakśatra”.

Considering 583 BCE as the epoch, Śaka 411th year, i.e., 173-172 BCE elapsed and 172-171 BCE current, the day of 19th April 172 BCE was the full moon day of Vaiśākha month and the moon was also in Viśākhā nakśatra.

A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible at Badami starting at 19:44 hrs and ending at 21:32 hrs. If 78 CE had been the epoch, 1st May 489 CE was the full moon day of Vaiśākha month but no lunar eclipse was visible at Badami nor was the moon in Viśākhā nakśatra.

Pulakeśin I was also known as “Vallabheśvara”. He constructed the fort in Badami in Śaka 465 elapsed as mentioned in a Badami inscription. Pulakeśin I had two sons; Kīrtivarman I and Mangalīśvara. Pulakeśin I was succeeded by his elder son Kīrtivarman I. According to Chālukya inscriptions, Kīrtivarman I defeated the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Kadam̐ba etc. His younger brother Mangalīśvara succeeded him as the ruler of Badami in Śaka 489 (95 BCE).

Here is the selected text from the Badami cave inscription of Mangalīśvara:

*“Pravardhamāna-rājya-saṁvatsare dvādaśe Śaka-nṛpatirājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsareṣu-atikrānteṣu pañcasu śateṣu mahā- Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām”*

“500 years elapsed in the Śaka era, in the 12th year of reign, on full moon day of Kārttika month.”

The year of 84-83 BCE was the elapsed year of Śaka 500 and 83-82 BCE was the 12th regnal year of Mangalīśvara and 19th Oct 83 BCE was the full moon day of Kārttika month and the moon was also in Kṛttikā nakṣatra.

Maṅgalīśvara also conquered Revatīdvīpa (near Goa). He conspired to secure the succession for his son but Satyāśraya-Pulakeśin II, the son of Kīrtivarman I, rebelled and in the ensuing civil war between Maṅgalīśvara and Pulakeśin II, Maṅgalīśvara lost his life as stated in the Aihole inscription. Due to the civil war, the Chālukya Empire became highly vulnerable. Pulakeśin II had the greater responsibility to reinstate the authority of the Chālukyas in Kuntala (Northern Kaṇṇāṭaka) and Dakṣiṇāpatha. Therefore, he decided to put his older son Kokkulīa Vikramāditya on the throne in Śaka 515 (69 BCE) and personally led the army to counter the invasions of neighbouring kings. He conquered “Vanavāsi” the capital of Kadam̐bas. He also defeated the Gaṅgas of Mysore, Lāṭas, Mauryas, Mālavas and Gurjaras. Pulakeśin II defeated Harsha, the king of Uttarāpatha by Śaka 530 (53 BCE) as stated in the Kurtakoti grant of

Vikramāditya; it was the greatest achievement of Pulakeśin II. He also defeated the Pallava king and won more than 100 wars against neighbouring kings between Śaka 515 and Śaka 531 (69-53 BCE) and laid strong foundations to Chālukya kingdom.

He was referred to in the Hyderabad copper plates as "*Samara-śatasamghaṭṭa-paranṛpati-parājayopalabdha-parameśvarāparanāmadheyah*" which meant that Pulakeśin II achieved the title of "*Parameśvara*" by defeating other kings in hundred wars. Pulakeśin II took over the reins of Badami in Śaka 532 (52 BCE) from his older son Kokkulla Vikramāditya and appointed him as Viceroy of the Lāta region. Buddhavarasarāja, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II and the uncle of Vikramāditya, was also placed there to support Kokkulla Vikramāditya. The Sanjan grant of Buddhavarasarāja indicates this clearly. This grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month but the Śaka year is not mentioned. There was only one solar eclipse which occurred on Pauṣa Amāvāsya, i.e., 5th Jan 28 BCE between Śaka 515 and Śaka 602 (69 BCE-19 CE). Śaka 515 was the 1st regnal year of Kokkulla Vikramāditya whereas Śaka 602 was the last regnal year of Vikramāditya I. Thus, the date of the Sanjan grant can be conclusively fixed on 5th Jan 28 BCE. This means Kokkulla Vikramāditya was ruling the Lāta region in Śaka 555 (28 BCE).

It can also be construed that the Chālukya rule in Gurjara was established by Śaka 532 (52 BCE) and Kokkulla Vikramāditya was the first ruler of Gujarat branch of Chālukyas. In fact, he was the author of the Kurtakoti grant issued in Śaka 530 elapsed when he was ruling from Badami. Vikramāditya I, the youngest son of Pulakeśin II, ruled between Śaka 577 and Śaka 602 (6 BCE-19 CE). Therefore, Vikramāditya I cannot be the author of the Kurtakoti grant and thus, it follows that Vikramāditya I was the younger brother of Kokkulla Vikramāditya.

J.F. Fleet rejected the Kurtakoti grant as spurious because he could not explain the total solar eclipse in Śaka 530 elapsed and the rule of Vikramāditya between Śaka 515 to Śaka 602. Interestingly, he also attempted to mislead Indologists by overruling Walter Elliot and Dr. Burnell about the Śaka year of the Kurtakoti grant. He argued that it was Śaka 532 and not Śaka 530. I suspect that JF Fleet deliberately distorted the Śaka year of the Kurtakoti grant because it provides the strongest epigraphic evidence, i.e., total solar eclipse with enough verifiable details.

**Pulakeśin II** had three younger brothers namely Kubja Vishnuvardhana, Buddhavarasarāja and Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā. As stated above, Buddhavarasarāja was supporting Kokkulla Vikramāditya in the Gurjara region. Pulakeśin II appointed Kubja Vishnuvardhana, who later founded Eastern Chālukya dynasty at Veṅgi as Viceroy of coastal Andhra region. It seems that Pulakeśin II also appointed his brother Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā as Viceroy near Balegrāma (Belgaum).

The Nirpan grant of Nāgavardhana, issued by Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavardhanarāja, the son of Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmarāja, clearly tells us about the brother of Pulakeśin II. Pulakeśin II had at least six sons, namely Kokkulla Vikramāditya, Chandrāditya, Raṇarāgavarmā, Ādityavarmā, Vikramāditya I and Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā.

J.F. Fleet declared the Nirpan grant spurious because one of the sons of Pulakeśin II was named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā. Can the fact that an uncle and nephew have the same name be uncommon, unusual, objectionable or indefensible? JF Fleet deliberately concocted convoluted theories to prove that some Indian inscriptions were spurious or forgeries in order to convince other Indologists that some Indian inscriptions were not genuine and hence, need to be rejected. By selectively rejecting some inscriptions as spurious, JF Fleet succeeded in distorting the chronology of ancient India. It appears that any Indian inscription dated prior to the 4th century CE, was pushed to a corner by



JF Fleet. The controversy about the chronology of the Gaṅga dynasty between B Lewis Rice and JF Fleet is enough to understand the devious mind-set of JF Fleet.

Pulakeśin II was ruling in Śaka 557 (26 BCE) as mentioned in the Aihole inscription.<sup>34</sup> Śaka 577 (6 BCE) was the first regnal year of Vikramāditya I. The Nerur grant and Kochre grant of Queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (the wife of Chandrāditya, the elder brother of Vikramāditya I) were probably issued between Śaka 561 and Śaka 577. The Nerur grant was issued in the 5th regnal year of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā on the 2nd tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja month and on the occasion of “Viṣuva”. Viṣuva or Viṣuvatkāla means Sāyana Meṣa Saṅkrānti (21st Mar) or Sāyana Tulā Saṅkrānti (23<sup>rd</sup> Sep). Therefore, the Nerur grant was issued on Sāyana Tulā Saṅkrānti, on kṛṣṇa-pakṣa dvitīyā of Āśvayuja corresponding to only one date, i.e., 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep 18 BCE between Śaka 561 to Śaka 577. Thus, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā’s 1st regnal year was Śaka 562 (22-21 BCE). It appears that Pulakeśin II was alive up to Śaka 561 (23-22 BCE).

Vijayabhaṭṭārikā’s grant clearly mentions that Vikramāditya I was the successor of the Chālukya Empire (*Sva-vamśajām lakṣmīm prāpya ca paramēśvaram nivārita-Vikramādityaḥ*). Probably, Vikramāditya I had to encounter internal conflicts for succession as well as invasions from neighbouring kings after the death of Pulakeśin II. It is likely that Vikramāditya I took the responsibility of re-establishing the supremacy of the Chālukyas. He allowed Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the wife of his elder brother Chandrāditya to take over the reins in Vātāpi and he himself led the army to counter aggressive neighbouring kings. Vijayabhaṭṭārikā ruled between Śaka 562 (22-21 BCE) and Śaka 576 (8-7 BCE). Vikramāditya I ascended the throne in Śaka year 577 (6 BCE).

Here is the selected text from the Talamanchi (Nellore) plates of Vikramāditya I: “*Viditamastu vosmābhiḥ pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-ṣadvatsare Śrāvaṇamāsa-Sūryagrahaṇe*” (*In the 6th regnal year and on the occasion of solar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa month*).

The Solar eclipse was visible on 31st Jul 1 BCE in Nellore and the day was the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa month. The Savnur plates of Vikramāditya I are dated in Śaka 597 (14 CE). Vikramāditya I was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya in Śaka 602 (18-19 CE).

Here is the selected text from the Dayyamdinne plates of Vinayāditya:

*“Caturddaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu  
pravardhamānavijayarājya-*

*saṁvatsare dvādaśe varttamāne..... āṣādhapaurṇamāsyām*

*dakṣiṇāyana-kāle” (Śaka 614 elapsed, 12th regnal year, full moon day of  
Āṣāḍha month, on the occasion of Dakṣiṇāyana Saṅkrānti).*

The current year is 30-31 CE and 31-32 CE is elapsed. The date regularly corresponds to 22nd / 23rd Jun 31 CE. This date cannot be explained in the epoch of Śakānta era (78 CE). Here is the selected text from the Kendur plates of Kīrtivarman II:

*“Viditamevāstu vosmābhiḥ dvisaptatyuttara ṣaṭcchateṣu Śakavarṣeṣvatīteṣu  
pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsare ṣaṣṭhe varttamāne..... Vaiśākha  
paurṇamāsyām Somagrahaṇe” (Śaka 672 elapsed, 6th regnal year, lunar  
eclipse on the full moon day of Vaiśākha month)*

Though elapsed years are mentioned, Śaka 672 was the current year. 88-89 CE was the 6th regnal year. 24th Apr 88 CE was the full moon day of Vaiśākha month and lunar eclipse was visible at 18:56 hrs. Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II and Kīrtivarman II ruled from Śaka 619 (36 CE) to 680 (97 CE). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga and Krishnarāja defeated Kīrtivarman II and Chālukya empire came to an end by Śaka 680 (97 CE).

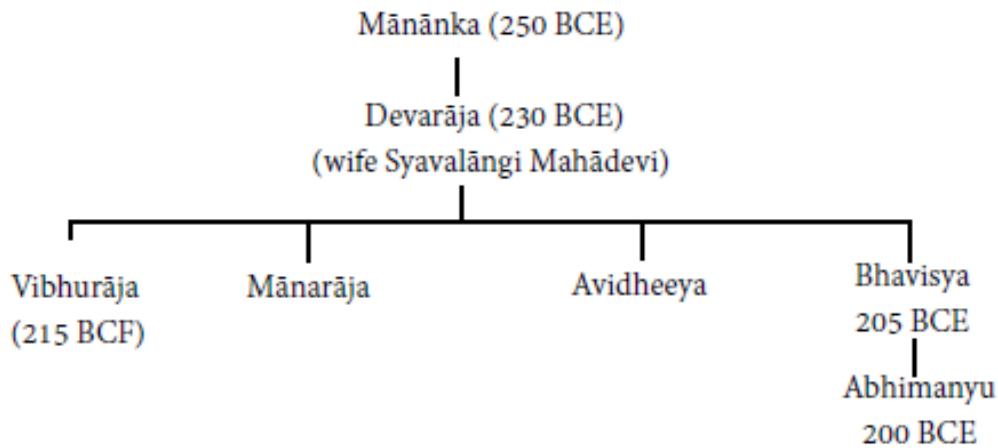
## 10.2 The chronology of the early Chālukyas

	Śaka era	In CE
	<b>(583 BCE)</b>	
Jayasimha	—	225-200 BCE?
Raṇarāga	—	200-172 BCE?
Pulakeśin I	411-466	172-117 BCE
Kīrtivarman I	466-488	117-95 BCE
Mangaliśvara	489-505	94-78 BCE
Kokkulla Vikramāditya		
(elder son of Pulakeśin II)	515-531	68-52 BCE
Pulakeśin II	531-561	52-22 BCE
Vijayabhaṭṭārikā		
(wife of Chandrāditya)	562-576	22-7 BCE
Vikramāditya I		
(Younger son of Pulakeśin II)	577-601	6 BCE – 18 CE
Vinayāditya	602-618	19-35 CE
Vijayāditya	619-655	36-72 CE
Vikramāditya II	655-666	72-83 CE
Kīrtivarman II	666-680	83-97 CE

## UNIT 11 : RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS

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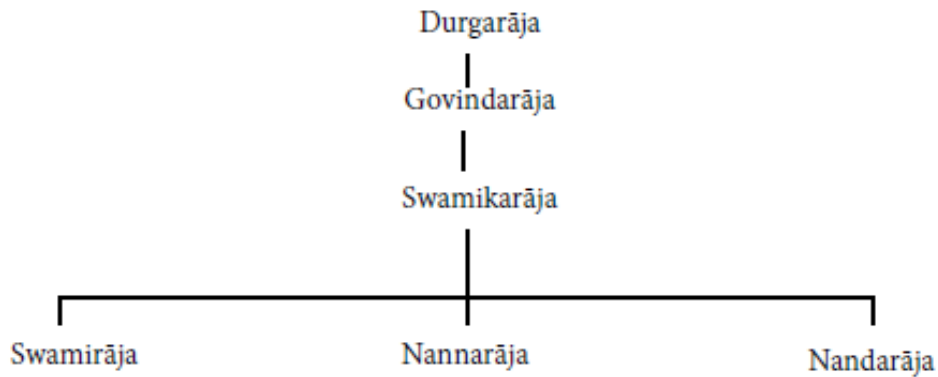
Seemingly, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the descendants of Raṣṭrikas or Raṭhikas mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka. According to a Tamil chronicle namely "*Koṅgu-deśa-rājakkal*", seven Raṭṭa kings ruled over the Koṅgu region before the rise of the Ganga dynasty. The Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu is the earliest available copper plate inscription of early Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The emblem of this grant bears a Simha (lion). Mānāṅka was the founder of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānapura (later Mānyakheṭa or Malkhed). The Hiṅgni Berdi plates of Vibhurāja and the Paṇḍuraṅga-palli grant of Avidheya also belong to the same lineage of Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Avidheya also claimed to be ruling over Kuntala (Northern Kaṇṇāṭaka). Unfortunately, these inscriptions are dated either in the regnal years or undated.



### 11.1 The genealogy of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas:

The Nagardhan plates of Swāmīrāja and the Tiwarkheda plates of Nannarāja indicate that the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Achalapura ruled over the region of Vidarbha around Śaka 553 (30 BCE). It appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas shifted their base to Vidarbha following the establishment of the Chālukya kingdom in

Northern Kaṇṇāṭaka. Thus, the date of Mānāṅka, Devarāja and Abhimanyu must be fixed as being prior to Chālukya Pulakeśin I (172-117 BCE). The Gokak plates of Sendraka King Indrananda mention a Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dejjā Mahārāja. These plates are dated in Āguptāyika era 845 elapsed. Considering the epoch of the Āguptāyika era in 950 BCE, the year, in which these plates were issued, was 105 BCE. Thus, one Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dejjā Mahārāja was ruling in the 2nd century BCE.



The Nagardhan, Tiwarkheda and Multai plates provide the genealogy of the Achalapura branch of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.

**The chronology of the Achalapura branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas:**

	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Durgarāja	500-515?	83-68 BCE?
Govindarāja	515-530?	68-53 BCE?
Swamikarāja	530-550?	53-33 BCE?
Swamirāja	550-573	33-10 BCE
Nannarāja	553-615	30 BCE – 32 CE

Nandarāja Yuddhāsura 615-632

32 – 49 CE

### 11.2 The Main Branch of Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas

The inscription at Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora gives the genealogy of Dantidurga and indicates that Govindarāja was the son of Indrarāja and the grandson of Dantivarmā. Govindarāja was succeeded by his son, Karkarāja. The Bhindon grant of the feudatory of Karkarāja tells us that Karkarāja was also called "Pratāpaśīla". Indrarāja was the son of Karkarāja. Indrarāja defeated the Western Chālukya king and married his daughter. Dantidurga, the Son of Indrarāja, was the first founder of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire. He built the Daśāvatāra temple at his capital Elāpura (Ellora).

He defeated the Chālukya King Vallabha, i.e. Kīrtivarman II, the kings of Kāñchi (Pallava), Kerala, Chola, Pāṇḍya, Śri Harsha, Vajraṭa and Karṇāṭaka between Śaka 671-675 (88-92 CE) [*Kāñchiśa-Keralanarādhipa-Chola- Pāṇḍya-Śri-Harsha-Vajraṭa-vibheda-vidhāna- dakśam, Karṇāṭakam*]. He defeated the kings of the Gurjara dynasty in Ujjain and made them his "Pratīhāra" or door keepers. He also extended his empire up to the Konkan region.

After the untimely death of Dantidurga, Krishnarāja or Krishna I, the son of Karkarāja and the uncle of Dantidurga, took over the reins. He annexed the kingdom of the early Chālukyas and Manna-nagara (Mānapura) from the Gaṅgas. His son Govindarāja II was appointed as Yuvarāja in Śaka 692 (109 CE). Govinda II subjugated the Eastern Chālukya King of Veṅgi Vishnurāja or Vishnuvardhana IV. He and the Pallava King Nandivarmā also played a role in the coronation of Gaṅga King Śivamāra II.

## UNIT 12 : THE KALACHURI-CHEDI DYNASTY

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The Chedis and Kalachuris were the descendants of the ancient Haihaya dynasty of Rigvedic era. Seemingly, the Chedis and Kalachuris established a powerful kingdom in central India around 402 BCE and founded an era as the earliest inscriptions issued from the city of Māhiṣmatī are dated around Kalachuri year 167 (235 BCE). Assumably, Mahārāja Subandhu and his ancestors belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty and founded the Kalachuri-Chedi era. Most probably, King Vijayābhinandana of Chitrakuta was the founder of the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era as indicated by Kālidāsa in his "*Jyotirvidābharaṇam*".

### 12.1 The Maharajas of Valkhā

According to Dr. Mirashi, the Mahārājas of Valkhā, who were probably the earliest feudatories of the Kalachuris, used Kalachuri era in their inscriptions. More than 35 inscriptions of the Mahārājas of Valkhā have been discovered so far and found to be dated from the year 29 to 117. Some historians opined that these inscriptions were dated in the Gupta era. It is difficult to establish whether these inscriptions were dated in the Kalachuri era or the Gupta era. Since the kingdom of Valkhā was very close to the Kalachuri kingdom, it is deducible that the Mahārājas of Valkhā used the Kalachuri-Chedi era in their inscriptions. Valkhā is undoubtedly the present village Bāgh in Dhār district of Madhya Pradesh, close to the Narmadā River. The genealogy and chronology of the Mahārājas of Valkhā:

<b>Kalachuri-Chedi</b>		
	<b>Era (402 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
Bhaṭṭāraka	29-36	373-366 BCE
Bhulunḍa I	37-59	365-343 BCE

Svāmidāsa	60-68	342-334 BCE
Rudradāsa I	66-85	336-317 BCE
Bhulunḍa II	86-107	316-295 BCE
Rudradāsa II	108-117	294-285 BCE
Nāgabhaṭa	—	—

Some historians opined that Mahārāja Subandhu belonged to the family of the Mahārājas of Valkhā. The inscriptions of Subandhu were issued from the city of Māhiṣmatī and not from the city of Valkhā and do not mention “*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*”. Therefore, it may be confidently stated that Subandhu did not belong to the family of Valkhā.

## 12.2 The Traikūṭakas

Trikūṭa or a three-peaked mountain is situated in Aparānta or North Konkan. A royal family ruled around Triakūṭa was called as Traikūṭaka. According to historians, the inscriptions of Traikūṭaka kings were dated from the Kalachuri years 207 to 284. But, seemingly, Taikutakas used the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE).

<b>Kārttikādi Vikrama</b>		
	<b>era (719 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
Dāhrasena	207-240	512-479 BCE
Vyāghrasena	240-250	479-469 BCE
Madhyamasena	250-270	469-449 BCE
Vikramasena	270-284	449-435 BCE



## The Originator of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era

Who was the originator of the Kalachuri-Chedi era? Dr. Mirashi opined that the Ābhīra King Íśvarasena, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty, may have started this era. According to the Purāṇas, Ābhīra kings succeeded the Śātavāhanas and ruled for 67 years. The Nasik cave inscription of Íśvarasena is dated in his 9th regnal year. But the inscriptions of the Kalachuri and Chedi kings referred to the era as “*Kalachuri Saṁvat*” or “*Chedi Saṁvat*”. The Chedis were the descendants of the ancient Haihaya branch of the Kshatriyas of lunar dynasty. It is totally absurd to assume that the Chedi kśatriya kings used the epoch of Ābhīras. Therefore, it is not logical to assume that the Kalachuris adopted the regnal years of the Ābhīra kings and later transformed it into an era.

Seemingly, the Ched kings established a powerful kingdom in central India around 402 BCE and founded an era. Kālidāsa states in his *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* that Yudhiṣṭhira, Vikrama, Śālivāhana and Vijayābhinandana founded their eras in Kaliyuga. Yudhiṣṭhira reigned in Hastināpura and became the founder of the Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE). Vikramāditya I founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in 719-718 BCE. According to Kālidāsa, Śālivāhana’s capital was close to Śāleya Parvata and *Vijayābhinandana*’s capital was close to Chitrakuta.

The epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE) was attributed to Śālivāhana. King Vijayābhinandana lived after Śālivāhana and before Kālidāsa and founded an era. In all probability, Vijayābhinandana was a Chedi king of Chitrakuta region and he was probably the founder of the Kalachuri-Chedi era that commenced around 402 BCE. The earliest inscriptions issued from the city of Māhiṣmatī are dated around Kalachuri year 167 (235 BCE). Māhiṣmatī was the capital of Haihayas during Rigvedic era. Assumably, Kalachuri-Chedi kings had shifted their Capital from Chitrakuta to Māhiṣmatī in the 4th or 3rd centuries BCE. Mahārāja Subandhu reigned from Māhiṣmatī around 235 BCE. Later, the Chedi kings shifted their capital from Māhiṣmatī to Tripurī in Dāhala region.

## Chedi

The Chedis were the descendants of the Haihayas of Rigvedic era as they claimed in their inscriptions. Rigveda refers to a Chedi King Kāśu. Originally, the Chedis reigned over Māhiṣmatī and were the neighbours of the Matsyas. Later, they have extended their kingdom beyond Bundelkhand. Mahābhārata indicates that the Chedis lost their kingdom during the reign of King Sahaja. Seemingly, Uparichara Vasu of the Kuru dynasty annexed the kingdom of Chedis during the Rigvedic era. Gradually, Māhiṣmatī became part of Avanti janapada and the region on the banks of Śuktimatī River came to be known as Chedi janapada.

Thus, the Chedis became the neighbours of Vatsa janapada in the post Mahābhārata era. *Revā Khanda* of *Skanda Purāṇa* indicates that Chedi was also known as Mandala. Damaghoṣa's son Śiśupāla was the Chedi King during the Mahābhārata era. Mahābhārata also refers to the Chedi King Sunitha and his sons, Dhṛṣṭaketu and Śarabha. Purāṇas tell us that total 24 or 25 Chedi kings flourished after the Mahābhārata era. Mahāpadma Nanda had annexed the kingdom of Chedis around 364 BCE. Later, the Kalachuri-Chedi kings, the descendants of Chedi dynasty founded an epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era in 402 BCE and reigned over Dāhala-Mandala from 402 BCE to the 6th century CE. We will discuss the chronology of the Kalachuri-Chedi kings in Chapter 15. There are some references of Cheṭas or Cheṭaraṭṭa in Jātaka texts of Buddhism but the Cheṭa was one of the Gaṇas of Vajji janapada. King Cheṭaka, a contemporary of Māhāvira was the king of Vaiśālī. Therefore, the Cheṭas and the Chedis were two different communities.

## UNIT 13 : PALLAVA DYNASTY

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### 13.1 The Origin

#### **The Origin of Tondaiman Dynasty, the Kings of Tondaimandalam and Pallavas**

King Tondaiman was the earliest king of Tondaimandalam of Tamil Nadu. He was a junior contemporary of Śiva and lived around 11250- 11150 BCE. In all probability, Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka was called Tondaiman in Tamil Nadu. According to Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Daṇḍaka was the youngest son of Ikśvāku. Ikśvāku banished Daṇḍaka from his kingdom due to his ruthless behaviour. Kautilya Arthaśāstra indicates that Bhoja was a son of Daṇḍaka who forcibly married a Brāhmaṇa girl. According to another legend, Daṇḍaka went south of Vindhya and established his kingdom close to Dandakāraṇya. He wanted to marry a daughter of Śukrāchārya but she refused to marry him. One day, Daṇḍaka forcibly entered the Ashrama of Śukrāchārya and violated his daughter.

Enraged Śukrāchārya ordered his disciples to punish Daṇḍaka. Possibly, Daṇḍaka had to leave his kingdom of Daṇḍakāraṇya. He settled in the region of Kānchipuram. At that time, Śiva was also in the region of Kānchipuram. Śiva was married to Kāmākṣī Ammal of Kānchipuram. According to Tamil legends, King Tondaiman built Śiva temple of Tirumullaivayil near Avadi, Chennai. He established his kingdom in Tondaimandalam with the help of Śiva and Nandi. Traditionally, the descendants of King Tondaiman reigned in the region of Kānchipuram.

The Sangam era poetess, Avvaiyar (1400-1300 BCE), a contemporary of Kambar (the author of Kambaramayanaṃ), mentions King Tondaiman Ilandirayan in her poem *Purunanuru*. King Tondaiman Ilandirayan was in conflict with the Velir king Athiyaman. He was the progenitor of the lineage of Pallavas. According to *Kalingattuparani*, Karunakara Tondaiman, a Pallava prince conquered Kaliṅga serving as Sthalapati under Kulottuṅga Chola I (410 CE). Evidently, the Pallavas were the descendants of Ikśvāku King Daṇḍaka.

## 13.2 The Pallava Dynasty

The Pallavas were the descendants of King Tondaiman Ilandirayan (1400-1300 BCE). Unfortunately, the Pallava inscriptions are dated only in regnal years. We have to rely on references in other inscriptions to construct the chronology of the Pallava dynasty. It is well known that the rise of Pallavas ended the rule of Ikśvāku dynasty in the lower Andhra regions. The earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas are written in Prākṛit. Thus, the early Pallava inscriptions must be dated in the 6th century BCE. Simhavarman I was the earliest known ruler of the Pallavas and his likely contemporaries were Mayuraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty and Kongani Varman, the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty. His son, Śivaskandavarman succeeded him.

The Penukonda grant of the Gaṅga King Mādhava Simhavarman tells us that the Pallava King Simhavarman coronated the Gaṅga King Aryavarman, the son of Mādhavarman I and later, the Pallava King Skandavarman coronated Mādhava Simhavarman, the son of Aryavarman. According to Alvakonda plates, Vishnugopavarman was the son of Budhavarman. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions Vishnugopa as the ruler of Kānchi. The Hoskote grant of Avinita mentions the Pallava King Simhavishnu (*Simha Vishnu-pallavādhirājajananyā*).

The Jain scholar Simhasuri translated “*Lokavibhāga*”, a Jain work on cosmology into Sanskrit on Bhādrapada Amāvāsyā of Śaka 380 (23rd Aug 204 BCE) during the 22nd regnal year of the Pallava King Simhavarman.

*Samvatsare tu dvāvimśe Kānchīśa-Simhavarmaṇaḥ |*

*Aśītyagre Śakābdānām siddhametacchata-traye ||38*

*Lokavibhāga* was originally written in Prakrit by the Jain monk Sarvanandi around the 6th century BCE. Interestingly, *Lokavibhāga* expresses the number 13107200000 in reverse order as 00000270131 “*Pañcabhyaḥ khalu śūnyebhyaḥ*

*param dvi sapta cāmbaram ekam tri ca rūpam ca*” which indicates that the decimal place-value system and the use of zero were well established in India much before the 6th century BCE. According to “*Avantisundarikathā*”, a Sanskrit work of Dandin, Bhāravi met the Chālukya King Vishnuvardhana (Jayasimha I) and thereafter the Gaṅga King Durvinita. Later, he also met the Pallava King Simhavishnu in his capital Kānchi. The Indrapālanagara copper plate inscription of the Vishnukundin King Vikramendra-Bhattāarakavarman was issued in Saka 488 (95 BCE) in his 22nd regnal year in which the Vishnukundin king claimed victory over the Pallava King Simha. The Manne grant of Ganga King Mārasimha tells us that the Ganga King Śivamāradeva was coronated by the Pallava King Nandivarman and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govindarāja.

Based on these inputs, the chronology of the Pallavas can be deduced as under:

	<b>Śaka era</b>	<b>In CE</b>
	<b>(583 BCE)</b>	
Simhavarman I	83-108	500-475 BCE
(Śiva) Skandavarman I	108-138	475-445 BCE
Kumāravishnu		
(Elder son of Skandavarman I)	138-163	445-420 BCE
Simhavarman II (Younger son of Skandavarman I who coronated the		
Ganga King Aryavarman)	163-173	420-410 BCE
Skandavarman II (who coronated		
The Gaṅga King Mādhava		

# UNIT 13 : PALLAVA DYNASTY

Simhavarman)	173-198	410-385 BCE
Budhavarman	198-203	385-380 BCE
Vishnugopavarman	203-208	380-375 BCE
Viravarman	208-218	375-365 BCE
Skandavarman II	218-248	365-335 BCE
Simhavarman III	248-278	335-305 BCE
Vishnugopa (who fought against		
Samudragupta)	253-283	330-300 BCE
Simhavarman IV	283-323	300-260 BCE
Simhavishnu I (contemporary to		
the Gaṅga King Avinita)	323-358	260-225 BCE
Simhavarman V (Simhasuri translated		
"Lokavibhāga" in his 22nd		
regnal year)	358-403	225-180 BCE
Simhavishnu II		
(Bhāravi met him in Kānchi)	403-443	180-140 BCE
Simha (who was defeated by		
the Vishnukundin king)	443-488	140-95 BCE
Nandivarman (a descendant		
of Simhavarman III and the		
one who coronated Gaṅga		

King Sivamāradeva)

703-733

120-150 CE

The Chola kings dominated in Tamilnadu after the fall of the Pallava dynasty. Uttama Chola was the last great king of the Chola dynasty. Kulottunga Chodadeva I, the descendant of the Chola-Chālukya dynasty was the contemporary of Uttama Chola. Seemingly, Kulottunga Chodadeva I annexed the kingdom of Uttama Chola after his death.

Though Pāndyan kings continued to reign in Madurai, the Nāyaka kings replaced them during the period of Vijayanagara Empire.

## UNIT 14 : CHOLA DYNASTY

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### 14.1 The Origin

According to *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Vahni, a descendant of Turvaśa, was the forefather of the Pāndyas, Keralas (Chera), Cholas and Kollas. Marutta, the fifth descendant of Vahni, adopted Duṣkṛita or Duṣmanta, a son of King Raibhya of the Puru dynasty. The Pāndya, Kerala, Chola and Kolla were the sons of King Janāpīda or Ahrīda, and founded their kingdoms before the lifetime of Vaivasvata Manu and Rishi Agastya. Kollas settled in Kollagiri in northern Kerala.

According to the Tamil legends and *Manimekhalai*, Kaveri River was released from his water pot (Kamandal) by Rishi Agastya in response to the prayer of Chola King Kantan or Kantaman. Kalingattuparani and Vikramacholan Ula indicate that King Kantan was the earliest known king of Cholas and a contemporary of Rishi Agastya and Paraśurāma. He was also a contemporary of King Tondaiman. The legends of Vada Thirumullaivayil indicate that King Tondaiman was a junior contemporary of Śiva and Murugan. Therefore, we can roughly fix the date of Chola King Kantan around 11250-11150 BCE. King Kantan gave his kingdom to his illegitimate son, Kakandan in order to escape from the wrath of Paraśurāma. Kakandan ruled from the city of Champā which came to be known as Kākandi, Puhar and Kaveripattanam. The Sangam literature refers to another Chola King Tungeyilerinda Todittot Sembian, a descendant of Śibi who destroyed the forts of Asuras. He started the celebration of Indra festival for 28 days at the instance of Rishi Agastya (a descendant of Agastya).

According to *Purāṇas* and Tamil sources, Chola was a brother of Pāndya. Evidently, ancient Cholas were the descendants of the Puru or Chandra dynasty. Later, the Chola dynasty of Tamilnadu had been mixed up with the Ikśvāku kings of Andhra. Thus, many Telugu Choda lineages (Velanati, Renati, Pottapi, Mudigonda etc.) came into existence.



This may be the reason why the later Cholas attribute their origin to the Surya Varṁśa. Rāmāyaṇa refers to the kingdom of Cholas. Seemingly, the Chandra Varṁśa of the Cholas and the Surya Varṁśa of the descendants of King Aśmaka or Dandaka got mixed up after the Rāmāyaṇa era.

Traditionally, the Cholas had three surnames, Killi, Valavan and Sembian. According to *Viracholiyam*, Sembian means a descendant of King Śibi. Probably, the Sembiens or the descendants of Śibi also settled in Tamilnadu and became a lineage of the Cholas being Chandra Varṁśis.

### In CE

- |   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| 1. Chola – The progenitor of Cholas and a younger brother of Pāndya | 11400 BCE       |
| 2. King Kantan Chola  | 11250-11150 BCE |
| 3. Kakandan   | 11150-11100 BCE |
| 4. Tungeyilerinda Todittot Sembian                                  | 10800 BCE       |

## 14.2 The Chronology of Cholas

According to Manimekhalai and Tamil legends, Kāveri River was released from his water vessel (Kamandal) by Rishi Agastya in response to the prayer of Chola King Kantan, or Kantaman. *Kalingattuparani* and *Vikramacholan Ula* indicate that King Kantan was the earliest known king of Cholas and a contemporary of Rishi Agastya and Paraśurāma. He was also a contemporary of King Tondaiman. The legends of Vada Thirumullaivayil indicate that King Tondaiman was a junior contemporary of Śiva and Murugan.

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Sangam literature refers to another Chola king, Tungeyilerinda Todittot Sembian, a descendant of Śivi, who destroyed the forts of Asuras. He started the celebration of Indra festival for twenty-eight days at the instance of Rishi Agastya (a descendant of Agastya).

According to *Purāṇas* and Tamil sources, Chola was a brother of Pāndya. Evidently, ancient Cholas were the descendants of the Puru or Chandra dynasty. Later, the Chola dynasty of Tamil Nadu had been mixed up with the Ikśvāku kings of Andhra. Thus, many Telugu Choda lineages (Velanati, Renati, Pottapi, Mudigonda and more) came into existence. This may be the reason why the later Cholas claim their origin from Sūrya Vaṁśa. The Charala plates and Kanyakumari inscription of Vira Rajendra Chola give the following chronological list from Brahma to Vijayālaya:

- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Brahma        | 19. Chola        |
| 2. Marīchi       | 20. Rājakesari   |
| 3. Kaśyapa       | 21. Parakesari   |
| 4. Vivasvān      | 22. Mrityujit    |
| 5. Ikśvāku       | 23. Vīrasena     |
| 6. Vikukśi       | 24. Chitra       |
| 7. Purañjaya     | 25. Puṣpaketu    |
| 8. Kakustha      | 26. Ketumāla     |
| 9. Prithu        | 27. Samudrajit   |
| 10. Kuvalāśva    | 28. Pañchapa     |
| 11. Māndhātā     | 29. Nrimrida     |
| 12. Muchukunda   | 30. Manoratha    |
| 13. Hariśchandra | 31. Perunatkilli |

14. Sagara	32. Karikāla
15. Bhagīratha	33. Vallabha
16. Ritupaṇa	34. Jagadekamalla
17. Dilīpa	35. Vyālabhayankara
18. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna	36. Vijayālaya, the founder of later Chola dynasty

The Rāmāyaṇa refers to the kingdom of Cholas. Therefore, it is chronologically absurd to establish King Chola as a descendant of Sri Rāma. Seemingly, the Chandra Vaṁśa of the Cholas and the Sūrya Vaṁśa of the descendants of King Aśmaka or King Daṇḍaka were mixed up after the Rāmāyaṇa era.

Traditionally, the Cholas had three surnames: Killi, Valavan and Sembian. According to Vīracholīyam, Sembian means a descendant of King Śivi. Probably, Sembians or descendants of Śivi also settled in Tamil Nadu and became a lineage of Cholas, being Chandra Vaṁśis. Ancient Tamil sources mention the names of 122 Chola kings who reigned around 5000-1020 BCE.

### In CE

Chola – The progenitor of Cholas and a

younger brother of Pāndya	11400 BCE
King Kantan Chola	11250-11150 BCE
Kakandan	11150-11100 BCE
Tunneyilerinda Todittot Sembian	10800 BCE
Manu Nithi Cholan	6000 BCE
122 ancient Chola kings	5000-1020 BCE

## UNIT 14 : CHOLA DYNASTY

Kalabhras

1020-720 BCE

26 Chola kings

700 BCE – 435 CE

Before the rise of Vijayālaya (150-180 CE), the lineage of Muttarayar ruled in Tanjavur. The city of Tanjavur was the capital of Muttarayar kings. The name of Tanjavur city is derived from the name of Tananjaya (Dhanañjaya or Arjuna). It is traditionally believed that Muttarayars came from North. Seemingly, Sūrya Varṁśi Cholas of Andhra Pradesh, known as Muttarayar, occupied the Chola Kingdom around 600-500 BCE as allies of the Pallavas. Vijayālaya, a descendant of another branch of Cholas, conquered the Chola Kingdom from Elango Muttarayar, the last king of the Muttarayar dynasty.

## UNIT 15 :KAKATIYA

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### 15.1 The Origin of the Kākatiyas

According to Ekāmrānātha, the Kākatiyas belonged to the Chandra Vaṁśa. The genealogy of the Kākatiyas:

1. Brahma
2. Atri
3. Chandra
4. Budha
5. Puruhūta (Purūravā)
6. Nahuṣa
7. (Name record not found)
8. Bharata
9. (Name record not found)
10. Arjuna (Mahābhārata era)
11. Abhimanyu
12. Parīkṣit
13. Janamejaya
14. Śatānīka
15. Kśemaṅkara

16. Somendra

17. Uttuṅgabhuja

King Uttuṅgabhuja migrated to the city of Dharmapuri, on the banks of Godavari and founded his kingdom. His son was Nanda. King Nanda made Nandagiri as his capital. He had a daughter named Sumati and a son named Vijayapāla. Sumati's son was Vriṣasena and Vijayapāla's son was Agnivarṇa. Vijayapāla died at an early age. King Nanda divided his kingdom and coronated Vriṣasena and Agnivarṇa as kings. Vriṣasena's descendants came to be known as the Vrishti dynasty. Many kings of the Vrishti dynasty flourished after Vriṣasena. Seemingly, Durjaya (1st century BCE) was a descendant of Vriṣasena. His lineage came to be known as the Kākatiya dynasty. Kannadadeva made Kandāra as his capital around ~275-300 CE. His son Somarāja succeeded him. Mādhava Varma was born to King Somarāja and Siriyāla Devi.

### **Mādhava Varma (324 CE)**

Ekāmranātha gives the chronology of the Kākatiyas starting from the coronation of King Mādhava Varma to the death of King Pratāparudra. Mādhava Varma, ascended the throne in the Tāraṇa Saṁvatsara and Pratāparudra died in the Rudhironḍgāri Saṁvatsara. He clearly mentions that total 1000 years have been elapsed from the coronation of Mādhava Varma to the death of Pratāparudra. According to one manuscript, Mādhava Varma ascended the throne in Śakānta 291 (369 CE) whereas another manuscript indicates his date in Śakānta 236 (314 CE) but the Tāraṇa Saṁvatsara was Śakānta 246 (324 CE). Pratāparudra died in the Rudhironḍgāri Saṁvatsara, i.e., Śakānta 1245 (1323-1324 CE). Thus, the Kākatiyas exactly reigned for 1000 years from Śakānta 246 (324 CE) to Śakānta 1245 (1323-1324 CE). Accordingly, I have corrected the chronology of Kākatiyas given by Ekāmranātha.

According to Ekāmranātha, Mādhava Varma ascended the throne on Mārgaśīrṣa Śukla Pañcamī, Śrāvaṇa nakṣatra, Thursday in Śakānta 246. The date

regularly corresponds to 8th Nov 324 CE. Anumakonda or Ekaśilānagari was the capital of the successors of Mādhava Varma. *Siddheśvara Charitra* gives the date of Mādhava Varma around Śaka 230.

The traditional Chronology of the Kākatiya kings of Anumakonda:

Śakānta era		In CE
1. Mādhava Varma and his successors	246-366	324-444 CE
2. Padmasena and his successors	366-444	444-522 CE
3. Vennamarāja and his successors	444-534	522-612 CE
4. Poriki Vennamarāja and his successors	534-603	612-681 CE
5. Gundamarāja and his successors	603-673	681-751 CE
6. Kuntalidevi as regent of Erukudevarāja	673-682	751-760 CE
7. Erukudevarāja	673-747	751-825 CE
8. Bhuvanaikamalla	747-773	825-851 CE
9. Tribhuvanaikamalla and his successors	773-847	851-925 CE

According to Ekāmrānātha, Bhuvanaikamalla defeated the Tuluva King Vira Narasimha Rāya of Vijayanagara. Bhuvanaikamalla married Sri Rangamadevi, sister of Vira Narasimha. Venkatanātha was the son of Vira Narasimha. Venkatanātha wanted to invade Hanumakonda to take revenge but finally, Bhuvanaikamalla married off his daughter Pāñchālī to Venkatanātha. Chronologically, Vijayanagara King Vira Narasimha was a contemporary of Bhuvanaikamalla. Vira Narasimha's inscriptions are dated in Śaka 1424-1432 (841-849 CE). In fact, Ekāmrānātha's main objective was to narrate the history of King Pratāparudra. However, he gives a brief history of some prominent Kākatiya kings since 324 CE. Though he has assigned 120 years for Mādhava Varma but this does not mean that Mādhava Varma reigned for 120 years.

Seemingly, Mādhava Varma and his unknown successors reigned for 120 years. King Padmasena ascended the throne 120 years after Mādhava Varma. Thus, the regnal periods assigned to the Kākatiya kings by Ekāmrānātha are nothing but a rough reconciliation of the chronological continuity of one-thousand year history of Kākatiyas. After the reign of Tribhuvanamalla, It is also stated in *Pratāparudracharitra* that Prolarāja I founded the city of Orugallu (Warangal) on Kārttika Krishna Dvitiyā, Rohiṇī nakṣatra in the Śubhakrit Saṁvatsara. The date regularly corresponds to 22 Oct 1062 CE. King Prola II had two sons, Rudradeva and Mahādeva. Rudradeva killed his father and ascended the throne. After the reign of Rudradeva, his younger brother Mahādeva ascended the throne. Mahādeva died in a war with the kings of Devagiri. Gaṇapati, son of Rudradeva succeeded Mahādeva. He defeated the king of Devagiri and married his daughter Rudramma Mahādevi.

King Gaṇapati had only daughter named Mummamma. After the death of Gaṇapati, his wife Rudramma Devi ascended the throne. Pratāparudra was born to Gaṇapati's daughter Mummamma in the Ānanda Saṁvatsara on Chaitra Śukla Pañcamī, Thursday, Rohiṇī nakṣatra when Sun, Mars and Brihaspati were on exaltation and Saturn was in its own house. The date regularly corresponds to 11 Apr 1255 CE. Ekāmrānātha indicates that Pratāparudra ascended the throne in Śakānta 1205 (1283 CE). Recently found Chandupatla stone inscription mentions that Rudramma Devi died in Śakānta 1211, Virodhi Saṁvatsara, on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month. The date corresponds to 25th Nov 1289 CE. Pratāparudra married Viśālākṣī and they had two sons, Virūpākṣa and Virabhadra. He had a brother named Yennamadeva. King Pratāparudra defeated the King of Kataka and the Pāndya king. He extended his kingdom up to Rameshvaram. Vijayanagara King Narasimharāya and his nephew Narasimhadeva were the contemporaries of Pratāparudra. He subjugated Parasiraju (a Persian king) of Maharashtra and Gujrat. Jumānūl Mulk was the brother of Parasiraju. Ekāmrānātha clearly mentions that Male Khan was the



Sultan of Delhi and a contemporary of Pratāparudra. Male Khan might have reigned in Delhi around 1310-1330 CE.

Delhi Sultan Male Khan sent an army to invade Kākatīya kingdom. At the same time, Kataka king also attacked Ekaśilānagarī (Warangal). Pratāparudra asked the help of Narapatirāya of Vijayanagara. Narapatirāya defeated Kataka King Mukundasundara. Delhi sultan sent Alaghu Khan, Birud Khan and Ullākh Khan to defeat Pratāparudra. Padma Nāyaka kings and Bhojāreddy etc., supported Pratāparudra. Ullakh Khan took Pratāparudra captive in the battlefield in the Rudhīrogāri Saṁvatsara on Āśvayuja Śukla dvitīyā, Thursday, i.e., 4th Sep 1323 CE and sent him to the court of Delhi Sultan. Later, Pratāparudra was released on advice of the mother of Delhi Sultan.

Thereafter, Pratāparudra went on pilgrimage to Kāshi from Delhi. He took bath at Manikarṇikā Ghat and performed Pujā in the Vishvanath temple. He returned to Ekaśilānagarī and coronated his son Virabhadra. He also married off his daughter Rudra Mahādevi to Narapatirāya. Pratāparudra and his wife Viśālākṣī both died on Māgha Śukla Saptamī in the Rudhīrodgāri Saṁvatsara, i.e., 2nd Feb 1324 CE.

According to Ekāmrānātha, Telugu poet Tikkana Somayāji was a contemporary of Kākatīya kings Gaṇapatideva, Rudramma Devi and Pratāparudra. We can roughly fix the lifetime of Tikkana Somayāji around 1225-1305 CE. Śakavelli Mallikarjuna Bhattu, Palakurti Somanatha, Ranganatha, Krishnamachari and Bhaskara were the contemporaries of Pratāparudra. Ekāmrānātha was himself a pupil of Pālakurti Somanātha. Ekāmrānātha tells us that the famous female Telugu poet Molla was also a contemporary of Pratāparudra. Molla became the head of the poetic faculty in the court of Pratāparudra by the favour of Tikkana. She wrote Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu known as "Molla Rāmāyaṇa" and also a text in *Vachana Kavītvam* (poetry in prose). She was inspired by the great poet Potana who wrote Bhāgavata Purāṇa in Telugu. She also referred to Srinātha, brother in law of Potana.

Srinatha's grandfather Kamalanābha was the contemporary of a Kākatiya King (Kākatiya Sārvabhauma). He was the contemporary of King Teluṅgurāya, a feudatory of Vijayanagara kingdom. An inscription of Teluṅgurāya, son of Śambhurāya is dated in Śaka 1350 and his father's inscription is dated in Śaka 1348. Evidently, Teluṅgurāya succeeded his father in Śaka 1350. Another inscriptions of Teluṅgurāya are dated in Śaka 1360, 1364 and 1366. His son Tirumalayya Deva's inscription is dated in Śaka 1405. Since poet Molla, a contemporary of Kākatiya King Pratāparudra II (Śakānta 1205-1245) refers to Srinātha, the Teluṅgurāya's inscriptions undoubtedly refer to the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Thus, we can roughly fix the lifetime of Srinātha around Śaka 1310-1400 (727-817 CE). Srinātha also visited the court of Vijayanagara King Deva Rāya II (763-783 CE) and defeated Kavisārvabhauma Gauda Dindimabhatta.

The chronology of the later Kākatiyas of Warrangal given by Ekāmranātha:

### **Śakānta era (78 CE)**

1. Prolarāja 892-964
2. Rudra Mahārāja 964-1052
3. Mahādeva 1052-1059
4. Gaṇapatirāja 1052-1127
5. Rudramma Mahādevi 1127-1205
6. Pratāparudra 1205-1289

Seemingly, a copyist might have edited these dates mistakenly considering the lifetime of Kākatiya kings as the regnal period. Unfortunately, we have only one or two manuscripts of Ekāmranātha's *Pratāparudracharitra* but

the chronology of later Kākatīyas can be correctly established based on epigraphic evidence.

## 15.2 Inscriptions of the Kākatīyas

More than 400 inscriptions of the Kākatīyas have been found till date. ICHR has published a reference book titled "Inscriptions of the Kākatīyas of Warangal" in 2011 which contains 367 inscriptions. The majority of Kākatīya inscriptions refer to the Śakānta era (78 CE) but some Kākatīya inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE).

The Itikāla inscription mentions the Kākatīya King Gundaraju Hariharadevaraju who was the reigning king in Śaka 1071 (1061?), i.e., 487-488 CE. This inscription refers to a solar eclipse that occurred in Śaka 1071, Vibhava Saṁvatsara on Kārttika Amāvāsyā, Thursday. The date regularly corresponds to 1st Nov 487 CE. The occurrence of a solar eclipse on Kārttika Amāvāsyā cannot be explained in Śakānta 1071 or 1061. Another inscription found in Anamala village of Nalgonda district also refers to the occurrence of a solar eclipse in Śaka 1050. A solar eclipse occurred on 8th May 468 CE.

Some inscriptions of the Kākatīya Kings Beta and Prola or Polalarasa refer to the Śaka era and the Chālukya Vikrama era and mention the names of the Chālukya kings like Trailokyamalla, Tribhuvanamalla and Bhulokamalla. Beta and Prola were the feudatories of Chālukya kings of Kalyana. Undoubtedly, these inscriptions are dated in the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). The Sanigaram inscription of Polalarasa refers to a solar eclipse that occurred in Śaka 1050, Kilaka Saṁvatsara on Āśvayuja Amāvāsyā, Sunday. The date regularly corresponds to 1st Nov 468 CE. The Kāzipeta inscription of Beta mentions the occurrence of a solar eclipse on Kārttika Amāvāsyā, Sunday in Śaka 1012. The date perhaps corresponds to 12th Dec 429 CE. There is another clue to segregate the Kākatīya inscriptions. Since the city of Orugallu or Warangal was founded in 1062 CE, the inscriptions having the reference of Orugallu are undoubtedly dated

in the Śākānta era. There is a need for further comprehensive research to logically establish the exact dates of the Kākatiya inscriptions.

We can roughly reconstruct the chronology of the Kākatiyas of Warangal based on epigraphic evidence as shown below:

	<b>In CE</b>
1. Beta I	1025-1052 CE
2. Prola I	1052-1076 CE
3. Beta II	1076-1108 CE
4. Prola II	1108-1157 CE
5. Rudradeva	1158-1195 CE
6. Mahādeva	1196-1199 CE
7. Ganapatideva	1199-1262 CE
8. Rudrammadevi	1262-1286 CE
9. Pratāparudra	1286-1324 CE

## UNIT 16 : VIJAYNAGAR EMPIRE

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### 16.1 The Rise of Vijayanagara Empire

The Kapaluru grant of Harihara I found in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh is the earliest known copper plate inscription of the Vijayanagara kingdom that dated Śaka 1258 (*Aṣṭa-pañca-yugalaika-saṅkhyayā saṁyute Nṛpa-Śakasya vatsarāt...*). The Yerragundi Grant of Harihara I found in Bagepalli, Chikballapur district is identical to the Kapaluru grant and also dated Śaka 1258. The reference of era as "*Nṛpa-Śakasya vatsarāt*" unambiguously indicates the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not the Śakānta era (78 CE). Therefore, the date of Kapaluru grant and Yerragundi grant works out to be 8th Apr 675 CE, i.e., Dhātri Saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha Śukla Saptamī, Puṣya nakṣatra and Hari lagna (*Dhātri-Mādhavavalakṣa-saptamī-Puṣya-tāraka-Hari-lagnake śubhe...*). It is a matter of grave concern that eminent historians have considered only the epoch of Śakānta era (78 CE) and calculated the date as 18th Apr 1336 CE. As a result, the historians concluded that the Vijayanagara kingdom was established in Śakānta 1258, i.e., 1336 CE.

Interestingly, the Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants clearly record or indicate the following hard facts which have been ignored or distorted by the historians.

- The ancestors of Harihara I belonged to the famous Yādava dynasty. It is a well-known fact that many royal families of Yādava dynasty migrated to South India after the submergence of Dwarka city in ancient times.
- These grants tell us that Bukka I and his son Saṅgama I were the kings and their capital was "Kuñjarakoṇapurī" (identified as Anegundi). In fact, Saṅgama I conquered Sutrāma-dhāma, Aṅga & Kaliṅga and had many feudatories (*So 'yam vijityākhila-digvibhāgān Sutrāmadhāmāṅga-Kaliṅga-pūrvān, upāsyamānaḥ kṣitipaiśca sarvām urvīmaśāt Kuñjarakoṇapuryām*). Thus, we can conclude that

Saṅgama I was the founder of his dynasty.

- These grants also give the account of the meeting of King Harihara I with Vidyāraṇya. King Harihara I met Vidyāraṇya when he was on hunting expedition (*Kadāchid uttīrya Tuṅgabhadraṁ Kśamādhīpālo Mṛgayābhilāṣāt ... Kśoṇipālo Harihara ... Vidyāraṇya-yatim abhajata...*). It clearly tells us that Harihara I was already a king before his meeting with Vidyāraṇya.

- These grants used “*ādideśa*” and “*uvācha*” in *Lit-lakar* for Vidyāraṇya (*Yatīndro vihasya tamuvācha vīram ... kśmāpatim ādideśa...*) which indicates that Vidyāraṇya might have died at least 10 or 15 years before Śaka 1258, i.e., 675 CE. The Yerragundi grant tells us that the Agrahāra of Yerragundi was renamed as “Vidyāraṇya-Pura” by Harihara I (*Vidyābhīdhāraṇyapuram praśastam purākhyayā nūtanayānvadyam...*) which also indicates that Vidyāraṇya might have died by then because the Agrahāras were generally named in the memory of the great personalities.

- It is also mentioned that during his hunting expedition, Harihara I was astonished to see a hare that turned against the dogs who were pursuing him and fearlessly chased them away. He narrated the incident to Vidyāraṇya Yati. Vidyāraṇya smiled and advised Harihara I to establish a new city named as “Vidyānagara” with nine gates on the south bank of Tuṅgabhadra River (*Rājan ... Vidyābhīdhānam alakānavadyām iravanam nātha purīm vidadhyāḥ / Purīm navadvāravatīm...*). Kuñjarakoṇapurī was on the north bank of Tuṅgabhadra River.

Accordingly, Harihara I built a big city named “Vidyānagara” (*vyarochata viśāla-simni nagare hi Vidyābhīdhe...*) and established “*Tat Śāsana*” = Dharma Simhāsana of Vidyāraṇya (*Tadā sa Harihareśvaraḥ virachayya tacchāsanaṁ nṛpāsanaṁ...*). This is the reason why the Śaṅkarāchāryas of Śringeri Math had the title of “*Karnataka-Rājya-Pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya*”. One later inscription mentions that the “*Ratna Simhāsana*” of Vijayanagara was made first for

Vidyāraṇya (*Vidyāraṇya kṛtā tasyām Ratna-simhāsane*...). Some historians have speculated that Vidyāraṇya constructed the city of Vidyānagara considering "*Vidyāraṇya-kṛtam*" as Tritīyā tatpuruṣa compound (*Vidyāraṇyena kṛtam* = made by Vidyāraṇya). In fact, it is Chaturthī tatpuruṣa compound (*Vidyāraṇyāya kṛtam* = made for Vidyāraṇya) and not Tritīyā tatpuruṣa. It may also be noted that the city of Vidyānagara was named after "Vidyāśaṅkara" and not "Vidyāraṇya". It is totally absurd to imagine that Vidyāraṇya asked Harihara I to name the new city after his name.

- These grants also indicate that Harihara I might have constructed a magnificent temple of Vidyāśaṅkara in Vidyānagara.
- These grants unambiguously tell us that Harihara I started his reign from Kuṇḍjaraṇapurī (Anegundi). After his meeting with Vidyāraṇya, he ordered the construction of the city of Vidyānagara.

Undoubtedly, it might have taken 15 to 20 years to complete the construction of the big city of Vidyānagara. This grant was issued from the capital city of Vidyānagara in 675 CE (Śaka 1258) which means the construction of Vidyānagara was almost completed and Harihara I has already shifted his capital from Kuṇḍjaraṇapurī to Vidyānagara.

- The Kapaluru copper plate grant is related to an agrahāra located in Nellore district which means the kingdom of Harihara I was spread up to the sea shore of Andhra Pradesh.
- The Kapaluru and Yerragundi grants were the two of the sixteen grants made on or before 8th Apr 675 CE by Harihara I (*Vidhāya khalu Ṣoḍaśa-pratinidhīni dānāni*...). Unfortunately, only two grants are available today.

It is quite obvious from the above epigraphic evidence that Harihara I built the city of Vidyānagara following the advice of Vidyāraṇya. Later, Bukka II rebuilt the adjacent ancient town of Hastināvatī or Hastināpura city and named as "Vijayanagara" in Sanskrit & "Hampā" or "Hampi" in Kannada. Gradually, both

the cities merged into one. Unfortunately, there are many speculative theories about the origin of Vijayanagara city floated by the historians disregarding the epigraphic evidence.

As far as the date of the beginning of the construction of Vijayanagara city is concerned, it must be at least 15 or 20 years before the year recorded in the Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants, i.e., Śaka 1258 (675 CE).

Therefore, we can fix the date of the establishment of the Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara city around 655 - 660 CE.



## UNIT 17 : THE YĀDAVA DYNASTY

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An inscription of Govana III found in Khandesh (Jalgaon, Dhule, Nandurbar districts of Maharashtra and Burhanpur district of Madhya Pradesh) is dated in Śaka 1075

*(Varṣāṇām pañcasaptasya sahasre sādhiḥ gate I*

*Śaka-bhūpāla-kālasya tathā Śrimukha-vatsare II).*

It clearly refers to the Śaka era as “Śaka-bhūpāla-kāla” (583 BCE) and not the Śakānta era (78 CE). Therefore, this inscription was written in 491-492 CE (Śaka 1075). The Patna inscription found near Chalisgaon in Khandesh was authored by Soideva and Hemādideva, the sons of Govana III in Śaka 1128 (544-545 CE) during the reign of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa. This inscription was written on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa month and on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Considering the Śaka 1128 current or elapsed, the date intended would be 6th Sep 545 CE. The month is not Śrāvaṇa but Āśvina which needs verification from the original text of the inscription. Interestingly, the Patna inscription mentions Chāṅgadeva, the chief astrologer of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa. Chāṅgadeva was the grandson of the famous Bhāskarāchārya who was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE)

*[Rasa-guṇa-pūrṇa-mahī-sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaye ’ bhavanmamotpattiḥ].*

Al Beruni (1030 CE) mentions Bhāskarāchārya and his book “Karaṇa Kutūhala” as a work of astronomy known in his own country for over a hundred years. It is evident that Bhāskarāchārya was born much before Al Beruni. Śāṅgadeva authored “Saṅgītaratnākara” during the reign of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa. He mentions about Yādava kings Bhillama, Siṅghaṇa and also the city of Jaitra. Bhillama’s son Jaitugi was also titled “Jaitrapāla” meaning a king ruling the city of Jaitra. The Jañjira grant (set I & II issued in Śakānta 915) of Silāhāra

Aparājita mentioned Khandesh as “Bhillamīya deśa” (*ā Lātadeśād bhuvi Bhillamiyadeśam vidhāyāvadhimātra yasya*).

Khandesh was well known as Bhillamīya deśa because Bhillama founded the Yādava kingdom in Khandesh in the 6th century CE. Bhillama I was the first Yādava king and the founder of the Yādava dynasty in the 6th century CE. He ruled from Śaka 1107 to Śaka 1114 (523-530 CE). His son Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla I succeeded him and ruled from Śaka 1114 to Śaka 1124 (530-540 CE). The great Yādava King Siṅghaṇa, the son of Jaitrapāla I, ruled for 45 years from Śaka 1124 to Śaka 1169 (540-585 CE). He defeated King Ballala, the king of Andhra, Kakkalla the king of Bhaṁbhāgiri and imprisoned the Śilāhāra King Bhoja. The Puruśottampuri grant of the Yādava King Rāmachandra informs us that Krishna, the grandson of Siṅghaṇa and the son of Jaitrapāla II, became king in Śaka 1169 (585-586 CE). It appears that Krishna subjugated the kings of Gurjara, Mālava, Chola and Kosala

(*Re re Gurjara jarjara.....*

*bhūpā yadvijaya-prayāṇa-samaye bandījana-vyaṇjanāḥ*).

After the death of Krishna, his younger brother Mahādeva ascended the throne. According to the Kalegaon grant of Mahādeva, he was coronated on the 2nd tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in Śaka 1182 elapsed (599-600 CE), i.e., 29th / 30th Jul 599 CE. Mahādeva's son Ammaṇa succeeded him but the Puruśottampuri grant tells us that Krishna's son Rāmachandra forcibly wrested the kingdom from Ammaṇa (*prasahya tasmādapahr̥tya bhuṅkte*). Rāmachandra ruled for more than 40 years from Śaka 1193 (609-610 CE) to Śaka 1232 (649-650 CE).

### 17.1 The chronology of the Yādava dynasty

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	In CE
Bhillama	1107-1114	523-530 CE

Jaitrapāla I or Jaitugi	1114-1124	530-540 CE
Singhana	1124-1169	541-585 CE
Krishna	1169-1182	585-599 CE
Mahādeva	1183-1192	599-609 CE
Ammana	1192-1193	609-610 CE
Rāmachandra	1193-1233	610-650 CE

Puruśottampuri grant tells us that King Rāmachandra was the greatest ruler of the Yādava dynasty. Rāmachandra vanquished the king of the great, extensive Dāhala country within a moment (*Yenottālaviśāla-āhala-mahīpālaḥ kśaṇānnirjito....*) and defeated the ruler of the country of Bhāṇḍāgāra (*Bhāṇḍāgāra-dharādhavaḥ paribhavam yenocakairlambhitaḥ.....*). He subjugated the king of Vajrākara (*Yenonmūlitarājya eva racito Vajrākara-ksmāpati....*) and conquered the king of Gopa (*Yenājau vijitaḥ sa Gopanīpatir....*) & the king of Palli (*Bhallībhiḥ Pallirājaḥ samarabhuvī jitaḥ....*). He also defeated the king of Kānyakubja (*Kubjitaḥ Kānyakubjaḥ*), the king of Māhima (*Māhimendraḥ parāstaḥ*) and captured by force the mighty king of Saṅgama (*Uttuṅgaḥ Saṅgameśaḥ prasabhamadhigato*) and crushed the lord of Kheṭa (*Kheṭanātho yena svenaiva dhāmnā....*). He abrogated the conventional rules about tolls, exempted all āgrahāras from taxes, freed Vārāṇasi from Mlecchas and constructed a golden temple of Śārngadhara (*Yah śulkasanketalipim vyalopayat sarvāgrahāreśhu karān nyavārayat, Vārānasīm Mlecchagaṇād vyamocayat hiraṇmayam Śārngadharālayam vyadhāt*). Rāmachandra claimed himself to be *Praudha-pratāpa-chakravarti* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.

The Puruśottampuri grant refers to the date as “*Śaka-nṛpa kālātītasamvatsareṣu-dvātrimśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṅkhyākeṣu sādharmaṇasamvatsarāntargata- Bhādrapada-śuklaikādaśyām*”, i.e., on the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month and 1232 years elapsed in the

era of Śaka king (649-650 CE). The date corresponds to 23rd /24th Aug 649 CE. The compound word “*kālātīta*” used here is a *Saptami tatpuruṣa* (*kāle atītāḥ*) not *Dvitiyā tatpuruṣa* (*kālam atītāḥ*). Therefore, we must translate it here as “1232 years elapsed in the era of Śaka king” and not as “1232 years from the end of the era of Śaka king”.

The verifiable details of the solar eclipses mentioned in the Yadava inscriptions are as follows:

### 17.2 The Nimbāl inscription of Bhillama’s Feudatory

3rd Regnal year of Billama, i.e., Śaka 1110 (526-527 CE), the new moon day of Bhādrapada, Solar eclipse and Saṅkramaṇa (Tulā Saṅkrānti). The date corresponds to 22nd Sep 526 CE.

**The Devur inscription of Jaitugi’s feudatory:** Śaka 1118 (534-535 CE), solar eclipse during Uttarāyaṇa. The date corresponds to 29<sup>th</sup> Apr 534 CE.

**The Devangav inscription of Jaitugi’s feudatory:** Śaka 1121 (537- 538 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Māgha month. The date corresponds to 15th Feb 538 CE.

**The Khedrapur inscription of Singhana:** Śaka 1136 (554-555 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Chaitra month. The date corresponds to 19th Mar 554 CE.

**The Jettigi inscription of Krishna:** Śaka 1178 (594-595 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month. The date corresponds to 16th Jan 595 CE.

**The Hulgur inscription of Mahādeva:** Śaka 1189 (606-607 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month. The date corresponds to 11th Jun 606 CE. The rule of the early Yādava kings probably ended after the death of Rāmachandra. Later, it appears that the Yādavas became feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Kalas-Bhadruka inscription of Bhillama dated in Śakānta 948 (1026 CE) and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II dated in Śakānta 991 (1069

CE) clearly indicate this fact. It also appears that one family branch of the Yādavas evolved as a mixed Yādava- Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The Bassein grant of Seunachandra II tells us that the Yādavas also had marital relations with the Western Chālukyas. A manuscript collected by Mackenzie gives the list of 18 Yādava kings who ruled from Śakānta 730 (808 CE) to 1013 (1091 CE). This list needs further research. The Methi inscription of Kannara dated in Śakānta 1176 (1254 CE) informs that a Yādava King Kannara was ruling around 1254 CE.

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